



*How lofty aspirations of gender
mainstreaming lead to inconsistent
policy*

*A dialogue between evidence and theory in the context of
DDR in the Democratic Republic of Congo*

*By Frédérique Been
Radboud University Nijmegen*

'I don't even know what gender is'

(Zalewski, 2010)

'How lofty aspirations of gender mainstreaming lead to inconsistent policy'

Master Thesis

Amsterdam, 23 November, 2020

Author

Frédérique Been (S1030225)

Radboud University of Nijmegen

Human Geography: Conflicts, Territories & Identities

Supervisor

dr. Nora Stel

Front page by Lyubov Ivanova

Radboud Universiteit



Preface

The content of this thesis is devoted to gender mainstreaming in Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration. As a young woman at the beginning of her carrier in peace and security, I was triggered by the marginalized position of women in decision-making in these industries and the inequal impact policies and programs have on women and girls. Hence, by writing this thesis I hope to create awareness of gender (in)equality in peace-building, policy making, and wider spheres of society.

Considering I come from a background of Hotel Management where I had never conducted actual research, nor wrote a writing a thesis, writing my master thesis has been an interesting journey. Before I wrote this thesis I was determined to challenge myself. Instead of using a practical approach like I was always used to, I choose to delve into gender theory and conduct a critical frame analysis that requires an thorough analysis of abstract theory and policies. Considering my lack of experience in gender theory and research in general, it has been an intense journey. Since I set this personal goal myself and consciously choose a topic that strongly interests me, I have nonetheless really enjoyed this journey.

Writing this thesis has brought me a lot. It has taught me how to conduct systematic qualitative research, how to make sense of highly abstract theories, and it has brought me knowledge of a topic I sincerely value. Moreover, it has taught me that doing research and becoming a ‘specialist’ in a certain topic is satisfying and motivating, and might be something I desire for the future. Overall, I can say that I am proud of the final result and of the entire process prior to this outcome.

I would like to thank dr. Nora Stel, my thesis supervisor, for guiding my through this process and sharing her insights and knowledge with me. Moreover, I would like to thank her for her support and her positive and constructive feedback that has stimulated and motivated me during this journey.

I sincerely hope this thesis can be useful for those who share the value of gender mainstreaming and gender equality in peace-building and wider spheres of society.

Frédérique Been

Table of contents

- Chapter 1: An introduction to the issue.....1**
- 1.2 Relevance.....3
 - Societal relevance.....3
 - Scientific relevance.....4
- 1.3 The puzzle.....5
- Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical background.....7**
- 2.1 The policy and its process.....7
- 2.2 An introduction to the main concepts around gender (in)equality.....10
- 2.3 The contested nature of gender mainstreaming.....13
 - Gender responsive content in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of policies.....15
 - Gender representation in the voices dimension of policies.....17
- 2.4 The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration policy.....20
- 2.5 Gender mainstreaming in peace and security: a focus on DDR.....23
- 2.6 The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo: its history in DDR.....28
- Chapter 3: Methods and methodology.....32**
- 3.1 The research design.....32
 - A case study approach.....32
 - An introduction into Critical Policy Analysis.....33
- 3.2. Data generation.....35
- 3.3 Data analysis.....36
 - Coding.....37
 - Analysis.....40
- 3.4 Methodological reflections and reflexivity.....43
- Chapter 4: The results of the critical frame analysis.....46**
- 4.1 An introduction to the central policy document.....47
- 4.2 Disarmament.....49
- 4.3 Demobilization.....55
- 4.4 Reintegration.....61
- 4.5 General sections.....70
- 4.6 The results in short.....78
- Chapter 5: Conclusion and discussion; Now what does it all mean?.....82**
- References.....92**
- Appendices.....100**

Appendix I: Interview Chantal Daniels.....	100
Appendix II: Map of non-state armed actors in North & South Kivu.....	113
Appendix III: Pre-designed code scheme.....	114
Appendix IX: Pre-designed codes in ATLAS ti.....	119
Appendix X: The MAGEEQ super-text template.....	123
Appendix XI: Open codes in ATLAS ti.....	125
Appendix XII: Draft second part of the critical policy analysis.....	127
Appendix XIII: Draft interview guide second part of the Critical Policy Analysis.....	131

List of abbreviations

CAAFAG	Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups
CONADER	National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (Commission National de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion)
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CVR	Community Violence Reduction
DDR	Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration
DDR I	First Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration policy
DDR II	Second Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration policy
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRC's DDR III	Democratic Republic of Congo's third Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration policy
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo)
GLR	Great Lakes Region
IU-NDDRP	Implementation Unit of the National Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Program
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration program
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NDDRP	National Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Program
RPC	Reintegration Preparation Centers
UEPNDDR	Unité d'Exécution Du Programme National de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WAAFAG	Women Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups

Chapter 1: An introduction to the issue

As a response to the widespread practice of violence against women and girls in armed conflict, the United Nations Security Council introduced resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) in 2000. With the adoption of resolution 1325 the UN has aimed at improving gender equality at all levels of peacekeeping, peace-making, peacebuilding and post-conflict resolution. This gender mainstreaming perspective should become visible in the acknowledgement of women's agency and their differentiated experiences in war and specific needs in peace operations and programs. Moreover, it should have resulted in recognizing women as agents of conflict prevention and resolution and their right to be involved as decision-makers in all levels of conflict prevention and resolution (Mayanja, 2010; Willett, 2010).

Irrespective of these progressive intentions of the international community and its UNSCHR 1325, gender mainstreaming fails to be operationalized properly. This is particularly strongly felt in the field of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR), a widely adopted instrument in peace processes. The denial of women's agency in violent conflict has resulted in both the continuing neglect of opportunities for women to have access to DDR, and in their unrecognized value in and deprived opportunities to decision-making processes of DDR programming (Farr, 2003; Mazurana & Cole, 2013; Theidon, 2009; Willett, 2010).

Literature and practise have shown that the operationalization of the, at first sight, progressive intentions of the international community appear to be more complex. How to improve gender sensitivity in DDR is apparently not as straightforward as declaring it a priority. Multiple feminist schools of thought have forwarded different normative frameworks of what gender mainstreaming ideally should look like. This diversity is also noticeable in DDR. The different perspectives on how to improve gender sensitivity in DDR and other peace-building initiatives have resulted in different ideas on the relevant issues that come with gender mainstreaming in DDR, the different opinions on suitable solutions to tackle these issues, and which actors should be involved in the formulation and implementation. For this reason, this thesis will answer the central research question: *'How do different visions of gender mainstreaming shape the Democratic Republic of Congo's third Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration policy?'*

A critical frame analysis will be conducted to study and uncover the different visions of desirable gender mainstreaming in the context of the Democratic Republic of Congo's third Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration policy (DRC's DDR III). Considering the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) long history in DDR and the gendered nature of its various intertwined conflicts, the Eastern DRC serves as an interesting and relevant case that can help to reveal how multiple feminist perspectives underlying different visions of gender mainstreaming can result in highly inconsistent policies that undermines the effectiveness and success of the policy with serious consequences for women. By conducting this research I hope to create awareness for the incomplete and disagreed knowledge on how to best operationalize gender mainstreaming in DDR and other peace-building policies. and shed light on the consequences of this deficiency.

The hypermasculinity characterising the peace-building and security industries security and the strong patriarchal structures that shape many (post)conflict societies, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, continue to maintain a dominant male norm with traditional assumptions on gender roles and hierarchies, which often leads to gender insensitive peace operations and programs. Although the active involvement of women in violent conflict has strongly increased over the years (Mazurana & Cole, 2013), women continue to primarily be seen as the main victims of violent conflicts and as dependents of male combatants. Consequently, they are often considered as harmless, inherently peaceful and automatic care-takers of their family (Farr, 2003; Mazurana & Cole, 2013; Mazurana, Carlson, Kasper & McKay, 2002; Theidon, 2009; Willett, 2010).

Feminist scholars have questioned both the vision of the international community on how to improve these issues and the commitment to see this through. Some argue that the radical focus to assure women's participation in DDR policies and programs and their involvement in decision-making at all costs reflects the desire 'to just get the numbers right'. As a result, women are added within the existing male dominated spheres, rather than reconstructing the working of masculine structures that continue to exclude women from DDR (Hudson, 2009; Mazurana, 2003; Willet, 2010; Wright, 2010). Others have shown that the exclusive focus on women and femininities fuels the discourse that women's absence from DDR is a women's issue only. Consequently, women continue to be differentiate women from men, which eventually keeps traditional assumptions that ignore women's agency in violent conflict intact (Theidon, 2009; Vayrynen, 2004). Finally, more recent feminist scholars have taken the critique on gender insensitive DDR one step further by completely rejecting the thought that a solution to women's exclusion from DDR should be sought within the

boundaries of DDR itself. Rather, their exclusion from DDR is the unfortunate result of broader societal structures of gender inequality in (post)conflict societies (Weber, 2020).

In conclusion, this thesis sheds new light the different visions of gender mainstreaming that shape policies and how this can result in the improper operationalization of gender mainstreaming in peace-building and security industries, and in policies of other realms. As a result, a better understanding on the nature and effect of different gender mainstreaming strategies in policies in created. Furthermore, this thesis contributes theoretically on how different gender mainstreaming strategies co-exist and relate.

1.2 Relevance

Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this thesis exists on multiple levels. First of all, DDR can be highly valuable as it can contribute to a sustainable transformation towards peace and increasing gender sensitivity in DDR may improve the effectiveness and successfulness of its prolicy on an operational level (Mazurana & Cole, 2013; Mazurana et al., 2002). However, as previously noted, ‘DDR programs routinely fail to address the realities of women and girls inside armed groups’ (Mazurana & Cole, 2013. p. 212). DDR policies and programs continue to be structured from a strongly masculine approach based on traditional gender assumptions, which has led to an exclusive focus on male combatants. Consequently, women continue to be excluded from the participation in DDR policies and programs and the involvement in decision-making and policy making processes of DDR. This risks undermining the effectiveness and successfulness of DDR. Mainstreaming gender involves the inclusion of women who understand the militarized dynamics can contribute to more successful and effective DDR policies and programs that pay attention to the diverse roles of women and girls in violent conflict (Mazurana & Cole, 2013; Mazurana et al., 2002). To guarantee successful and effective DDR it is vital to better understand how DDR policies actually seek to mainstream gender. This will allow new insights in why gender mainstreaming fails to be operationalized properly.

Other scholars have taken the value of gender mainstreaming in peace-building and security industries to a higher level by arguing that women’s participation in peace operations can unsettle inequal gender structures that shape political and societal spheres (Farr, 2003; True, 2014). Since mainstreaming gender in DDR is a process towards more gender equality, a focus on gender matters in its own right as well. The Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women [OSAGI] (2002) explains

that the involvement of women in peace processes could serve as means to promote fuller involvement in and access to other societal, political, and cultural spheres. Including women in all spheres of society may promote women's empowerment and can eventually improve their equal social status (Farr, 2003). Therefore, a better understanding of multiple gender frames underlying mainstreaming strategies in DDR can also shed light on conflicting or complementing gender norms in society at large.

The strong male norm in the fields of peace and security in the case of Eastern DRC serves only as a useful example. It is about its reflection of bigger structures of gender inequality that continue to shape societal and political spheres. Hopefully, by shedding light on the nuances and inconsistencies in the framing of gender mainstreaming in the DRC's DDR policy I can create awareness for the lack of concrete and agreed knowledge on how to operationalize gender mainstreaming in policies and how this can undermine opportunities to create equal gender norms.

Scientific relevance

A significant amount of the analyses on gender in DDR has taken the common critiques on gender insensitive DDR as a starting point, also in the context of Eastern DRC. These studies have tried to assess the relevance of the well-known critique in existing DDR policies and programs and have looked for further policy aspects that risk to undermine gender sensitive DDR. Instead of actually understanding the diverse underlying gender discourses that shape DDR policies, the majority of these studies aim to express judgement on the degree of gender sensitivity on policy-level on the basis of evident critiques on gender policy aspects.

This thesis distinguishes itself by trying to position itself above the common critique on gender in DDR. Instead of studying the gender in DDR with policy-level approach, this thesis will conduct a critical frame analysis that requires to go back to the roots of gender theory and its central discourses that eventually shape the gender dimension of DDR policies. On an empirical level this thesis sheds new light on the nuances between different normative frameworks of gender mainstreaming and their manifestations in DDR policies. Accordingly, possible consequences that come with different visions of gender mainstreaming are identified.

According to my knowledge, little to no research has been done on how different gender discourses resonate in DDR policy and how this can result in certain consequences. The systematic approach of this critical frame analysis starts with a discussion of the different

feminist interpretations of gender (in)equality that form the foundation of gender theory. It then tries to understand how these different positions in gender theory construct different normative perspectives on what gender mainstreaming ideally looks like and how these normative frameworks will eventually look like in DDR policies. This systematic approach has relevant theoretical contributions too as it contributes to a better understanding of the knowledge gap on how different gender mainstreaming strategies in policies co-exist.

Although there have been extensive critical frame analyses that have actually gone back to the roots of gender theories and how these have shaped gender mainstreaming in policies, most of these studies focus on policy documents that address how national and regional gender mainstreaming approaches will be incorporated in multiple policy areas and domains. Apart from studying policy documents especially devoted to issues of gender inequality in diverse policy domains, according to my knowledge so far very little policy analyses have been conducted of policies that focus on a particular policy matter in one policy domain without directly targeting the issue of gender inequality. Hence, in this thesis the identification of more implicit manifestations of gender mainstreaming become relevant.

Finally, this thesis has crucial methodological contributions as well. It provides an innovative ready-to-use framework on how to study and interpret both explicit and implicit manifestations of gender mainstreaming. This complete framework can serve as a relevant tool for researchers and policy-makers to understand the nature and effects of gender mainstreaming in policies. This framework consists of a leading extensive code scheme and related tables and charters. I believe these contributions are necessary to move beyond the evident knowledge on gender insensitive (DDR) policies and actually understand why gender mainstreaming fails to be operationalized properly.

1.3 The puzzle

Irrespective of the widespread commitment to incorporate gender mainstreaming in peace-building and security sectors, there exists equally widespread critique on how this fails to be operationalized properly. As previously noted, this is in particular problematic because it undermines the effectiveness and success of DDR and the opportunity to reconstruct unequal gender norms in societal and political spheres. The aim of this thesis is, therefore, to understand why gender mainstreaming in DDR, in the specific context of Eastern Congo, fails to be operationalized properly by studying which different visions of gender mainstreaming inform the DRC's DDR III policy.

This has led to the following research question:

How do different visions of gender mainstreaming shape the Democratic Republic of Congo's third disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration policy?

To be able to answer the central research question the following sub-questions will be addressed:

- How is gender mainstreaming framed in the disarmament phase of the DRC's DDR III?
- How is this gender mainstreaming framed in the demobilization phase of the DRC's DDR III?
- How is gender mainstreaming framed in the reintegration phase of the DRC's DDR III?
- How is gender mainstreaming framed in the general sections of the DRC's DDR III?

The four sub questions will, subsequently, be sub divided into different policy-dimensions and the implicit and explicit variants of the present frames. Chapter 3 will further elaborate on the operationalization of these sub-questions.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical background

This chapter will give an introduction to the relevant concepts and debates that form the foundation of this study. Before reading this chapter one should be aware of its strict funnel structure, as this will help to understand the chapter and its purpose. Taking this into account, this chapter will start with a brief introduction to policies and policy-processes in general. Subsequently, it will discuss the main concepts around the gender dimension of this

debate. Finally, I will address how the diverse interpretations of these gender concepts are relevant in the different phases and dimensions of policies and policy making processes, until the funnel reaches its most narrow point in discussing the significance of the various interpretations of gender mainstreaming in DDR policies.

2.1 The policy and its process

A DDR guideline is in essence a policy. This means we have to consider first what is meant by 'policy' and how it comes into being. Howlett & Ramesh (1993) defined a policy as a tool of governance that represents a set of means and methods to tackle public concerns.

Barbehùn, Mùñch & Lamping (2015) explain that a policy can be understood from the perspective of a policy cycle. The policy cycle understands a policy as the result of a linear process in which responsibilities of decision-making lie with a government. Authorities start with agenda-setting, which involves the selection of policy problems that require active consideration. The 'objective' selection of which issues should be on the political agenda is determined by public concerns identified by a government. Accordingly, these issues lead to policy formulation and decision-making by governmental actors, to implementation, and will eventually be evaluated in which the feedback loop will be the final step of this linear process. The simplistic and clear nature of the policy cycle concept can be useful to offer a general description of the formal procedures and structures of policy making (Barbehùn et al., 2015).

That said, relying on this simplistic and technocratic approach only risks ignoring the complexity of policies and policy making processes. A policy can also be understood as the outcome of more iterative processes, the struggle of actors to participate in these processes, various power dynamics, and the constant interactions between those included in the policy making process and those excluded (Bochel, C., Bochel, H., Somerville & Worley, 2007; Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, Rucht, 2002; Keck & Sikkink, 2014; Squires, 2005; Yanow, 2015a). Taking this into account, policy making is considered an 'ongoing discursive struggle over the definition and conceptual framing of problems, the public understanding of the issues, the shared meanings that motivate policy responses, and criteria for evaluation' (Barbehùn et al., 2015, Chapter 13, p. 246). The interaction between those actors who get to participate in policy making reflects the power hierarchies in the policy making process that eventually shape the final policy outcome. Hence, it is essential to understand this social dimension of policy making, as it allows one to get insight in the social context of policy making and its corresponding structures and dynamics (Woodward, 2015).

Ferree et al., (2002) talk about standing as having a voice in political debates. To have a *voice* means that a group or an actor is actually being treated as an agent with the potential to provide interpretation and meaning to the policy issue at stake. Lister (2008) defines *voice*, in other words, as 'being listened to and heard in democratic spaces' (p. 1). Those who reach for a political voice are in general either affected by societal issues, and/or have interest in influencing political debates and processes centred around certain societal matters. Deciding who gets to speak is based on characteristics of actors, their activities, the resources actors make available, and the strategies and tactics used. Those who are affected by or benefit from political decision-making and, thus, seek for a political voice might use different tactics, including quickly providing useful information, creating awareness with symbolic actions, using leverage on dominant actors and empowering marginalized actors, or demanding accountability of powerful actors. By using these tactics, actors hope to gain political influence in the form of agenda-setting influence, or influence on state behaviour (Kecks & Sikkink, 2014).

The type of interaction and strategy by and between those who seek a voice exists on multiple layers. Those actors who get to have a voice in policy making and their interaction with others in turn determines on which levels policy making takes place. A policy network can consist of diverse types of actors who represent the multiple layers of society, including governmental actors, civil society actors, or academics and experts. This perspective on policy making exceeds the statist nature of the previously noted policy-cycle. Consequently, policy making can take place on governmental or international level, but actors may also interact on a more local level. The multilayeredness of those actors who get to influence political debates and processes, because they are being treated as agents in providing interpretation and meaning to policy issues at stake, is a reflection of the legitimacy and power of those included and excluded. Thus, whenever the interaction of actors remains on a governmental and international level it means that civil society actors are excluded from the policy making processes (Woodward, 2015).

Concluding: policy making is closely linked to the broader debate on social justice as it helps to understand the many different actors that participate in policy making and how they come to participate (Bochel et al., 2007). Essential in theories of social justice is the challenge of existing power structures and patterns that value certain categories of people over others. Marginalized groups remain to be excluded from political spheres and fight for their voices to be heard and recognized. However, dominant groups continue to speak and decide for the marginalized. Consequently, the particular issues and interests of the oppressed groups remain unrepresented (Phillips, 2003). The experienced struggles of oppression and the battle for

recognition and voice is stimulated by shared struggles of individuals that unify them as a social group, regardless of their heterogeneous identities and specific categories of injustice (Lister, 2008; Phillips, 2003). In this context ‘struggles for recognition are and have been very much struggles for political voice’ (Phillips, 2003. p. 5). In conclusion, *voices* is considered a crucial dimension in policy (Verloo, 2005a).

Besides the voice dimension, policies contain two additional dimensions. Benford & Snow (2000) argue that the policy result of these interactive processes can be understood from a simplistic diagnosis-prognosis format, in which a policy(document) contains a representation of a diagnosis and a prognosis. The *diagnosis* dimension of a policy focusses on the identification and elaboration of the problem that is presented, the reason for it to be considered as a problem, and the attribution of causalities. The *prognosis* dimension of a policy looks at possible solutions to tackle the identified policy problem and accordingly determine the call for action (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Within these two dimensions it is relevant to take into account an additional sub-dimension: the attribution of roles (Verloo, 2005a). In line with my conceptualisation of policy in the first paragraph of this section, this sub-dimension maps the social aspect of both dimensions of the final policy result. For instance, the attribution of roles within the diagnosis dimension focusses on those made responsible for addressing the policy problem and tries to identify the main carriers of the identified policy problem by discovering who are mainly affected by it. Within the prognosis dimension roles are attributed to those actors targeted by the proposed solutions, and to those who carry the consequences or benefit from the policy solutions (Verloo, 2005a). This introduction has explained what policies are and how they come to be. Essential in this section are the three policy dimensions of *diagnosis and roles*, *prognosis and roles*, and *voices*. These policy dimensions will later assist in conducting the actual analysis of this thesis. To ease the reading of this thesis, from now on I will only use *diagnosis* and *prognosis* when I refer to the diagnosis and roles, and prognosis and roles dimensions of policies. Evidently, the content of this introduction applies for both specific gender policies and for policies in other realms that will always have an either explicit or implicit gender dimension. That said, we can now continue to the main concepts around gender (in)equality, that form the roots of gender in policies and policy-processes.

2.2 An introduction to the main concepts around gender (in)equality

To understand why gender mainstreaming in DDR fails to be operationalized properly it is essential to shed light on the multiple gender discourses underlying mainstreaming strategies.

Gender theory is infamous for its complexity and ambiguity. The meanings of key concepts around gender equality are difficult to distinguish and to operationalize, since their meanings are highly contested by scholars as a result of their fluid and ambiguous character. It is essential to be aware of the diverse ontological and epistemological perspectives in gender theory, as they demonstrate the contested nature of the concepts gender and gender (in)equality. The central feminist perspectives that will be discussed in this section will reoccur in following deriving debates of the broad matter of gender (in)equality.

Sjoberg (2010) explains that all subjects of research are perceived with certain lenses that ‘foreground some things, and background others’ (p. 2). Within the context of this study gender functions as such a lens. Gender studies actors and issues by focussing on feminine and masculine power relations that are relevant to the subject of research. However, the interpretation of the concept ‘gender’ is twofold. From an essentialist ontology gender covers biological sex difference between male and female anatomies (Dietz, 2003). From this perspective the physical differences between males and females have justified and naturalized the different expectations and treatments of women and men (Zalewski, 2010). Important in this essentialist ontology is that differences between men and women are biologically determined and cannot be changed.

This thesis moves away from such an essentialist approach and adopts a constructivist interpretation of gender. From a constructivist perspective gender refers to what roles, structures, or dynamics are culturally considered as either feminine or masculine (Goldstein, 2001). The perceived associations with masculinity and femininity determine the value and meaning of those roles, structures, or dynamics and construct a gender hierarchy. This social hierarchy, accordingly, determines how societal spheres and political domains are shaped and organised. In contrast to seeing gender as something biological and fixed, seeing gender as socially constructed means the related roles, structures, and dynamics are contextualized and dynamic and hence subject to change.

The need to uncover and challenge the socially constructed and normalized hierarchies between masculinities and femininities stems from feminism. Feminism has tried to create visibility for self-evident gender hierarchies in social dynamics and relationships and aims to transform those into more equal hierarchies (Kronsell, 2005). Feminism is a social movement that pursues an agenda centred around the transformation towards gender equality in societies. It has academic repercussions as well. The meaning of the concept of gender (in)equality has been contested by many academics and has resulted in a strong theoretical divisiveness (Diez, 2003). How should the problem of gender inequality be understood and theorized? What are

possible solutions to solve the issue of gender inequality? And should we aim for sameness, difference, or diversity? These normative questions mirror the complexity of gender equality and deriving concepts, as academic debates have shown there is little consensus in answering these questions (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007).

Feminism as ontological and epistemological perspective tries to deal with these complex questions in order to define and give meaning to the concepts of gender and gender (in)equality. There exists a variety of different feminist perspectives that each allow distinct interpretations of these concepts. Literature has shown that this wide variety of perspectives fall under three major streams within feminism defined by different typologies. For each feminist stream this thesis will use one typology that will serve as a label for the particular stream. However, in order to make the three central feminist perspectives identifiable for those who would use diverse typologies to label them, this thesis will try to address other frequently used typologies in the explanation of the three major streams within feminism.

The first major feminist school is liberal feminism, which leans towards the 'sameness' side of the difference/sameness dichotomy within feminism and rejects the notion of gender binary oppositions that imply sexual and gender differences between men and women (Goldstein, 2001; Zalewski, 2010). Important is that liberal feminists have not denied the different physical traits of both men and women, rather they have expressed the irrelevance of these differences. In other words, these physical differences between men and women are irrelevant for their rationalistic, intellectual, and physical capacities (Dietz, 2003; Goldstein, 2001; Zalewski, 2010). This thought centred around the idea that men and women are the 'same' in the sense that they are capable of performing similar roles and obtaining equal results, which has led to a focus on the removal of barriers for women's participation (Greer & Greene, 2003)

Where liberal feminism rejects the notion that sexual differences between men and women determine their capacities, the second major feminist school in social science, radical feminism, claims that these sexual differences affect women's capacities. Radical feminism seeks to valorise women's specific forms of embodiment, as the appreciation of their embodiments has long been subordinated to those of men. This has been the result of the reproduced traditional roles women were assumed to fulfil that came with unequal treatment and appreciation. Hence, radical feminism is positioned at the 'difference' side of the sameness/difference dichotomy (Zalewski, 2010). From this feminist perspective research is done from women's standpoint. It is believed that understanding the world through women's everyday experiences, rather than taking the dominant male norm as a starting point will

reveal hidden knowledge. By comparing women's unique experiences to the experiences of dominant (male) groups differences between the lived realities of women and men will be uncovered (Ackerly, Stern & True, 2006; Dietz, 2003; Harding, 2011; Sprague, 2005).

Finally, a new third of feminism is constituted by postmodern and critical schools of thought that believe that radical feminism, or difference feminism, did not adequately acknowledge the differences between women. This new stream of feminists has tried to get rid of the perception of women as a homogenous group. Rather they have shed light on the diversity amongst women. This specific stream is centred around the notion that gender engages in diverse intersecting power hierarchies, such as age, race, sexuality, religion, and disability. The intersectionality of gender and other power hierarchies mutually constructs multiple and diverse systems of oppression that leads to diverse experiences of women (Ackerly et al., 2006; Dietz, 2003; Squires, 2005). Deconstructive feminism has built on the notion of diversity within feminism, as it takes these postmodern schools of thought to a higher level by completely rejecting any notion of a primordial concept of gender, not as a social construction, nor as an essential and biological category. Rather the concept of gender is solely the result of discursive practices that give meaning and significance to the concept. (Dietz, 2003; Goldstein, 2001; Gannon & Bronwyn, 2011; Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005). The typology of deconstructive feminism is hence considered the most recent collective term of postmodern feminists (Squires, 2005).

This section has discussed the three major schools of thought in feminism, which form the foundation for feminist analytical frameworks. The following section demonstrates how these diverse feminist perspective resonate in different normative frameworks of what desirable gender mainstreaming looks like.

2.3 The contested nature of gender mainstreaming

To improve and guarantee gender sensitive DDR we first need to understand how policies can actually seek to mainstream gender. The previously mentioned feminist schools of thought form the foundation of different normative visions of gender mainstreaming. A detailed discussion on these contested normative frameworks of what ideal gender mainstreaming looks like will be given in in the following paragraphs.

As a response to both feminist schools of thought and feminist social movements that have tried to create awareness for gender inequality, regardless of its interpretation, gender mainstreaming was introduced as a policy strategy reflecting the diverse interests of these

feminist streams hoping to transform unequal gender hierarchies (Kronsell, 2005). With the introduction of gender mainstreaming the international community has tried to make policies more gender sensitive by guaranteeing equal impact of policies on men and women (True, 2003). However, taking into account the different interpretations of gender equality, the ‘emptiness’ of this objective has in turn allowed many different interpretations and has fuelled new debates both within and outside of gender studies..

The concept of gender mainstreaming was first introduced at the Nairobi World Conference on Women in 1985. It was only established as a global strategy for pursuing gender sensitive policy making in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, however, without explicit reference to the term ‘gender mainstreaming’. In 1997 the UN officially defined gender mainstreaming as:

‘..the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, 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 the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs 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’ (OSAGI, 2002, P. v)

The UN’s ‘empty’ and vague definition has allowed multiple interpretations of gender mainstreaming from various feminist perspectives. Irrespectively, this thesis will first try to forward a general description of the concept. Cohn, Kinsella & Gibbings (2004) explain that gender mainstreaming is the tool, and gender equality the goal. Gender mainstreaming exists on a theoretic and practical level. As a practice, gender mainstreaming is a strategy that aims for more gender equality by making gender differences in the masculine dominated state and global governance visible. It aims at transforming the current processes of policy design, implementation and evaluation into more gender sensitive policy processes and it hopes to erase the barriers for women to be included in political processes so women’s voices will be heard (Walby, 2005). The gender sensitivity in policy processes should stimulate a gender equality perspective across all policy areas, even where gender issues might not be obviously present (Beveridge, Nott & Stephen, 2000; True, 2003). Essential is that gender mainstreaming should not be treated as a women’s issue, or a women’s policy. Rather gender needs to be treated across all areas directed at everybody, regardless of sex (True, 2003). This critical strategy is centred around the gender-specific interests and values of men and women. Hence, gender mainstreaming is the next step in the challenge towards gender equality, as it has applies the principles of feminism at policy level.

Generally, gender mainstreaming consists of two key dimensions that go hand in hand. It first seeks for a gender responsive content of policies that takes into account the specific needs of both men and women. This aspect of gender mainstreaming in particular applies for the *diagnosis and roles*, and *prognosis and roles* dimensions of policies. The second aspect of gender mainstreaming focusses on gender representation in policy domains so both men and women can participate policy making processes (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2020). This latter aspect of gender mainstreaming is intertwined with *voices* dimension of policies. Consequently, this respective section is divided into the different visions of gender responsive content of policies, and the gender representation in policy domains.

Since gender mainstreaming has become such a dominant phase in gender sensitive policy making, the three feminist schools of thought in academia have explicated their different interpretations of what desirable gender mainstreaming would look like by forwarding normative frameworks to indicate ideal strategies of gender mainstreaming. The previously noted classical principles within feminist theory of difference, sameness, and diversity are key in the analysis of gender mainstreaming (Walby, 2005). Overall, there exist three major approaches to gender mainstreaming reflecting the earlier mentioned major perspectives within feminist theory.

Gender responsive content in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of policies

Liberal feminism argues for a strategy of inclusion with an integrationist gender mainstreaming model that promotes equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women (Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005). ‘Each individual, irrespective of gender, should be treated according to the same norms, principles, and standards and should have equal access to opportunities and rights’ (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23). For a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion the main issue with gender inequality is the exclusion of women from broad political debates, caused by unequal gender hierarchies (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007). According to this vision of gender equality, the solution for the problem of women’s exclusion is ‘to include them in the world as it is, without challenging underlying male norms’ (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 23). The aim of this strategy is to achieve a level of gender-neutrality that equalizes women and men (Squires, 2005). From this perspective it is believed that equal treatment of men and women will automatically correct inequalities in legislation and should result in equal access and opportunities. From this liberal perspective it ultimately the responsibility of citizens to actually use their formal and equal rights (Verloo, 2005).

The common critique by radical feminism on this mainstreaming strategy has been that women are added within the existing hypermasculine and patriarchal power structures, rather than reconstructing existing gender hierarchies that maintain the oppression and exclusion of women (Sjoberg, 2010; True, 2003; Willet, 2010). The purpose of gender mainstreaming is not just to add women in masculine political spheres in order to get the number right, but rather to reconstruct the power structures that maintain the barriers for women's participation in decision-making (Beveridge et al., 2000).

Hence, radical feminism pursues a strategy of reversal that promotes an agenda-setting mainstreaming model with special programs to promote women's empowerment (Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005). In this strategy the emphasis is on challenging top-down approaches to agenda-setting and to rather listen to the voices of women civil society movements in determining which public matters should be on the political agenda (Squires, 2005). In contrast to liberal feminism, radical feminists recognize that citizens are not always able to use equal rights to the same degree (Verloo, 2005). For a gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal the key issue of gender inequality is the hegemonic masculinity that dominates on a political and societal level. For this strategy, then, the solution is to reconstruct existing male norms that structure political spheres and marginalize women's participation. It aims to highlight how feminine characteristics and identities have received unequal treatment compared to masculine traits and identities. In contrast to an inclusive strategy, the strategy of reversal takes gender into account and promotes a notion of positive actions that favour females and femininities in order to recognize their different needs (Squires, 2005; Verloo & Lombardo, 2007). Rather than to create equal access and opportunities, the strategy of reversal concentrates on equality in outcome (Verloo, 2005b).

Liberal feminists have in turn criticized these radical feminist approaches to gender mainstreaming. The common critique by liberal feminism on gender mainstreaming strategies of reversal laments that due to the exclusive focus on women and complete disregard of men and masculinities, the absence or 'victimhood' of women remains to be a women's issue in the highly dominated masculine political spheres. Consequently, gender continues to be equalized to women and their 'special needs', while men remain to be 'non-gendered' (Cohn et al., 2004). Challenging the existing power relations between masculinities and femininities requires the involvement of both men and women as both play essential roles in the construction and maintaining of unequal power structures (Theidon, 2009).

Finally, deconstruction feminism pursues a strategy of displacement and forwards a transformative mainstreaming model (Diez, 2003; Goldstein, 2001; Squires, 2005; Walby,

2005). For a mainstreaming strategy of displacement the issue with gender inequality is the gendered world itself, caused by society's inequality structures. A gender mainstreaming strategy of displacement takes as starting point the power hierarchy of gender that always intersects with diverse power hierarchies. Together these multiple systems of oppression reinforce one another. The strategy of displacement is characterized by its highly abstract and theoretical perspective on mainstreaming gender (Squires, 2005; QUING Consortium & Verloo, 2011; Walby, 2005).

The proposed solution is to adopt diversity politics to deconstruct political discourses that falsely attribute gender to individuals and structures. Rather than sticking to the false gender dichotomy of sameness/difference, diversity politics involves the deconstruction of political discourses in order to foreground *diverse* systems of inequality that eventually explain and reinforce gender inequality (Walby, 2005). For instance, instead of explaining the poor social status of a particular group of women solely by the fact that they are women, their social status as women should be understood from the intersectionality with diverse systems of oppression, such as age, ethnicity, and gender. From this perspective, the poor social position of these women can be explained by the fact that this social groups consists of, for instance, black migrant adolescent women. This example shows how multiple systems of inequality, including gender inequality, mutually construct and reinforce one another (Squires, 2005). Central is the desire to transform diverse societal structures of inequality, which will automatically result in more gender equality. The desire for transformation, hence, often results in strategies closely linked to democracy, human rights, and participation (Verloo, 2005b). Regardless of the promising characteristics of this gender mainstreaming model that have been emphasized by many scholars, the main critique of this transformative approach is its lack of conceptual and practical specificity, since it aims for radical, but theoretical transformations of 'gender norms' (Squires, 2005; Verloo & Lombardo, 2007; Walby, 2005).

Gender representation in the voices dimension of policies

Mainstreaming is a concept that has been introduced from a liberal democratic perspective and matches its main values of citizenship, democracy, equality, and representation (Lister, 2008; Phillips, 2003). The concept of mainstreaming seeks for recognition, inclusion, representation, and participation in decision-making processes. Its purpose is to achieve equality by making the main processes of policy formation, implementation and evaluation more democratic (Squires, 2005). The following paragraphs explain how the different

feminist perspectives underlying gender mainstreaming strategies resonate in different ideal approaches to policy making.

Although an analysis of those voices that truly have been heard during these main policy making processes is beyond the scope of this thesis, policy documents generally contain visions of the intended formation, implementation, and evaluation of the policy at stake. Whether the intended approaches stipulated by policies actually mirror the voices that have truly been heard remains questionable of course. Nonetheless, the intentions of desirable policy making as stipulated in policy documents still give an indication of the envisioned gender mainstreaming strategies and will hence contribute to a better understanding of which visions of gender mainstreaming have shaped DDR in the DRC. For this reason, the multiple feminist frames underlying different visions of gender mainstreaming on gender representative policy-processes will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The issue of who has/should have a voice in political debates with respect to gender (in)equality is mostly reflected in the divergent understanding of gender mainstreaming as a technocratic process, a consultative process, or a deliberate democratic approach to the policy making process (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007; Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005). It is mainly liberal feminists who aim for a mainstreaming strategy of inclusion who consider gender mainstreaming a technocratic process. This technocratic approach to policy making relies on expertise and evidence-based knowledge carried out by policy actors and bureaucrats who are believed to represent women's interests (Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005). This technocratic approach promoted by liberal feminists is centred around the idea that gender is a specialization, such as environment would be, and ideally requires highly specific expertise in order to correctly calculate gender effects and effectively implement gender policies (Woodward, 2015). This technocratic approach goes hand in hand with the promotion of analytical tools, such as statistics, checklists, or (gender) impact assessments (Verloo, 2005b). The high gender awareness among (gender) experts and the policy making experience of policy actors eventually assures an effective implementation of gender equality policies (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007).

According to Beveridge et al. (2000) a technocratic approach to gender mainstreaming is problematic for women, since inclusion and participation are highly dependent on whether an individual possesses personal resources to exercise some form of autonomy. Traditional gender roles have long limited women's resources and access to the public sphere and, accordingly, have restricted their autonomy and opportunities to be included in political participation. Further, the low numbers of women in decision-making in combination with

their meagre presence in masculine structures highly questions to what degree political actors and bureaucrats actually represent the issues and interests of marginalized women. Hence, this mainstreaming strategy of inclusion continues to privilege men and masculinities while women's voices continue to be silenced.

Adversaries of an inclusive strategy adhere more radical feminist notions that understand gender mainstreaming as a strategy of reversal. This stream within feminism believes that gender mainstreaming is a process to increase democracy that allows various actors to have a voice in policy processes (Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005). A consultative approach focusses on participation and empowerment of marginalized groups, in particular women (Squires, 2005). From this perspective it is essential to include women's perspectives in policy-processes, since including marginalized groups may reveal obscured knowledge that is not visible from the position of dominant groups (Ackerly et al., 2006; Kronsell, 2005; Sprague, 2005; Squires, 2005; Willet, 2010). The appreciation of marginalized feminist standpoints is derived from notions of power hierarchies between the dominated and the dominators. Women's historically constructed, oppressed position in societies and their struggles in dealing with these unequal power dynamics creates awareness of those structures and practices that are invisible to dominators. Accordingly, knowledge is built through one's position of being oppressed and deprived. Thus, gendered practices solely become visible when individual experiences of those being oppressed are juxtaposed to larger gender structures and hierarchies that organise societies, institutions and political spheres (Ackerly et al, 2006; Kronsell, 2005; Sprague, 2005). Including the voices of marginalized groups into decision-making is crucial, since these groups can assist in defining issues and effective solutions from a unique marginalized perspective which can result into more comprehensive policies (Willet, 2010).

Walby (2005) argues that the duality of expertise vs democracy is fictitious. In the context of gender mainstreaming in Europe Woodward (2015) demonstrates the importance of the 'velvet triangle' as a special multi-layered network in which, politicians and bureaucrats, women's movements, and academics closely cooperate to develop effective gender policies. The 'velvet triangle' aims to describe the types of interaction and strategy between the various actors. The political expertise of politicians and bureaucrats in gender policy making combined with input of civil society movements may lead to highly effective and democratic gender policies. Thus, expertise and democracy are not necessarily rival sources, rather, they are strongly interrelated in the concept gender mainstreaming (Walby, 2005). The promotion of diverse perspectives in policy making for achieving gender equality closely matches deconstructive feminism which pursues a strategy of displacement. This specific positioning

is based on the notion that gender engages in intersecting power hierarchies. Precisely because of these diverse systems of oppression, in which contextuality is highly significant, a variety of voices should participate in unconstrained dialogue to assure that diverse interests and issues will be heard (Squires, 2005). Participation of and dialogue between different sexes and groups is promoted by educational techniques and tools, including hearings, training, and awareness-raising (Verloo, 2005b). Consequently, the diversity in perspectives on gender (in)equality and how to achieve this obviously has repercussions for the design of gender sensitivity in DDR. The following two paragraphs hope to illustrate how the diverse gender discourses underlying gender mainstreaming become meaningful in DDR.

Despite the differences and contradictions between the three gender mainstreaming strategies, some scholars believe they can coexist (Booth & Bennett, 2002; Walby, 2005). The aim to reach gender equality is then prioritized over the end vision on the desired type of gender equality. In this separate case, the policy issues at stake are approached with the idea that each issue might require a different gender mainstreaming strategy to assure the best possible outcomes (Booth & Bennett, 2002; Squires, 2005). Diverse visions of gender (in)equality and corresponding gender mainstreaming strategies are, however, solely possible in policy domains that are rather separate and individual (Walby, 2005).

Despite these abstract perspectives on the co-existence of different gender mainstreaming strategies, little research has been done to determine how different visions of gender mainstreaming relate in concrete policies. Furthermore, the abstract perspectives on the co-existence of different visions of gender mainstreaming are only relevant for national and regional policies especially designed to tackle issues of gender inequality in multiple policy domains. Consequently, little to no concrete knowledge exists on the co-existence of multiple gender mainstreaming strategies in a single policy of a single policy domain not particularly devoted to issues of gender inequality. The central theoretical knowledge gap of this thesis is therefore whether the co-existence of these different strategies can reinforce one another or risk to undermine each other. This will be studied by empirically analysing the nature and effects of gender mainstreaming in DDR.

2.4 The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration policy

This thesis explores to what extent different visions of gender mainstreaming are represented in DDR in the DRC and how their potential co-existence might result in certain consequences. The combination of theory and evidence empirically contributes to a better understanding of the nature and effects of gender mainstreaming in the DRC's DDR policy,

which is relevant to the country's post conflict dynamics. Moreover, this case-study tackles the knowledge gap of the co-existence of multiple visions of gender mainstreaming as either competing or complementary, and sheds new theoretical light on how different strategies of gender mainstreaming relate and co-exist, which is relevant for feminist analytical frameworks and political intervention. Hence, a brief introduction into the different elements, phases, and activities of DDR is required.

In the context of post-conflict reconstruction DDR has been a widely adopted instrument in peace processes. It was introduced in 1989 as a response to the reconstruction of post-cold war areas and renewed international commitment to UN-sponsored peacekeeping missions. Commonly, DDR was initiated in early post-conflict periods and aimed to tackle suspicion between warring parties and potential spoilers, rebuild infrastructure and reform institutions (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2007; Muggah, 2005). In 1998 the UN secretary-general stated that the priority in post-conflict peacebuilding is the reintegration of ex-combatants and others affected by war into civilian life in order to avoid ex combatants from returning to conflict (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2007). 'Where disarmament terminates, demobilization begins and where demobilization ends, reintegration commences' (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations [UNPKO], 1999, p. 5). The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex combatants in a peacekeeping environment report by the UN pointed out that disarmament in itself did not have sufficient benefits. Thus, demobilization and reintegration were introduced in peace processes in order to secure long-term peace (UNPKO, 1999). In short, DDR is centred around the dissolving of militant organizations and the return of former combatants to their communities (Berdal, 1996).

By 2010 the UN declared that a new generation of DDR had arrived. The main evolvement from traditional DDR to second generation DDR was a shift from negative peace toward positive peace (Muggah & O'Donnell, 2015). Rather than concentrating on short-term stability goals by exclusively disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating former combatants, the focus of second generation DDR has been on the transformation and improvement of broader conditions towards long-term sustainable peace. Together with the emphasis on positive peace came the shift towards a local and community-based approach. As a result, the priorities of second generation DDR have been on the improvement of livelihoods, reinforcement and rebuilding of social institutions, reconciliation between ex-combatants and their community, and the reorientation towards a broader understanding of 'combatant'. In particular this latter aspect characterizes this new wave of DDR (Muggah & O'Donnell, 2015).

These so-called ‘integrated’ approaches were not meant to replace existing peace and security programs, but were rather intended to be integrated into existing peacekeeping and post-war construction initiatives with the intention to transform these (Colletta & Muggah, 2009). Hence, second generation DDR has promoted activities linked to national development plans with the important objective to avoid stigmatization and exclusion of combatants and their families (Muggah & O’Donnell, 2015). As a result, ‘categories of recipients’ quickly expanded beyond ex combatants and have since concentrated on non-state armed groups as well as vulnerable groups (Colletta & Muggah, 2009, p. 428). The community-based approach of the second generation DDR is particularly valuable for creating opportunities for vulnerable groups in decision-making. These vulnerable groups include a focus on women and girls, which should result in promoting and increasing gender sensitivity in DDR policies and programs (United Nations Peacekeeping [UNPK], 2020). The increased focus on women and girls in this new wave of DDR explains the reason for this thesis to focus on the DRC’s DDR III policy established in 2013, just after the official initiation of the second generation DDR.

DDR exists of a wide range of phases and activities in which gender mainstreaming can play a role, both for the design and implementation of the programs. Before the actual phases of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration elements take place numerous and extensive phases and stages of planning, design and implementation have to be carried out (United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Centre [UNDDR], 2014). Taking into account the boundaries of this thesis it would be impossible to present a detailed description of the preceding preparatory phases and the final disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration elements. Therefore, the three elements and their main purposes will only be addressed briefly. Further, table 1 will give an introduction to main activities of the three elements to illustrate the many phases and stages of DDR where gender could be relevant.

Disarmament is the first step in DDR processes and is highly symbolic as it reflects the official end of one’s time as a combatant. It focusses on reducing and controlling munition and weapons in order to create a secure environment so disarmament and reintegration can take place (United Nations, 2014). The demobilization element, which is the second phase of the entire process, concentrates on dissolving militant organizations by ‘breaking the command and control structures operating over rebel fighters’ (Spear, 2002, p. 141). It aims at increasing the threshold to fall back on armed groups. The final reintegration element is centred around the objective to return former combatants to civilian life in their communities and forms the final step in the process. The UN distinguishes two key approaches for the

return of ex-combatants that are often used mutually: the individual and community-based approaches. Individual reintegration mainly tries to create economic opportunities for ex-combatants to earn a legitimate livelihood and provides support services and counselling. In community-based reintegration, reconciliation is a key principle (UNDDR, 2014). The promotion and improvement of reconciliation processes reinforce the inclusion of ex-combatants in their community and, hence, contribute to a better reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2007).

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Main stages/phases/activities</i>
Disarmament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Planning and operational decision-making; including team selection and weapon survey ○ Weapon collection or retrieval ○ Stockpile management; which includes safe and secure accounting, storage, transportation, and handling of weapons and ammunition ○ Weapon destruction
Demobilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Access and reception; which focusses on secure routes to the demobilization sites ○ Registration and documentation ○ Introduction and briefing; which includes guidance about the entire DDR program ○ Information, counselling, and referral ○ Health screening ○ Pre-discharge awareness-raising/sensitization; in which expectation-management is essential ○ Reinsertion; this aspect serves as a bridge between the demobilization and reintegration in order to cover the short-term basic needs of former combatants and their families
Reintegration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Economic reintegration; focusses on life skills, vocational training, education and scholarships ○ Social/psychosocial reintegration, includes reconciliation and trust building, social capital and acceptance, civilian life skills, and housing

Table 1: An overview of the central stages, phases, and activities within DDR

2.5 Gender mainstreaming in peace and security: a focus on DDR

Likewise, also in the broad spheres of peace and security concepts around gender equality and mainstreaming allow a variety of meanings and interpretations. As my main objective is to explore how the three normative frameworks on gender mainstreaming shape DDR in the DRC, I will outline in this section, based on the presented theory, what desirable DDR would look like for each respective gender mainstreaming strategy.

As noted in the introductory chapter to this thesis, the introduction of the UNSCR 1325 the international community has sought to ‘recognize the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations’ (p. 2) and has since concentrated directly on gender sensitivity in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (United Nations, 2000).

Despite the introduction of the UNSCR 1325 there exists a wide range of critique towards the continuous gender inequality in peace operations in general, as well as the lack of properly operationalized gender mainstreaming strategies in DDR programming. A view shared by many critics is that women continue to be deprived from decision-making in the broader spheres of peace-building and security industries (Mazurana, 2003; Willet, 2010). Others who have focussed exclusively on DDR argue that the security threats women have to face are often neglected, their needs are often ignored, and their representation in participation and decision-making is low (Farr, 2003; Mazurana & Cole, 2013; Schroeder, 2005; Theidon, 2009; Willet, 2010).

Common critique on gender insensitive DDR focusses on the incorporated traditional adult male interpretation of combatants and the eligibility criteria based on this assumption. The common narrow meaning of a combatant only includes those in DDR who are active at the frontlines, while those with supportive roles who are unable to hand in a weapon as proof of their membership of armed forces will automatically be excluded from entry. Considering that many women fulfil more supportive positions that facilitate the continuation and activities of armed forces and groups, they are unable to show a weapon at disarmament centres. As a result, they are often not eligible for entry (Mazurana & Cole, 2013). Despite the UN’s claim that women’s exclusion from one phase, does not necessarily exclude them from other phases in DDR (United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Resource Centre, 2006), both peace-building and Feminist scholars have emphasized the importance to move beyond this narrow interpretation of a combatant (Farr, 2003; Mazurana & Cole, 2013). The narrow interpretation and the corresponding eligibility criteria start in disarmament and continue to be implemented in the following phases of DDR. For this reason DDR policies and programs should move beyond this narrow nature of current DDR in all its phases. (Farr, 2003; Mazurana & Cole, 2013).

The lack of proper operationalized gender mainstreaming in DDR is also visible in the way DDR policies deal with the stigmatization women associated with armed forces and armed groups face. The patriarchal structures that shape many conflict societies, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, have determined the hypermasculinity of warfare and armed combat. Consequently, female combatants who have not conformed with the expected

traditional societal gender roles often face stigmatization by their community. Women are often cut out of and rejected by their communities once they are linked to armed forces, which results in their absence in DDR programs (Mazurana & Cole, 2013; Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre [NOREF], 2016).

How to tackle these gender issues in DDR differs according to each feminist school of thought. A liberal feminist perspective with a mainstreaming strategy of inclusion in peace and security reflects women's equal representation and their equal value and capacity to fulfil similar positions and responsibilities as men. When translating this feminist perspective to DDR, liberal feminists acknowledge the significant roles of women in armed groups and forces. Not only men, but women too have acted as frontline fighters, messengers, spies, and looters during violent conflicts (Mazurana & Cole, 2013). These roles reflect that women can also be perpetrators of intimidation, killings, and other atrocities, which refutes essentialist assumptions that women cannot be aggressive, strong, or protective. The acknowledgement of similar capacities of men and women proves that both are equally as capable to participate in the political debate and be decision-makers on the matter of DDR.

This stream within feminism promotes a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion that would reveal an intended technocratic approach to the DDR policy making processes of formation, implementation, and evaluation. This would imply that male and female former combatant and civilians will not be directly included in designing and implementing DDR. Rather, they will be equally represented on a political level by female and male policy experts and other governmental actors (Squires, 2005).

Common critique on this notion of gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping is that women are added within the existing male dominated spheres of peace and security that maintain the oppression of women (Hudson, 2009; Mazurana, 2003; Wright, 2010, 2010; Theidon, 2009; Willet, 2010). The issue with 'add women and stir' has been its insufficient effort to actually reconstruct unequal gender hierarchies (Hudson, 2009). Consequently, gender is still equalized to women, while men remain to be non-gendered. It is argued that this theory of gender (in)equality in peace and security exclusively focusses on women's inclusion in decision-making, while it ignores men and the working of masculinities that structure institutions, political spheres, and societies (Zalewski, 2010)

Willet (2010) zooms in on the gender hierarchies in DDR and argues that the exclusion of women in both the participation and decision-making can be explained by the reproduction of power structures that maintain the constructed gender hierarchies that work against women's participation. The debate on the strategy to just 'add women and stir' is

highly relevant in peacekeeping and DDR. She argues that the strategy of 'add women and stir' is a major issue in DDR because whenever women are excluded the only solution often seems to be to try and facilitate women's participation. These critical studies have stressed the need to be more reluctant towards the biased objective to promote women's participation in decision-making at all costs in order to 'just' get the numbers rights.

The second feminist school of thought, radical feminism, promotes a mainstreaming strategy of reversal. From this perspective, women's different experiences in conflict should be recognized and their unique value in peace-building should be utilized. The unique feminine insights are often forgotten in the highly masculine dominated fields of peace and security. From a radical feminist perspective it is argued that women engage in supportive roles, such as sexual slaves, domestic worker, and care takers. These unique experiences and perspectives of women associated with armed groups allows them to be of unique value in successful and effective DDR. For instance, women and girls are often trusted insiders within armed groups and have the opportunity to influence their leaders and provide valuable knowledge (Mazurana & Cole, 2013). Moreover, as a result of women's roles as care takers of their children and husbands, their caring traits can be of unique value in designing and implementing DDR. Women's oppressed positions as sexual slaves, domestic workers, or victims of sexual and gender-based violence can result in unique insights in DDR that represent the needs of those with similar experiences and needs (Willet, 2010). Concluding, their specific forms of embodiment as a result of their traditional roles in Congolese society should be valorised. From this feminist perspective the DDR policy of the DRC will stipulate a policy process with characteristics of a consultative approach.

The main critique on this understanding of women's roles in peacekeeping is that it reinforces essentialist gender stereotypes and, thus, is highly problematic for women (Hudson, 2009; Theidon, 2009; Vayrynen, 2004). According to Vayrynen (2004) the international discourse on gender, peace, and security makes sense of gender as essentialist binary oppositions between masculine and feminine characteristics. This discourse links men and women directly to certain biological traits that assume men to be aggressive, strong, and protective, while women continue to be seen as victims and inherently peaceful. Ultimately, this UN strategy intensifies essentialist binary oppositions between men and women. Accordingly, traditional gender stereotypes are reproduced and the opportunities for a more gender sensitive approach in peacekeeping operations, such as DDR, are limited.

From a deconstructive perspective, the third feminist school of thought, the main critique on both a strategy of inclusion and reversal in peace and security is that they

‘inadequately distinguish the differences between masculinities and femininities, and the differences between women’ (Hudson, 2009, p. 291). This mainstreaming strategy acknowledges women’s diverse identities and experiences and would, therefore, rather focus on how and why intersecting systems of domination exist and are maintained in the broad spheres of peace and security’ (Hudson, 2009, p. 292). Due to its lack of concreteness and specificity it is difficult to determine in advance how this feminist perspective can exactly be translated into DDR.

As explained by Squires (2005), deconstructive feminism promotes a deliberate democratic approach to policy making. The DDR policy of the DRC would therefore stipulate characteristics of this approach. Weber (2020) explains that gender sensitive DDR requires a transformative nature. Transformative DDR concentrates on gender hierarchies and roles in the private and public spheres of women’s and men’s lives, including public spheres of education, politics, and employment. In these public and private societal spheres, men and women should receive training on the often uncommon roles of men and women during conflict and how to deal with transformative gender roles. Eventually, this might increase awareness and acceptance among men and women of the fluid gender roles during conflict and the consequences this fluidness has on new gender roles in civilian life. Moreover, transformation requires a collective approach to DDR and is, hence, interrelated with transitional justice and reconciliation. Raising awareness of the experiences and incentives of ex-combatant among the wider population can improve the relationship between former combatants and their communities and will reduce the stigmatization of men, but mostly women. Consequently, reintegration of women and men can become more successful.

In other words, gender-transformative DDR is an approach that exceeds the boundaries of DDR and requires a transformation of broader public and private spheres. Presumably, this transformative approach to DDR will become more concrete during the actual analysis of this thesis. Table 2 presents an overview of the main points of desirable DDR according to the three feminist schools of thought. Since the DRC’s DDR III policy will be the subject of analysis in this thesis, the final paragraph of this entire chapter is devoted to the history of DDR in the DRC.

Feminist Schools of thought	Main points of desirable DDR
Liberal feminism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Acknowledgement of women's predominate roles in armed groups and forces ○ Promotion of equal treatment of men and women ○ Acknowledgement that men and women have similar capacities in decision-making ○ Promotion of a technocratic approach to policy-making ○ Critical towards the risk to reinforce essentialist gender assumptions
Radical feminism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Acknowledgement of women's different experiences from men in violent conflict ○ Promotion of special programs directed towards women ○ Acknowledgement that women engage in more supportive roles ○ Acknowledgement of women's unique value in decision-making as a result of their differs experiences ○ Promotion of a consultative approach to policy-making ○ Critical towards the 'add women and stir' approach
Deconstructive feminism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Focus on how and why systems of domination exist ○ Acknowledgement of a transformative nature of DDR that exceeds the boundaries of DDR itself and reaches the broader spheres of society ○ Promotes a deliberate democratic approach to policy-making ○ Critical towards the inadequate distinguishment between different men and women ○ Lack of concreteness

Table 2: Main points of desirable DDR envisioned by the three feminist perspectives

2.6 The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo: its history in DDR

To explain and understand the Eastern Congolese conflict would be a thesis in itself. Therefore, solely a brief introduction to some historical highlights in the violent conflict in Eastern Congo will be given. To understand the current situation in Eastern Congo a retrospect to the roots of the conflict that lie during colonial times is required. After the DRC's declaration of independence in the 1960's Mobutu's corrupt regime showed that Congo was not ready to be an independent state. The lack of functioning state-structures made the DRC attractive to foreign manipulation and interference (Daniels, 2019; Eriksen, 2009). Further, the instability in neighbouring states fuelled the instability and unrest that had already shaped Congolese society. The Rwandese genocide in 1994 caused a migration of Rwanda's Hutus to East-Congo, which has since caused a divide of the Congolese population (Daniels, 2019). In 1997 Kabila, the former president of the DRC, signed a covenant with Rwanda to overthrow Mobutu's regime with the help of Rwandese and Ugandan foreign armed forces. In return the new president would hunt down all the Hutu refugees from Rwanda with the help of Rwandese and Ugandan armed forces. When the unpopularity of the foreign armed forces

started to undermine Kabila's authority, he distanced himself from his foreign allies and banished all foreign troops. As a counter action Uganda and Rwanda established new rebels groups with their Congolese allies in Eastern Congo to disrupt Congolese society and overthrow Kabila. Eventually, these impactful events contributed to the disruption of society with civil war as a result (Eriksen, 2009). Nowadays, over 130 non-state armed groups are active in north and south Kivu each fighting for their own purposes (Suluhu, 2019). See appendix II for a recent map of all the active non-state armed groups in Eastern Congo.

As a result of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and the Global Inclusive Agreement in 2002, the violent conflict was formally ended and a transitional government was formed in 2003 with Kabila as officially elected president (Conoir, 2012). A fundamental element of these agreements was the disarmament of Congolese combatants and their return to civilian life. Under the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) the National Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Program (NDDRP) was responsible for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of combatants and was considered the largest DDR program in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) and the sub-region of Central Africa.

The DRC's NDDRP was part of the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP), which was a regional program founded and funded by the World Bank to facilitate the return to civilian life of almost 350,000 ex-combatants in Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda (Alusala & Thusi, 2004; Conoir, 2012). The NDDRP was implemented over the period of 2004-2011 and was divided into two distinct phases with two separate DDR policies. The first period, from 2004-2007, covered the DDR I policy and was implemented by the National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (CONADER), which was a unit let by the Congolese government. The main issue of the first DDR policy (DDR I) was the complex political architecture of CONADER that caused inertia and slowness. When it became obvious that the DRC's DDR I policy under CONADER was barely operational, the second DDR (DDR II) was introduced by the end of 2007 (Conoir, 2012).

During this new DDR policy, which lasted from 2008-2011, CONADER was replaced by the Implementation Unit of the National Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Program (IU-NDDRP) and consisted only of a small number of professionals (Conoir, 2012). Besides the national actors involved, the overall political architecture also included the MDRP, the World Bank, the African Union, the African Development Bank, and multiple UN bodies. Under the MDRP the first DDR policy did not contain any specific gender projects,

but only contained set objectives on female ex-combatants. When UN gender studies revealed that the NDDRP failed to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate female combatants, the MDRP established the LEAP program during its second round of DDR. The LEAP program was a gender action plan that concentrated on studies and knowledge dissemination on gender in order to strengthen gender approaches in the DRC's DDR II policy. While the MDRP conducted and published some gender studies, the results were eventually not translated into practical approaches (World Bank, 2010).

To assure the final DDR III policy, established in 2014, would be more successful than its predecessors two main objectives have been prioritized by the international community. Since the DRC's DDR III falls under second generation DDR, as previously noted, a Community Violence Reduction (CVR) approach has been promoted. This approach was the first shift away from the earlier DDR strategy in the DRC that largely focussed on traditional military structures and entities on a national and regional level. The implementation of a CVR approach in the DRC's DDR III policy has instead concentrated on decreasing localized violence committed by non-structured and non-traditional armed forces. Eventually, this shift has aimed to reduce community based-violence and increase stability on a local level. Moreover, the CVR approach has served as a tool to fill the gap between the demobilization and reintegration phases with an increased focus on durable reintegration to make the livelihoods of former combatants more self-sustaining (UNPK, 2020).

Another essential requirement of the DDR III has been an increased availability of resources and a focus on target groups particularly vulnerable to recruitment in armed forces and groups. Vulnerable groups, including women associated with armed groups and armed forces, disabled and chronically ill former combatants, and Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups are meant to be taught life skills they can use whenever they are reintegrated into their communities (Tunda, 2016). A priority of this set objective has been the inclusion of women and their access to economic opportunities (UNPK, 2020). Precisely this shift of the DRC's DDR III policy towards a second generation DDR accompanied with its intensified focus on female ex-combatants, explains the focus of this thesis on the design and implementation of the DDR III policy.

Concluding, this chapter has shown how multiple gender discourses underlying different gender mainstreaming strategies result in different visions of ideal DDR. Based on this knowledge, this thesis will try to understand why gender mainstreaming in DDR, in the specific context of Eastern Congo, fails to be operationalized properly by studying how different visions of gender mainstreaming shape the DRC's DDR III policy. This thesis will

apply a gender lens to the DRC's DDR III that can empirically contribute to a better understanding of how different gender mainstreaming strategies inform the DRC's DDR III policy and how this may effect gender mainstreaming in DDR. Furthermore, this critical case-study is relevant for gender theory as it sheds new light on how different gender mainstreaming strategies relate and co-exist. A better understand of the co-existence of different mainstreaming strategies contributes to the knowledge gap of whether to understand this co-existence as either competing or complementary in policies.

Chapter 3: Methods and methodology

This chapter will outline the research strategy of this thesis in order to answer the central research question. The purpose of this study is to get insight into how different visions of gender mainstreaming shape the DRC's DDR III policy. In order to do so, this qualitative case study with an explorative character will conduct a critical frame analysis.

3.1 The research design

A case study approach

In order to answer the central research question a single case study approach will be used. Various scholars consider case study research as a methodology, or as a research strategy. Stake (2005), however, states that ‘a case study research is not a methodology but a choice of what is to be studied’. This thesis will follow Stake’s interpretation of case study research as a ‘choice of what is to be studied’. According to Creswell & Poth (2018) a case study research is selected in order to develop an in-depth understanding of a specific issue. In this thesis the specific issue is the failed operationalization of gender mainstreaming in DDR. The case of the DRC’s DDR III policy serves as a representative case. It hopes to reveal which different visions of gender mainstreaming underpin the DRC’s DDR III, how these affect gender mainstreaming in DDR, and what this knowledge eventually means for dealing with gender (in)equality.

The case of the DRC has been chosen for two main reasons. The narratives of the conflict in the DRC have presented the case as one of the most horrific and degrading conflicts. They focus on the illegal exploitation of natural resources, the continuing widespread violence, but most of all the sexual violence directed against women, girls, men, and boys (Auttesserre, 2012). The sexual and gender-based violence that is present in many ways, including rape, sexual slavery, and enforced prostitution, has for many defined the character of the DRC’s conflict (Baaz & Stern, 2010). That said, this thesis does not ignore the many other forms of violence that have occurred during this conflict, as the exclusive focus on sexual and gender-based violence could potentially even be harmful for its resolution (Eriksson Baaz, 2010). However, considering the nature of the issue of this thesis, the DRC’s gendered war story with its sexual and gender-based violence largely directed towards women and girls is one of the main reasons for choosing the particular case of the DRC.

It is precisely this dominant narrative that has depicted women and girls as victims that makes the case of the DRC so relevant to questions related to gender mainstreaming in peace-building. Regardless of the many female victims of sexual violence, many women are also perpetrators of violence. In the DRC women have long been represented in armed groups, whether forced or out of personal motivation. This case reflects the reality of women as combatants and their agency in the conflict (Baaz & Stern, 2010). Whether Congolese women have been victims of (sexual) violence in the DRC’s conflict, or whether they have actively operated as combatants, either way there are crucial stakeholder in a policy that affects them in one way or another.

An introduction into Critical Policy Analysis

The approach to this particular case study will be a critical policy analysis. Originally, critical policy studies were a response to the technocratic character of policymaking processes. This movement was initiated by critics who tried to challenge the alleged rational and neutral character of policymaking processes that has justified the voices of political experts only (Fischer, Torgerson, Durnova & Orsini, 2015). These critical responses hoped to create visibility for those things that seem ‘normal’ and are taken for granted. Their main critique was towards the traditional technocratic and positivist nature of policy making, which left no room for other voices, such as civil society voices. Critics have argued that policymaking processes are strongly interrelated with normative debates on social justice, citizenship, and democracy and are therefore anything but neutral (Fischer et al., 2015; Lister, 2008; Phillips, 2003; Yanow, 2000). Political understanding and awareness of those aspects that initially seem neutral will lead to more civil society participation and will promote democratization of policymaking processes (Fischer et al., 2015). As the gender (in)equality and its deriving concepts are strongly connected to these normative debates, as noted in chapter 2, a critical policy analysis is a suitable approach to answer the central research question of this thesis: *‘How do different visions of gender mainstreaming shape the Democratic Republic of Congo’s third disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration policy?’*.

Critical policy studies try to explore what policies mean based on the formulation of the identified policy problems (diagnoses) and the corresponding proposed solutions (prognoses). Essential in understanding policy processes are the context-specific meanings of actors/parties, which are determined by their culturally and historically constructed knowledge (Fischer et al., 2015; Yanow, 2000). Yanow (2000) demonstrates how the contextuality of actors/parties involved in policy processes is not limited to their geographic location. Instead, contextuality involves a variety of dimensions, such as profession, gender, sexuality, race, or organizational structure, that construct beliefs, values, normative assumption, interests, feelings, and eventually knowledge. ‘An interpretive approach to policy analysis, then, is one that focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, or beliefs they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and “read” by various audiences’ (Yanow, 2000, p. 11).

In other words, critical policy studies hope to understand the contextual constructed knowledge of actors/parties which shape and determine a policymaking process. In short, a critical policy study aims to analyse and understand two aspects of a policy process . First, it

tries to understand how a policy is presented and what underlying meanings it reveals. Second, it hopes to visualize which actors have been involved during the policy making processes, and to what processes, power dynamics, and mechanisms these actors have been subjected (Beveridge et al., 2011). This thesis will be concerned with the first aspect of critical policy analysis.

A frequently used approach in studying the first aspect of a critical policy study is a critical frame analysis (Fischer et al., 2015; Verloo & Lombardo, 2000; Yanow, 2000). Verloo and Lombardo (2007) explain that to discover the distinctions between the interpretations of highly abstract and contested concepts that often form the foundation of political debates critical frame analysis can be very useful. The frames underlying policies construct subjected realities of particular complex issues, such as gender (in)equality, that contribute to the comprehensiveness and concreteness of complex policy issues. In the context of gender equality policies Verloo and the QUING consortium (2007; 2011) demonstrate that how actors present policy issues and what they consider as suitable solutions can be studied according to clusters. Each cluster is considered a policy frame as it manifests certain characteristics that belong to certain interpretations of the contested concepts of gender (in)equality and gender mainstreaming. The MAGEEQ and QUING projects serve as useful examples of critical frame analyses of gender policies, since both projects shed light on the diverse policy frames and implementation problems of gender mainstreaming policies in Europe by conducting a critical frame analysis (Verloo, 2007; QUING consortium & Verloo, 2011).

As addressed in the beginning of this chapter, this thesis deals with the first aspect of a critical policy design and tries to understand how different frames of gender mainstreaming shape the DRC's DDR III policy. In order to answer the central research question: 'How do different visions of gender mainstreaming shape the DRC's DDR III policy?' this thesis will conduct a critical frame analysis as explained by Verloo and Lombardo (2007). The three central feminist perspectives underlying the different gender mainstreaming strategies of *inclusion*, *reversal*, and *displacement* will form the main frames of the analysis that help to categorize and interpret which different visions of gender mainstreaming inform the DRC's DDR III and how these shape the final policy outcome. I will further elaborate on this in section 3.3.

3.2. Data generation

Language as data, whether textual or verbal, is key in this study. Speech and writing about the social world constructs discourses that allow people to give meaning to the social world and make sense of it (Yanow, 2015b). While this thesis will not conduct a detailed discourse analysis, it strongly builds on language, both spoken and written. Hence, a small introduction into the meaning and value of language might be useful.

Inglis & Thorpe (2018) explain how Saussure argued that language is made up of a collection of words that are put together in a particular way according to specific rules so they become meaningful. Consequently, language is a structured system in ways that are not immediately discernible. Language consists of signifiers which are either the written or phonetic expression of a certain concept. The signified is then the specific meaning given to the signifier or the specific concept. These structures become language when the meaning (signified) given to certain concepts (signifiers) is shared by a social group (Inglis & Thorpe, 2018). For this thesis, this understanding of signifiers and the signified is useful as political debates are often centred around these abstract concepts, including political debates around gender (in)equality. Analysing language allows a researcher to uncover the hidden meanings of these signifiers (Yanow, 2015b).

A discourse creates a framework according to which people see and perceive the world. They engage in normalizing judgement. In other words, they create people's subjective reality and determine what is considered 'normal'. The social world is created by different languages. Each language constructs a reality in its own way that is shared by the people who speak the same language. Therefore, a discourse expressed through language is never about objectivity as it creates a subjective reality for those who share a specific discourse expressed by the same language. By analysing the national gender mainstreaming vision according to the three central streams in feminism, this thesis will give insight into what is considered normal in regard to gender (in)equality and hierarchies and how gender equality should be reached by those actors who have had a voice in the policy-process of the DDR III (Inglis & Thorpe, 2018).

To answer the four sub-questions, language, in the form of textual data, is used to understand how different feminist frames underlying different visions of gender mainstreaming have shaped the DRC's DDR III policy. Yanow (2015b) explains that in understanding a policy making process a diversity of textual sources, including policy documents, official hearing, websites, and music, is required. Using diverse sources in policy studies help to reflect how the interaction between politicians and the civil society in policy

making has shaped policies. However, since my interest lies in analysing the dominant visions of gender mainstreaming in the final policy outcome of these interactive policy making processes, the formal text of the DRC's DDR III policy will be the main data source of this thesis..

The main policy document of the DDR III is the 'Global Plan on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR III) in the DRC', which will be used as the main textual source. This document is the elaboration on 'the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region', which was signed by the most prominent actors involved in the DRC's DDR III (Democratic Republic of Congo's Department of National Defence and Veterans Affairs [DRC DNAC], 2014). Hence, the document gives insight into the dominant gender mainstreaming strategies and the underlying gender discourses. A more detailed introduction to the central policy document used for this thesis will be given in chapter 4.

3.3 Data analysis

This section is concerned with the analysis of the gathered data. The first paragraphs discuss the coding process of the DRC's DDR III policy document. The second part of this section is devoted with the actual analysis of the applied codes.

Coding

This thesis will largely use a deductive way of coding to analyse the generated data. A deductive way of coding allows the researcher to analyse the data from a pre-designed template of codes derived from the central research question and the theoretical framework. This template of codes, in the form of a coding scheme or codebook, serves as a means to organise and analyse the data from a previously determined perspective (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In their research Fereday & Muir-Cochrane the codes present in the coding schemes were created according to the name of the label or category, the definition of this label or category, and a description of how to know when the category occurs.

To understand the nature and effects of different visions of gender mainstreaming in the DRC's DDR III policy and shed light on how these different gender mainstreaming strategies relate, this study will draw on the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2. The analysis of the four sub-questions will be conducted with the use of the coding program ATLAS.ti. The presented findings in chapter 4 and 5 are the results of a pre-established

methodological framework. This framework consists of a coding phase and an categorization phase. During the coding phase a pre-designed code scheme, as presented in appendix III, was central. The applied codes of pre-designed code scheme were then categorized and analysed according to several designed tables and figures. The code scheme, together with the deriving tables and figures, serve as a methodological framework that sheds new light on how to study gender mainstreaming in DDR policies. The following paragraphs will elaborate on this methodological framework.

The pre-designed codes in appendix IX, which are explained by the code scheme in appendix III, each consist of four code elements. One of the four code elements represents the different policy-dimensions. This particular code element represents either the *diagnosis and roles* dimension, or the *prognosis and roles* dimension, or the *voices* dimension. The MAGEEQ and QUING project created a list of ‘sensitizing questions’ for and definitions of the diagnosis and prognosis policy dimensions according to which policy documents can be analysed (Verloo, 2007; QUING consortium & Verloo, 2011). Next to the theory in chapter 2, these sensitizing questions, presented in Appendix X, have assisted in defining this particular code element of the pre-established codes.

The theoretical framework in chapter 2 has shown how the voices dimension of a policy reflects those actors who participated in the policy-processes of formulation, implementation, and evaluation. As noted before, an important remark on this policy dimension is the fact those codes that contain a *voices* code element only reveal results on the intended approach to the policy processes as stipulated in the DRC’s DDR III central policy document. Whether these results correspond with the voices that have truly been heard remains to be questioned.

All the sections in the central policy document devoted to the three phases of *disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration* will be analysed according to the two policy dimensions and the corresponding roles, and the attribution of voices. The same will be done with the remaining *general sections* of the policy document, which do not specifically focus on either disarmament, or demobilization, or reintegration. A combination of the three phases of the DDR policy and the general sections will explain a second element of the pre-established codes.

The type of gender mainstreaming strategy - which could be *inclusion, reversal, or displacement* - identified in the diagnosis and prognosis dimension of the sections on disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and the general sections reflects one of the three

central feminist schools of thought. Therefore, a third element of the pre-established codes are the three gender mainstreaming strategies of *inclusion*, *reversal*, and *displacement*.

The fourth element of the pre-established codes is concerned with the *implicit* or *explicit* manifestations of the different visions of gender mainstreaming in the central policy document. Some policies and policy documents might explicitly express certain characteristics that match one or multiple mainstreaming strategies. This is often the case for policies and policy documents that directly target the issue of gender (in)equality and mainstreaming. However, some policies and policy documents, including the DDR III, do not always directly focus on the issues of gender (in)equality, and only contain a latent gender dimension. The latent characteristics that match the three mainstreaming strategies and underlying feminist perspectives are then often implicitly manifested. These gender mainstreaming characteristics are often reflected by the formulation of the policy issues (diagnoses) and the proposed solutions (prognoses) (Verloo, 2007; QUING consortium & Verloo, 2011).

The methodology used to be able to identify the implicit variants of the feminist frames has built upon the methodology of the QUING project (QUING consortium & Verloo, 2011). Nonetheless, this thesis has taken the operationalization of this methodology to a higher level by creating a ready-to-use methodological framework that allows researchers and policy-maker to study gender mainstreaming in policies. The manifestations of implicit feminist frames seem gender neutral at first sight, however when taking a closer look, they resonate with one of the visions of gender mainstreaming as promoted by the three feminist schools of thought. Although these implicit frames do not directly explicate gender in the DRC's DDR III policy, during the actual analysis it was possible to identify these implicit manifestations of gender and link them to the implicit variants of the three feminist frames.

This explains the *implicit* or *explicit* dimension of the codes that contain the elements of either *inclusion* or *reversal*. The codes that contain a *displacement* element do not contain an *implicit* or *explicit* element. This is because the nature of the displacement mainstreaming strategy already lacks concreteness and specificity and is therefore rarely explicit (Beveridge et al., 2011; Squires, 2005). Nor do the codes that contain a *voices* element contain an implicit or explicit element.

In short, the pre-established codes will include an element that focusses on the *implicit* or *explicit* expression of the gender mainstreaming strategies, an element that categorizes the manifested characteristics of the mainstreaming strategies of *inclusion*, *reversal*, or *displacement*, an element that determines whether the preceding elements were present in the

disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, or general sections of the policy document, and an element that captures the policy dimension *diagnosis and roles, prognosis and roles, or voices in process*. As a result, for instance, the code ‘*explicit inclusion diagnosis and roles disarmament*’ was established. Table 3 demonstrates the definition and description of this specific code, which is based on the pre-established code scheme in appendix III.

Label	Definition	Description
Explicit inclusion diagnosis and roles disarmament	<p>The document describes in the sections on disarmament how the current situation differs from an ideal situation and what has led to the current situation.</p> <p>Further it describes which social groups are responsible for the problem, and which social groups are affected by the problem, framed from an explicit liberal feminist frame.</p>	<p>The diagnosis and the attribution of roles in the sections on disarmament framed from an explicit liberal feminist frame reveal an explicit gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion.</p> <p>In this case women’s broader exclusion, caused by general unequal gender hierarchies. Further, the document argues that both men and women are victims and perpetrators of violence.</p> <p>This code will be applied when a problem is identified that reflects the broader issue of gender inequality without specifically focussing on women’s extreme marginalized position. The document focusses on causalities that reflect broader unequal gender hierarchies, without explicitly ‘blaming’ male domination and hypermasculinity. Furthermore, the document explicitly emphasizes the different roles of men and women.</p>

Table 3: Example code according to the code scheme

Although appendix III presents the entire pre-established code scheme with detailed definitions and descriptions that form the foundation of all the pre-established codes, the labels in this appendix lack the code element of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and the general sections. This was done in order to make the definitions and descriptions in the code scheme applicable for all the pre-established codes as presented in appendix IX. In other words, the code scheme with the detailed definitions and descriptions in appendix III is applied to all the pre-established codes in appendix IX that contain a disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, or general section element. All the pre-established codes in appendix IX were added manually in the coding program ATLAS ti.

Furthermore, apart from the pre-established codes that will lead the analysis of the document, a few open codes were added along the process of the policy analysis. These open codes cover the sections and quotes that either cannot be explained by the pre-established codes because they reveal distinct visions of gender mainstreaming in DDR that exceed the boundaries of the three central feminist frames, or they present knowledge that was not directly discussed in the theoretical framework and is therefore not covered by the different code elements of the pre-established codes. Appendix XI gives an overview of all the used open codes in ATLAS ti. These open codes, will in turn be under divided into either the pre-determined feminist frames or into new frames.

Analysis

After the central policy document is coded, the next step of this analysis is the categorization of the applied codes. To tackle the central knowledge gap of this thesis, its theoretical objective is to study if and how the different gender mainstreaming strategies co-exist and influence each other. Although this is relevant for feminist analytical frameworks and political interventions, it also contributes empirically to the debate on failed operationalization of gender mainstreaming in DDR. This knowledge helps to understand the nature and effects of different visions of gender mainstreaming in the DRC's DDR III policy, which is relevant to the country's post conflict dynamics. This theoretical empirical objectives requires a systematic approach to the interpretation of the results.

The individual elements of each code serve as the foundation to analyse the results of the applied codes. The analysis distinguishes between the different sections on the *disarmament* phase, the *demobilization* phase, the *reintegration* phase, and the *general sections*. Subsequently, the analysis of these different sections is again sub-divided in the three policy-dimensions of diagnosis, prognosis, and voices. How the policy document formulates the policy issue(s), what sort of solutions it proposes, and how it stipulates the attributes of voices to actors in the different phases of DDR mirror characteristics of the different visions of gender mainstreaming. Accordingly, the identified strategies of gender mainstreaming, both in their implicit and explicit variant, in the different policy dimensions of the different phases of DDR are then linked to the three feminist perspectives/frames that have different ideas of what ideal gender mainstreaming in the DDR III looks like. Therefore, *Liberal*, *radical*, and *deconstructive* feminism, both in their implicit and explicit variant, form the main categories/frames to organise the results found. Figure 1 provides an overview of how the applied codes have been categorized and analysed, while table 4 gives a quick

visualization of how the different codes are eventually linked to dominant frames that underpin the DRC’s DDR III policy. This systematic methodological framework has provided the proper tools to study and compare the gender mainstreaming strategies that inform the DRC’s DDR III policy in the different policy-dimensions of the sections on the DDR phases and how these co-exist.

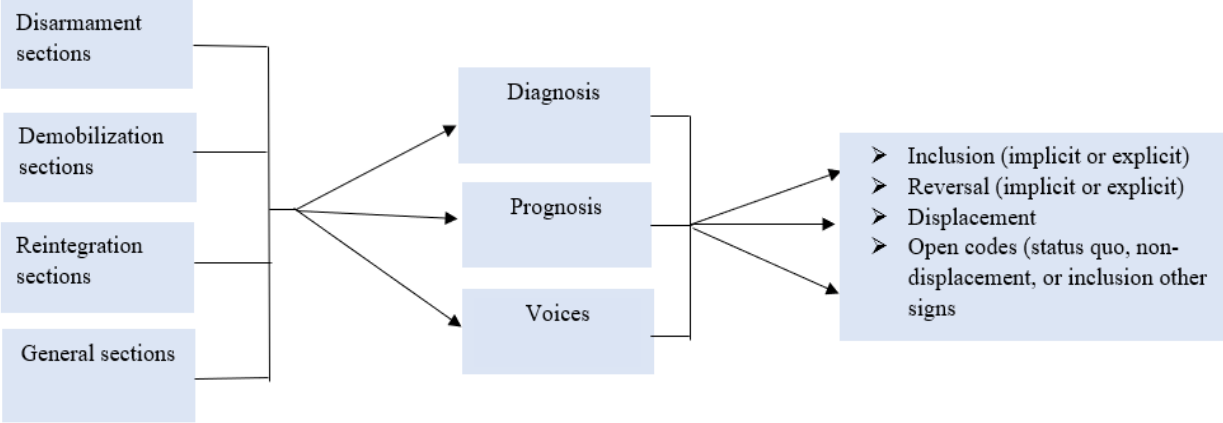


Figure 1: Overview of the analysis of the applied codes

Frames	Corresponding code elements
Liberal feminist frame	
➤ <i>Explicit variant</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Explicit inclusion ○ Inclusion voices ○ Inclusion signs
➤ <i>Implicit variant</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Implicit inclusion
Radical feminist frame	
➤ <i>Explicit variant</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Explicit reversal ○ Reversal voices
➤ <i>Implicit variant</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Implicit reversal
Deconstructive Feminist frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Displacement ○ Displacement voices ○ Non-displacement
Gender insensitive frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Status quo

Table 4: Visualization of main frames and their corresponding code elements

As a result of the applied open codes that contain a code element of *status quo*, table 4 reveals that an additional frame was constructed during the process of the analysis. This frame

is labelled as the *gender insensitive frame* and represents the general common critique on gender insensitive DDR as presented in chapter 2 of this thesis. Table 5 presents the main issues of gender insensitive DDR based this common critique that form the foundation of the gender insensitive frame. It is important to take into account that this frame does not represent the common critiques of the different feminist frames on one another, and on their corresponding normative visions of gender mainstreaming. Although the open codes in appendix XI do not contain all the code elements of the pre-established codes, these code are organised and analysed in a similar way.

Frame	Main points of common critique on gender insensitive DDR
Gender insensitive Frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The restricted interpretation of a ‘combatant’ ○ The eligibility criteria as a result of this restricted interpretation of a ‘combatant’, including ‘one gun, one man’ ○ The insufficient consideration of women’s stigmatization in DDR

Table 5: Conceptualization of the gender insensitive frame

One important additional remark has to be made on the prior established code scheme. The code scheme in appendix III is based on the three central streams within feminism and their corresponding gender mainstreaming strategies. This thesis presents the three key perspectives of feminism and their corresponding gender mainstreaming strategies as rather exclusive in order to define the limits of the frames that reflect the values of the three central streams within feminism. Nonetheless, there are other gender scholars who believe in the complementary nature of the different gender mainstreaming strategies and, hence, would position themselves somewhere in between (Squires, 2005).

3.4 Methodological reflections and reflexivity

although I am convinced that this thesis contributes to a better understanding of why gender mainstreaming fails to be operationalized in DDR and what this means for the knowledge gap on the co-existence of different visions of gender mainstreaming, this study contains some potential pitfalls too. As noted in chapter 3.1, critical policy studies generally consist of two aspects. Firstly, these studies try to discover the hidden meanings of the abstract and contested terms that form the foundation of policy making. Secondly, they explore how processes, power dynamics, and mechanism have shaped the eventual policy outcome. The need to go one step further than just understanding the interpretations and meanings of a policy frame

comes from Habermas' approach to critical theory (Fisher et al., 2015). He argues that understanding the subjective interpretation of a policy frame is an essential point of departure for a critical policy analysis. It is, however, equally important to understand the power dynamics within a context that shape these interpretations and subjective policy frames (Fisher et al., 2015). Understanding who, how, and when one has a voice in the process of a policy design allows insight into the power relationships between those included and excluded. Arguably, those who are more powerful have stronger voices in political debates. Accordingly, these power hierarchies shape the way a policy is envisioned, since it often represents the interests and values of dominant voices (Bochel et al., 2007; Fisher et al., 2015). Further, the plurality of gender equality agendas held by the different actors involved can be determined by the type of mechanisms and processes the policy document has been subjected to (Squires, 2005). Hence, it crucial to understand the roles, power hierarchies, and mechanisms that have shaped the gender mainstreaming vision(s) in the DDR III.

Despite the initial intentions to fulfil both aspects of a critical policy analysis, unfortunately, I have not been able realise this latter aspect after all. Given that I was highly dependent on interviews with actors who were specifically involved in the policy making process of the 'Global Plan on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration in the DRC', the fact that I have not been able to get in contact with those people within the set time limitations made it impossible for me to carry out this second aspect. Appendix XII present the first draft of the data generation and data analysis of the initial second part of this critical policy analysis and appendix XIII contains the pre-designed interview guide. Perhaps these drafts may be of use for those who acknowledge the value to complete this critical policy analysis on gender sensitivity in the DRC's DDR III policy by conducting the second aspect of the analysis.

Further, in my choice of what was important to study and how to analyse and interpret this, I was influenced by my own position in this debate. From this personal position my priority is to raise awareness of gender equality and women's rights, with a focus on (post)conflict areas where women's marginalized social positions are especially problematic. Despite the intentions of the international community to acknowledge women's rights and to improve gender equality, I believe that there remains a lack of gender sensitivity in broader political matters and debates. Women's voices continue to be neglected in the fields of peace and security and there are little opportunities for them to participate in political debates that matter for women's own social status. The fact that women continue to be deprived from the right to have a voice reflects bigger structures of gender inequality worldwide. I believe that involving women in political debates can ensure their participation in and access to other

societal spheres. Moreover, from my perspective I think that ignoring women's voices undermines the initiatives especially designed to improve their rights and social position.

The fact that this thesis relies on the knowledge and realities that match the three key feminist perspectives stems from my own position in this debate. Considering that the knowledge and realities of feminism strongly match my own subjective reality and values, it is not surprising that these ontologies and epistemologies form the foundation of my research. Evidently, I am aware that next to the perspectives promoted by the three feminist streams, many other perspectives on gender (in)equality and gender mainstreaming exist. There are feminists that position themselves somewhere in between the presented epistemologies, while other feminists have promoted diverse and innovative perspectives that are independent from these central streams (Beveridge et al., 2000; Dietz, 2003; Goldstein, 2001; Hesse-Biber, 2011; Sjoberg, 2010; Sprague, 2005). Further, there might be other scholars who have suggested diverse or similar perspectives on gender (in)equality but, do not label themselves as feminists. Finally, more essentialist and traditional perspectives on gender (in)equality, gender mainstreaming, and DDR exist too. Presumably, from distinct perspectives the central policy document might reveal different knowledge. Therefore, those who will read this thesis should be aware of my own subjectivity in this debate.

Finally, it is important to point out that I am aware of the relatively small empirical data base used in this thesis. Nonetheless, I believe that for an highly abstract and complex issue such as gender inequality, a thorough analysis was more important than large amounts of data and sources. Hence, the strengths of this thesis should be searched in different qualitative research aspects. I have mainly invested in theorization of relevant gender theory and in methodological contributions in order to move beyond the common and evident critique of insufficient gender mainstreaming in peace-building, as presented by many qualitative research on the same topic. This thorough and transparent study has mainly resulted in a high level of validity and reliability, increasing the relevance of this thesis in gender and peace-building research.

Chapter 4: The results of the critical frame analysis

In this chapter the results of the policy analysis will be discussed. After an introduction to the central policy document the results of the critical frame analysis will be presented. The results of the different sections of the policy document are presented according to the three phases of DDR and the general sections. Within the analysis of the sections on disarmament, the sections on demobilization, the sections of reintegration, and general sections, the results are sub-divided again according to the diagnosis-prognosis format and the attribution of voices. As previously noted, the diagnosis dimension of a policy (document) focusses on the identification and elaboration of a problem or issue, and on those actors directly responsible or affected by it. The prognosis dimension generally looks at solutions and calls for action as a response to the identified diagnosis. Further, this dimension contains a vision of a certain target group and those affected by the proposed solution. The attribution of voices forms the third sub-division. This dimension explains the *intended* vision on which actors have been and should be involved in the processes of formulation, implementation, and evaluation of the DDR III as *stipulated* by the policy document. In this case the policy document then contains a vision on those actors who, for instance, might have a voice in identifying issues, in suggesting suitable solutions, or they might be responsible for the implementation of the DDR III. I would like to emphasize once more that the voices dimension is based on the intended vision as stipulated by the policy and might therefore differ from those voices that have actually heard in reality. These subchapters will form the different paragraphs and sub-paragraphs of this chapter. The following figure, which is similar to figure 1 in chapter 3.3, will give a visualisation of the presentation of the results.

Subsequently, as visualized in table 4, the different identified visions of gender mainstreaming, based on the applied codes, are linked to one of the three feminist frames of liberalism, radicalism, and deconstructivism, or to the gender insensitive frame. As previously noted, the common critique on gender insensitive DDR presented in chapter 1 and 2 forms the foundation of the gender insensitive frame.

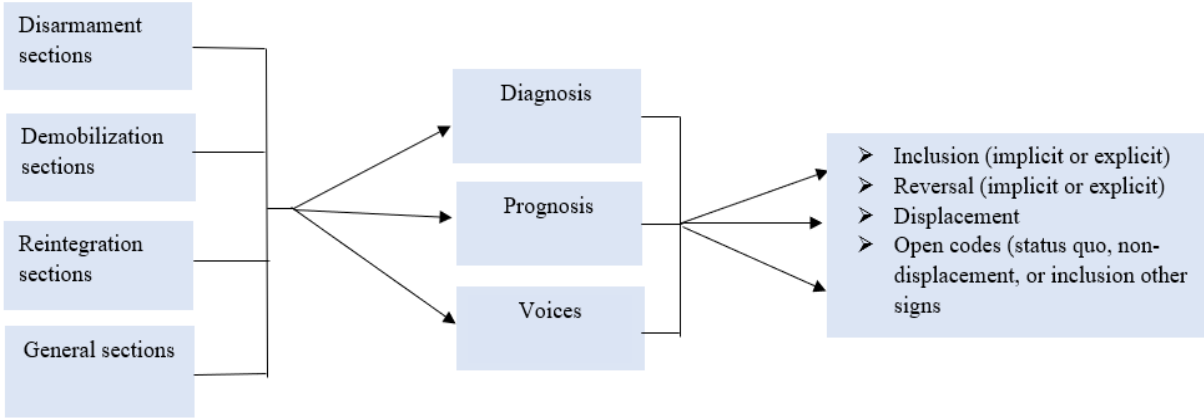


Figure 2: Visualisation of the presentation of the results

4.1 An introduction to the central policy document

The central policy document analysed in this thesis is the Global Plan on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR III) in the DRC. As previously noted, as soon as it was obvious that both DDR I and DDR II did not achieve the expected results, the DDR III policy was initiated. As a response to the recurrent conflict in Eastern DRC, the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region was signed in February 2013. The framework is supposed to reflect a shared vision for tackling the causes of the violent conflict and was signed by the international community, governments and leaders of the region, and the Congolese government. The same actors form the most prominent actors involved in the DRC’s DDR III too (United Nations Great Lakes, 2014).

The Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework can be considered the foundation of the Global Plan on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR III) in the DRC. In this Framework Agreement the Congolese government, through the IU- NDDRP, agreed to cooperate with the international community to develop a third round of DDR. As a result of the agreement to cooperate, the IU-NDDRP, together with the assistance of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission on the Democratic Republic of Congo

(MONUSCO) and World Bank experts, presented the Global Plan on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR III) in 2014 (The World Bank, 2015).

The final result is a document with 54 pages on DDR published by the Department of National Defence and Veterans Affairs. The policy document is organised according to nine main topics, multiple sub-topics, and annexes. The first five chapters serve as introduction sections of the actual DDR strategy. They are concerned with background information on the DRC's conflict, the justification of the DDR III strategy, the central principles of this third round of DDR, and finally the estimated target beneficiaries. These first five chapters of the policy document largely form the 'general sections' of the analysis. Following these general sections, the table of contents presents chapter 6 as 'the programming of DDR III', while in the document itself this appears to be chapter 7. In other words, chapter 6 does not exist.

Chapter 7 presents a general programming approach and gives an introduction into the main activities and program components of the DDR III strategy. Accordingly, it gives a detailed description of how disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration should be organised and to what end. The exact content of these three phases will be specified in the following sections on the results of the analysis. The policy document's subchapter on reintegration contains an element on the specific activities for vulnerable groups, which includes support for female ex-combatants. Crucially, this is the only explicit reference to the gender dimension of the DDR III that is immediately noticeable in the table of contents, making the analysis of implicit gender mainstreaming strategies in the document all the more essential. The content of these three phases will be specified in the following sections on the results of the analysis.

After a detailed overview of the actual programming, the document elaborates on the important topic of institutional arrangements and program implementation, is the eighth chapter of the policy document. This chapter lacks specificity as it takes up only one page of the entire document and contains no further sub-sections. The final chapter presents the program management, which is divided into monitoring and evaluation, and finance and the financial management system. These final two chapters contain a vision on which actors have been or should be involved in the processes of formulation, implementation, and evaluation as stipulated by the document. Presumably, the dimension of voices is becomes most relevant here.

The remaining pages of the policy document exist of annexes that give further information and details of the main text. These annexes are devoted to the mapping of armed groups, financial aspects, and additional information on the strategy of reintegration and

reconciliation. Although these final pages consist of annexes only, they present crucial detailed information on the main text. All 54 pages of the document were analysed in-depth, including these annexes.

The general principle is that this document is meant to function as a guide for local implementation of DDR activities. Even more important is that this central policy document of the DDR III, because of its considerable backing of the international community, ‘will set the stage for wide initiatives, such as the UN-backed Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, the International Stabilization Plan for the Eastern DRC, and the broader Security Sector Reform in the Country (Democratic Republic of Congo’s Department of National Defence and Veterans Affairs, 2014, p. 7). In other words, it will not only serve as a guide for local implementations of DDR activities, but it is also considered the foundation for other peace-building initiatives in eastern DRC. This explains its crucial value in post conflict dynamics of Eastern DRC.

4.2 Disarmament

The disarmament phase forms the first element of DDR programs and policies. Generally, the sections on the disarmament phase in the policy document of the DRC’s DDR III focus on the recovering of weapons in circulation. Various eligibility verification criteria are addressed that determine who is allowed to participate in the disarmament phase. Finally, the main stakeholders in this phase, including their specific voices, are presented. The following three sections will discuss the gender components of the policy document sections devoted to the disarmament phase.

Diagnosis in disarmament

As shown in figure 3, in the sections on disarmament seven references to the diagnosis dimension were found. In general, the central diagnosis is the presence of active ‘armed combatants’ and deriving issues such as ‘poor security conditions, presented from diverse perspectives on gender mainstreaming. In short, the document contains references that reveal an implicit gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion by consistently using gender-neutral terms, such as ‘combatants’, that do not address women or men explicitly. At the same time, by using ‘fighters’ as a synonym for ‘combatants’ to refer to those responsible for the issues, a gender insensitive touch is given to the diagnosis dimension of disarmament that seemed gender neutral at first sight. Finally, one reference to an explicit gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion was uncovered. The following paragraphs will discuss these different visions of gender mainstreaming in detail.

In the disarmament sections of the policy document five references were found that reveal manifestations of an implicit strategy of inclusion in the framing of the diagnosis dimension. This implies that the framing of the diagnoses in the disarmament sections implicitly reflect the values of liberal feminists at large. They believe that women and men have equal rationalistic, intellectual, and physical capacities. The identified issues focus on ‘*ex-combatants from structured armed groups*’ (p. 15), ‘*ex-combatants from various unstructured armed groups*’ (p. 15), and the poor ‘*security conditions*’ (p. 14). These presented issues show a gender neutral nature because of various reasons.

A gender neutral nature means that at first sight no explicit reference is made to either men or women. The broad issue of ex-combatants does not explicitly distinguish between men and women, which means that ex-combatants can include female and male combatants. This example might show that both men and women can be victims and perpetrators of violence. As discussed earlier, liberal feminists argue that women have the capacity to fulfil similar responsibilities and roles as men. The acknowledgement of women’s similar agency in war compared to men, hence, matches the perspective of liberal feminism. Further, the issue of the existing security conditions is a general issue too that can be equally problematic for Congolese men and women. None of the diagnoses can be linked directly to gendered causalities that reflect broader societal structures of gender inequality. Together these aspects could reveal that a gender neutral approach to the DDR III was incorporated.

However, what is striking is the cooccurrence of the dominant implicit gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion code and the status quo code in the diagnosis dimension of the sections on disarmament. Despite the explicit liberal feminist frame that acknowledges the agency of female and male combatants by explicitly including ‘*lone/isolated soldiers (men and women)*’ (p.15), the document refers to the issue of ‘*fighters*’ (p. 14-15) only. As previously noted, the term ‘fighter’ has a highly gendered nature that often excludes those responsible for diverse roles. Consequently, this traditional perspective on DDR can result in the maintenance of status quo of women’s exclusion from DDR.

That said, returning to the elaboration on the dominant implicit liberal feminist frame in the diagnosis dimension of the sections on the disarmament phase, one should take into account that the majority of the presented diagnosis do not explicitly mention the irrelevance of gender differences by acknowledging the agency of male and female combatants. The lack of a gender dimension in these specific diagnosis could, hence, also reveal gender insensitivity in the disarmament phase of the DRC’s DDR III. This opposing meaning of the

implicit inclusion code should not be ruled out especially considering its cooccurrence with the status quo code that reflects signs of gender insensitivity.

In the sections on demobilization a more explicit manifestation of the term ‘fighter’ occurs, hence, the results in demobilization will discuss the gendered nature of the term ‘fighter’ in more detail.

Show codes in group Diagnosis in disarmament					
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by	
Displacement diagnosis and roles disarmament~	0	0	[Diagnosis in disarmament] [Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament se	frede	
Explicit inclusion diagnosis and roles disarmament~	1	0	[Diagnosis in disarmament] [Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament se	frede	
Explicit reversal diagnosis and roles disarmament~	0	0	[Diagnosis in disarmament] [Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament se	frede	
Implicit inclusion diagnosis and roles disarmame...~	5	0	[Diagnosis in disarmament] [Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament se	frede	
Implicit reversal diagnosis and roles disarmament~	0	0	[Diagnosis in disarmament] [Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament se	frede	
Status quo diagnosis and roles disarmament	1	0	[Diagnosis in disarmament] [Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament se	frede	

Figure 3: ATLAS ti results of the diagnosis dimension in the sections on disarmament

Prognoses in disarmament

The prognosis dimension of the disarmament phase is based on the aim to disarm all armed groups and to ensure proper processing of the recovered weapons. To achieve this objective the document presents a table that forms the foundation on how to disarm combatants. Within this table multiple activities and eligibility criteria are presented that serve as solutions on how to achieve this aim, framed from diverse perspectives on gender mainstreaming. Generally, the prognosis dimension of disarmament reveals a gender insensitive approach to gender mainstreaming at large by holding on to the traditional interpretation of ‘combatants’ and deriving eligibility criteria such as ‘one weapon, one man’. While the prognosis dimension of disarmament contains some references to an implicit strategy of inclusion by presenting gender neutral objectives such as the ‘recovering of weapons’ that targets both female and male combatants at first sight, the gender insensitive frame undermines the gender neutral character of these objectives. The following paragraphs will elaborate on all the different uncovered visions of gender mainstreaming.

When looking at figure 4, the grounded column shows that, combined, the codes representing an implicit and explicit gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion combined were applied four times. At first glance this means that the prognoses in the disarmament sections mainly reflect a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion that matches the central values of liberal feminism. Similar capacities and agency and, therefore, equal treatment of men and women are central to this stream of feminism. So is the hope to achieve gender-neutrality that equalizes women and men. The proposed solution in the section on

'Disarmament' aims to achieve general outcomes, such as the '*re-establishment of security conditions*' (p. 14) and the objective to '*recover weapons in circulation*' (p. 14). These desired outcomes are assumed to be equally desirable for men and women and can, hence, be considered gender neutral. Further, the proposed solution to implement 'disarmament' shows a gender neutral nature too. Generally, the section does not elaborate on who is considered a '*fighter*' or an '*ex-combatant*'. This could mean that the proposed solution to implement disarmament is directed towards men and women, considering that both could be in possession of weapons.

As explained in the previous section on the results of the diagnosis dimension in disarmament, the sections on disarmament contain a quote that explicitly points towards a strategy of inclusion, which is the quote '*for lone/isolated soldiers (men and women)*' (p. 15). The aim to target male and female soldiers reflects a certain level of gender-neutrality that assumes both men and women to be perpetrators of violence and suggests equal treatment. However, it is important to be aware that only one explicit reference is made towards the inclusion of both men and women. The majority of the applied codes reflects an implicit strategy of inclusion in which no explicit reference is made to either men or women. Considering that the status quo code occurs more often than the implicit inclusion code in the prognosis dimension of the disarmament phase, this gender neutrality could also imply a less gender sensitive approach,

Figure 4 shows that the code that represents a status quo frame occurs more frequently in the prognosis dimension of the disarmament phase than the code representing an implicit strategy of inclusion. In spite of its attempt to promote equal treatment of men and women, the elaboration on the verification of disarmament shows the opposite. The document explains that the compliance ratio to be eligible for disarmament is '*one fighter one weapon*' (p. 15). To be included in disarmament soldiers have to be able to prove that they were members of an armed group by demonstrating their weapon.

Common critique in the literature on DDR has shown that women are often excluded from DDR, because of their involvement in supportive roles (Mazurana & Cole, 2013). Those women responsible for supportive tasks in armed groups often do not possess weapons and are, hence, unable to demonstrate a gun in order to be eligible for the program. The document mentions that '*in some cases, particularly those of ex-combatants without weapons, the commission may have to assess and decide on the basis of.*' (p. 15). Accordingly, multiple requirements are mentioned, including '*the verification of military concepts from the candidate*' and '*proof of belonging to an identified armed group*' (p.15). However, the

hesitant formulation of this remark implies this might be more of an exception than a normal occurrence. This can be gauged based on the carefully selected words that were used, such as ‘*in some cases*’ and ‘*may have to assess*’. Even if one would assume that the extra effort to increase the eligibility of disarmament occurs on a regular basis, an important question would be what other proof ex-combatants could bring besides a gun. Although, both men and women could be deprived of disarmament, mainly women will end up being excluded as a result of the restricted meanings of the terms ‘fighters’ and ‘combatant’.

An important remark regarding the codes that reflect an implicit strategy of inclusion is to be aware that these codes were applied to all the sections and sentences that do not explicitly focus on or distinguish between men and women. Consequently, the implicit strategy of inclusion clearly is the most common strategy uncovered in all the sections of the policy document containing a diagnosis or prognosis dimension. For this reason it will not be discussed in detail in all the following sections of this chapter.

Similar reasoning as explained in the diagnoses and prognoses of the sections on the disarmament phase is used throughout the document. Furthermore, it would be impossible to question every general reference to ‘ex-combatant’ in the policy document. Therefore, in general, this thesis will adopt the broader definition of the term combatant, which means every person associated with armed forces and groups. Solely more explicit typologies, such as the term ‘fighter’, that could reveal a restricted meaning of the term ‘combatant’ will be discussed. This key finding of a traditional interpretation of the term ‘combatant’ will return in the concluding chapter 5.

Finally, the code representing an implicit strategy of reversal has been applied once in the sections of the policy document on the prognoses in disarmament. The table explains that in some cases, ‘*particularly those of ex-combatants without weapons*’ (p. 15), additional steps should be undertaken to determine eligibility for entry. Regardless that this proposed activity of the prognosis does not explicitly refer to women’s roles in this solution, hidden traits of a gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal can be uncovered when taking a closer look. Considering the previous discoveries of the gendered nature of the terms ‘fighter’ and ‘combatant’ and the literature on women’s common exclusion from disarmament, these additional steps to determine one’s entry could be perceived as a response to this common critique and an attempt to avoid this from happening. The identification of an implicit mainstreaming strategy of reversal is based on the fact that the radical feminist school of thought underlying a strategy of reversal concentrates on women’s marginalized positions and promotes positive actions that favour women.

Show codes in group Prognosis in disarmament					
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by	
Displacement prognosis and roles disarmament~	0	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Progn	frede	
Explicit inclusion prognosis and roles disarmame...~	1	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Progn	frede	
Explicit reversal prognosis and roles disarmament~	0	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Progn	frede	
Implicit inclusion prognosis and roles disarmam...~	3	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Progn	frede	
Implicit reversal prognosis and roles disarmament~	1	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Progn	frede	
Status quo prognosis and roles disarmament~	6	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [open	frede	

Figure 4: ATLAS ti results of the prognosis dimension in the sections on disarmament

Voices in disarmament

The sections on the disarmament phase in policy document stipulate an intended vision on who should be involved in the process of implementation of the DDR III policy. The attribution of voices stipulated in the disarmament phase clearly reflects a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion as it refers to governmental actors and policy experts only. The following paragraphs will elaborate on this.

Figure 5 reveals that a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion which aims for a technocratic approach to the implementation of the disarmament phase is present. These sections explicitly mention that ‘*disarmament will take place at the Disarmament Center located in eastern DRC which is already operational and will be managed by FARDC/MONUSCO*’ (p. 14). The armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC) are the state’s military forces. As the FARDC belongs to the ministry of defence, this actor is highly governmental.

The technocratic approach to the disarmament phase is further confirmed by other references made to the ‘*government*’ (p. 15) and ‘*other specialized services of the government*’ (p. 15). Furthermore, MONUSCO is also still an international policy expert in peace and security. The main document gives no further elaboration on the cooperation of these actors with other on a civil society level. As previously noted, central in a technocratic

Show codes in group Voices in disarmament					
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by	
Inclusion voices disarmament~	3	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Voices	frede	
Displacement voices disarmament~	0	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Voices	frede	
Reversal voices disarmament~	0	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in disarmament sections of the DDR III] [Voices	frede	

Figure 5: ATLAS ti results on voices in disarmament

approach is the attribution of roles and voices to (gender) policy experts and bureaucrats in order to assure policy and program effectiveness. Despite the fact that the document does not explicitly include gender experts, the FARDC and MONUSCO are governmental and

international DDR policy experts. Given that the strategy of inclusion corresponds with the values of liberal feminism, the disarmament process matches a liberal feminist frame closest.

4.3 Demobilization

The demobilization phase is successive to the disarmament phase and forms the second element of DDR. The sections devoted to the demobilization phase of the DDR III policy document are centred around the aim to return combatants to civilian status. The sections focus on lessons learned in previous DDR policies and programs, such as better budgeting for transportation or better planning for lengths of time at the demobilization centres. Further, they explain that the demobilization phase consists of verification, biometric identification, profiling, medial screening, and the issuance of demobilization cards. Accordingly, these activities are explained in more detail, including the specific locations of the demobilization centres and the attribution of voices and roles of actors in the main activities. In the following paragraphs the gendered components of the sections on demobilization will be addressed.

Diagnoses in demobilization

The main issue of the demobilization phase is largely centred around the membership of combatants of armed groups, however, presented from different visions of gender mainstreaming. The presentation of this diagnosis dimension reveals a dominant mainstreaming strategy of inclusion by referring to the responsible gender neutral ‘combatants’ in general. In turn, the gender insensitive vision on gender mainstreaming co-exists with the strategy of inclusion, as a result of the previously discussed ambiguous nature of the term ‘fighter’. Furthermore, in the sections on demobilization a possible reference to a mainstreaming strategy of displacement might be uncovered, since the main carriers of the central issue are ‘children associated with armed groups and armed forces’. The following paragraphs will discuss the strategy of displacement in more detail.

The section ‘note on the process for receiving children’ (p. 17) provides an example of what a diagnosis in demobilization framed from a gender mainstreaming strategy of displacement would look like. The framing of this diagnosis matches a strategy of displacement reflecting the values of deconstructive feminism. From a perspective of deconstructive feminism it is believed that gender is not a concept on its own, but rather engages in diverse intersecting power hierarchies that allow significance to the power hierarchy of gender. Its mainstreaming strategy pursues a transformative agenda challenging

higher societal structures of inequality, rather than sticking to the limits of particular spheres of society or public domains.

The issues forwarded in this section are ‘*child/children associated with armed forces of armed groups*’ (p. 17) and the issue that ‘*children are often used for purposes other than direct participation in hostilities*’ (p. 17). These issues are not just presented as something statistical, but rather as a consequence of a broader source of inequality, caused by an intersecting power hierarchy of age. The fact that the formulation of the diagnosis portrays children as easy targets who are regularly used by armed groups for particular purposes, mirrors the extreme poor social status of children in the broader society. It is precisely their vulnerable social position that makes them particularly vulnerable to recruitment by armed forces.

From a perspective of deconstructive feminism gender always engages in diverse intersecting power hierarchies, including age. In the context of this particular diagnosis, the power hierarchy of age might be especially oppressing for girls considering the poor social status of women and femininities. This example shows how various systems of oppression reinforce one another. However, since the system of oppression linked to age does not explicitly intersect with gender in this quote, it is questionable whether the poor position of children was reinforced by gender. In other words, the document does not distinguish between boys and girls in this case. This doubt explains the applied code of non-displacement.

Show codes in group Diagnosis in demobilization					
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by	
● Displacement diagnosis and roles demobilization~	1	0	[Diagnosis in demobilization] [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization]	frede	
● Explicit inclusion diagnosis and roles demobiliza...~	0	0	[Diagnosis in demobilization] [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization]	frede	
● Implicit inclusion diagnosis and roles demobiliza...~	5	0	[Diagnosis in demobilization] [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization]	frede	
● Implicit reversal diagnosis and roles demobilizat...~	0	0	[Diagnosis in demobilization] [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization]	frede	
○ Non displacement diagnosis and roles demobiliza...	1	0	[Diagnosis in demobilization]	frede	
● Status quo diagnosis and roles demobilization~	1	0	[Diagnosis in demobilization] [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization]	frede	

Figure 6: ATLAS ti results of in the sections on diagnosis in the sections on demobilization

Prognoses in demobilization

The prognosis dimension of the demobilization phase is centred around the main solution to demobilize all members of armed groups and return them to civilian status. On the basis of this main objective different eligibility criteria and activities are presented from different perspectives on gender mainstreaming. The implicit strategy of inclusion is once more dominant as the documents presents a gender neutral target group of ‘candidates’ and ‘members of armed groups’, and ‘participants’ at large. The presence of a gender

mainstreaming strategy of inclusion is enforced by multiple manifestations of an explicit mainstreaming strategy to include separate facilities for different target groups of ‘men, women and children’. Nonetheless, the gender insensitive mainstreaming strategy reoccurs once more by referring to the target group as ‘fighters’, which undermines the supposed gender neutrality of the implicit gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion. The following paragraphs will elaborate on these diverse visions.

As discussed in the previous section, figure 7 shows that the results of the diagnosis dimension of the demobilization phase possibly reveal a deconstructive feminist perspective in the section ‘note on the process for receiving children’ (p. 17). This was based on the formulation of children as members of armed groups and thus jointly responsible for the poor security conditions. Nonetheless, the prognosis, or proposed solution, related to this specific diagnosis did not show characteristics of deconstructive feminism in which the transformation of intersecting unequal societal structures in the broader spheres of society is essential. This explains the applied non-displacement code.

The proposed solution to the issue is ‘*to begin demobilizing and reintegrating children as soon as possible*’ (p. 17). This solution contains no transformative nature, since it does not focus on challenging the existing societal structures that maintain the poor social status of children. Instead, the solution remains within the boundaries of the demobilization program and is directly focused on the demobilization and reintegration of children into society as it is. This undermines the presence of the vague presence of a strategy of displacement in the diagnosis dimension of demobilization. Due to the lack of a transformative nature, applying the code that represents a strategy of displacement in the prognosis of demobilization did not seem relevant.

The explicit reference to include ‘*both boys and girls*’ (p. 17) in the proposed solution points towards equal treatment and similar programs in order to equalize men, women, boys, and girls. The explicit emphasis to include boys and girls recognizes that both have agency in the armed conflict and, thus, girls and boys should be targeted by the proposed solution. Thus, an explicit strategy of inclusion that reflects the values of liberal feminism would be more applicable.

In addition to this manifestation, figure 7 reveals that an explicit strategy of inclusion reoccurs in two other sections on the demobilization phase. The section under the title ‘*lessons learned in previous DDR programs*’ (p. 9) emphasizes the need to ‘*allow for separate facilities for men, women, and children, and that they have the necessary resources to ensure that they remain functional to receive and process all ex-combatants throughout the process*’

(p. 9). Furthermore, under the section ‘verification’ (p. 16), that is concerned with screening and registering ex-combatants in the demobilization phase and to prepare them for reintegration, it is claimed that those responsible for screening and registering should ‘gather background information on the candidate, in order to design a reintegration process to suit his/her needs’ (p. 16) and should ‘learn which armed group/force he/she belongs to’ (p. 16). Both objectives explicitly target men and women. The emphasis to include both men and women in the demobilization phase reflects the importance of equal treatment and similar programs and, accordingly, acknowledges the agency of both men and women in war. This matches the values and notions of liberal feminism.

The values of radical feminism and the strategy of reversal centred around the acknowledgement of women’s marginalized position and the valorisation of feminine traits in order to empower their social status can also be discovered in demobilization, both explicitly and implicitly. The proposed solution under the title ‘medical and psycho-social screening’ (p. 17) is that ‘separate facilities will be made available for the medical and psycho-social check-up/screening of women’ (p. 17). This quote explicitly acknowledges women’s different needs regarding medical and psycho-social assistance. The proposed solution of special medical treatment exclusively directed towards women’s special needs most likely aims to favour and empower women’s poor position in this particular situation.

In the section on ‘family support grant’ (p. 18-19) more implicit manifestations of a gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal can be identified. The policy document proposes that ‘ex-combatants require a transitional safety net to cover their families’ basic needs’ (p. 18) in order to challenge the poor financial position of ex-combatants. Although the proposed solution does not explicitly distinguish between assumed roles of women and men in the conflict, and therefore could reveal an implicit strategy of inclusion aiming for gender neutrality, implicit traits of a strategy of reversal can be uncovered when taking a closer look.

Taking into account previous discoveries of the gendered nature of the terms ‘fighters’ and ‘ex-combatants’ and the literature on women’s common supportive roles, one could also assume that the explicit reference to combatant’s families has been an attempt to not completely exclude women from all the benefits of the program. As discussed previously, from a radical feminist perspective women’s oppressed position in violent conflict is the result of their expected traditional roles as care takers of the family. The objective to include the combatant’s family could reveal an implicit strategy of reversal that acknowledges women’s unique roles and seeks to promote positive actions that favour women in DDR. Nevertheless,

the document does not explicitly mention this objective, hence, this argumentation serves only as an example of how a single piece of textual language may be interpreted.

Despite the previous discoveries of radical feminism hoping to empower the marginalized position of women, the sections on the prognoses of the demobilization phase manifest gender insensitivity too. The section on the introduction of demobilization includes the following quote: ‘*demobilization involves the return of fighters to civilian status*’ (p. 15) and serves as an example of the blurry line between an implicit strategy of inclusion and the status quo of gender insensitivity. At first sight, the proposed solution of demobilization reflects a liberal feminist perspective based on gender neutrality, because it speaks of ‘*fighters*’ in general. Regardless that both men and women can be fighters, the solution still excludes many others who are associated with armed groups in distinct ways, as explained earlier in the results on disarmament. The critique on the restricted meaning of the term ‘fighter’ become relevant in demobilization too.

Show codes in group Prognosis in demobilization				
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by
Displacement prognosis and roles demobilization~	0	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Proq	frede
Explicit inclusion prognosis and roles demobiliza...~	3	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Proq	frede
Explicit reversal prognosis and roles demobilizat...~	1	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Proq	frede
Implicit inclusion prognosis and roles demobiliz...~	7	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Proq	frede
Implicit reversal prognosis and roles demobilizat...~	1	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Proq	frede
Non displacement prognosis and roles demobiliz...	1	0	[Prognosis in demobilization]	frede
Status quo prognosis and roles demobilization~	2	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [ope	frede

Figure 7: ATLAS ti results of the prognosis dimension in the sections on demobilization

Voices in demobilization

Within the sections on demobilization phase the document stipulates an intended technocratic vision on the voices dimension as it mainly refers to governmental actors and policy-experts that have been involved in the formulation process and should be involved in the implementation process. The following paragraphs will discuss this finding in more detail.

The references made to the attribution of voices in the demobilization phase again reveal a technocratic approach to the implementation process that matches the values of liberal feminism with a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion. The technocratic nature of the strategy of inclusion prioritizes effectiveness and expertise by policy actors and bureaucrats. The first section of the demobilization phase demonstrates that the ‘*UEPNDDR will transport disarmed ex-combatants to one of the three existing demobilization centers where the demobilization process is conducted by the UEPNDDR via implementing partners*’

(p. 15) and that ‘the location of demobilization centers has been decided by the government’ (p. 16). These quotes show that concrete implementation tasks are solely assigned to government actors and the Unité d’Exécution du Programme National de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration (UEPNDDR), similar to the IU-NDDRP, which consists of governmental and international policy experts. Further, latter quote reveals how the document stipulates that the government was allowed to have a voice in the formulation process by deciding the locations of the demobilization centres.

Figure 8 shows that besides these two quotes there were two references identified that could imply a more diverse variety of actors and stakeholders. Under the section concerned with the ‘note on the process of receiving children’ (p. 17) all CAAFG will be released to the determined ‘CAAFG program agency and child protection agencies’ (p. 17). Further, it is argued that the profiling of ex-combatants is the responsibility of ‘the staff of the DDR program’ (p. 16). Nevertheless, an elaboration on which agencies and actors belong to these

Show codes in group Voices in demobilization					
Name	▲	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by
◊ Displacement voices and roles demobilization~			0	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Voic	frede
◊ Inclusion voices and roles demobilization~		■	2	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Voic	frede
◊ Reversal voices and roles demobilization~			0	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Voic	frede
◊ Non displacement voices and roles demobilization		■	2	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in demobilization sections of the DDR III] [Voic	frede

CAAFG program agencies, child protection agencies, and DDR staff cannot be found anywhere in the document. Since the first two quotes on the voices in demobilization involve an concrete vision on how governmental and policy experts have been and should be involved, it remains questionable whether this final quote actually refers to a diverse groups of actors that includes civil society actors.

4.4 Reintegration

Figure 8: ATLAS ti results of voices in the sections on demobilization

Reintegration is the final element of DDR. In the DRC’s DDR III policy document the sections devoted to the reintegration phase first focus on pre-reintegration activities in Reintegration Preparation Centers (RPC). In the RPC ex-combatants will receive training on life skills, including human rights, conflict resolution and entrepreneurship. After the first six months these ex-combatants will continue to community rehabilitation work. In this phase ex-combatants are returned to their communities for settlement and to initiate their reintegration

period. After a year in their communities of origin the socio-economic reintegration starts. This phase is centred around job creation and capacity building in order to make ex-combatants self-sufficient again. The following paragraphs will discuss the gender dimension of the sections in the central policy document devoted to the reintegration phase. Considering that the reintegration phase discusses in the policy document is the only phase that contains an separate gender dimension, it is not surprising that the sections on reintegration contain the most explicit references.

Diagnoses in reintegration

Since the diagnosis dimension of the reintegration phase includes multiple issues divided under different sections on reintegration, it is not possible to identify one central issue on this phase. The following paragraphs will discuss the different issues, responsible groups, and main carriers. The results reveal highly diverse gender mainstreaming strategies present in the reintegration phase. The implicit gender mainstreaming strategy is again dominant because the document refers to gender neutral issues such as ‘trauma’s’, ‘little schooling’, and ‘vulnerable financial positions’. Further, it frequently refers to a gender neutral groups of ‘combatants’ as those both responsible for these issues and the main carriers of these issues. Furthermore, the implicit strategy of reversal was rather dominant too since multiple reference to issues including ‘stigmatization’ and ‘trauma’ are made that implicitly depict women as main carriers of these problems. The following sections will elaborate on these dominant mainstreaming strategies, as well as on other uncovered visions of gender mainstreaming.

As shown in figure 9, the sections of the policy document devoted on reintegration show a variety of gender mainstreaming strategies. The code that represents a strategy of displacement in the diagnoses of reintegration was applied twice. This strategy matches the values of deconstructive feminists who believe that the issue of gender inequality as a consequence of diverse higher societal structures of inequality. The first reference was identified in the reintegration section on ‘support to chronically ill and disabled ex-combatants’ (p. 23). The quote that reflects this strategy argues that *‘many ex-combatants will be suffering from disability, chronic illness or substance addiction and might not be able to fit into the mainstream program’* (p. 23). Further, it is argued that *‘untreated wounded, sick and disabled ex-combatants may constitute the most violent and difficult groups within a post-conflict situation and will also face more difficulties in becoming self-sufficient and productive’* (p. 23).

The issue presented is not just presented as something statistical. Rather the sentence explains the difficulties that these vulnerable groups face in society and shows that the issue is

deeply rooted in societal structures. The quote shows that the intersecting power hierarchies of chronic illness and disability have caused a system of oppression that is not only disadvantageous for chronically ill and disabled people in DDR, but also in the wider spheres of a post-conflict society.

The second quote that reveals manifestations of a strategy of displacement and deconstructive feminism was identified in the section on ‘Lessons learned in previous DDR programs’ (p. 9). The lesson learned explained that *‘specialized programs for disabled ex-combatants are essential, otherwise they will either continue to resist demobilization from formal military structures or continue to live with their disability untreated, never properly reintegrating into their communities’* (p. 9). A similar argumentation for this quote applies. The carriers of the problem are chronically ill and disabled ex-combatants. Their illnesses and disabilities reflect a particular intersecting system of oppression because those conditions have caused their marginalized position in society. Further, the formulation of the word groups *‘formal military structures’* and *‘continue to live’* explain that the military structures that have shaped society are vital for their continuous poor social status. The focus on how and why certain systems of domination are maintained and how this translates into societal consequences matches the values of deconstructive feminism.

A gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal has reoccurred several times in the sections on reintegration, both explicitly and implicitly. The strategy of reversal perceives a policy from a radical feminist perspective in which the acknowledgement of women’s unique experiences comes with the acknowledgement of their specific needs and interests. The unique experiences of women are often the result of their poor social status, which explains the objective of radical feminists to empower women. In the section ‘Lessons learned in previous DDR programs’ (p. 9-10), special attention for women is considered as crucial. The text explains that *‘parallel programs for women are paramount, because DDR experiences through all the MDRP countries have shown that the criteria for categorizing women ex-combatants are limited and regardless, women ex-combatants, for a variety of reasons associated with stigma, do not present themselves for inclusion’* (p. 9). This quote explicitly depicts women as carriers of the problem of the limited opportunities for women to be included in reintegration programs. Although the diagnosis does not directly assign causalities to male norms, literature has shown that, because of traditional gender assumptions and hypermasculinity in (post)conflict societies and the broader sector of peace and security, women have long been excluded from DDR (Farr, 2003, Mazurana & Cole, 2013, Theidon, 2009). Emphasizing and recognizing the unequal treatment of women and the desire to improve their marginalized status by positive actions closely match radical feminism.

Crucially, these specific sections of the reintegration phase are the only sections where the document explicitly spells out the significance of a separate focus on women that reveals a radical feminist perspective. The rest of the phases largely leave gender unaddressed, with a few exceptions of manifestations of the explicit liberal feminist frame and the radical feminist frame. Since the document is so explicit here to include a gender approach, it undermines the gender neutrality of the dominant implicit liberal feminist frame that leaves gender completely unaddressed in the majority of the sections.

The perspective of radical feminism also manifests itself in an implicit way in the sections on reintegration, especially in relation to gender-based and sexual violence. The same section on ‘Lessons learned in previous DDR programs’ (p. 9-10) mentions that greater consideration and inclusion of psychosocial programs is needed to treat war trauma’s in general. After a general introduction of the overall problem of war trauma’s the section explains that ‘*there needs to be specific psychosocial treatment components for both child and women survivors, particularly those with traumas related to gender-based and sexual violence*’ (p. 10).

The presented issue of trauma’s as a result of gender-based and sexual violence particularly linked to women and children is highly gendered. The quote does not explicitly mention that gender-based and sexual violence does not target men too, nor that only men are responsible for the violence. Nevertheless, the quote links gender-based and sexual violence to women and children only and refers to them as ‘*survivors*’. Presumably, this means that the issue is considered in particular problematic for women and children. Despite that the diagnosis does not explicitly refer to causalities, such as male norms or patriarchy, the formulation of the diagnosis implies that women are considered the victims of the violence and men the perpetrators. Consequently, more implicit manifestations of the values of radical feminism can be discovered.

Moreover, in the reintegration phase various references were made to the stigmatization of ex-combatants in general. In earlier sections of the policy document, though, the issue of stigmatization has only been linked explicitly to women and children. Hence, one could carefully assume that the policy document considers the issues linked to stigmatization mainly problematic for women and children. While male norms and patriarchal structures are not directly mentioned as causalities, the fact that women particularly face stigmatization is often the result of reproduced traditional roles women are assumed to fulfil (Mazurana & cole, 2013; NOREF, 2016). The radical focus on women’s marginalized positions, which in this

case is facing stigmatization during reintegration, and the desire to empower them reflects a strategy of reversal matching the values of radical feminism.







Show codes in group Diagnosis in reintegration					
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by	
● ◊ Displacement diagnosis and roles reintegration~		2	0	[Diagnosis in reintegration] [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sec	frede
● ◊ Explicit inclusion diagnosis and roles reintegration~		0	0	[Diagnosis in reintegration] [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sec	frede
● ◊ Explicit reversal diagnosis and roles reintegration~		3	0	[Diagnosis in reintegration] [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sec	frede
● ◊ Implicit inclusion diagnosis and roles reintegration~		12	0	[Diagnosis in reintegration] [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sec	frede
● ◊ Implicit reversal diagnosis and roles reintegration~		6	0	[Diagnosis in reintegration] [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sec	frede
○ ◊ Non displacement diagnosis and roles reintegration		1	0	[Diagnosis in reintegration] [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sec	frede

Figure 9: ATLAS ti results of diagnosis dimension in the sections on reintegration

Prognoses in reintegration

Similar to the diagnoses dimension of the reintegration phase, within the prognosis dimension many different solutions are proposed that target different groups. It is therefore not possible to present a central solution of the reintegration phase. The prognosis dimension of the reintegration reveals a strong diversity of gender mainstreaming strategies. Once more the implicit strategy of inclusion is dominant. Apart from this strategy, the strategy of displacement presents itself multiple times by providing solutions that exceed the boundaries of DDR itself. Finally, the prognosis dimension of the reintegration phase, together with its diagnosis dimension, are the only times where the explicit strategy of reversal is so dominant. Separate solutions to target female combatants are proposed and their marginalized position in DDR and the conflict is emphasized. The following paragraphs will discuss these dominant mainstreaming strategies and other discovered strategies in detail.

The strategy of displacement that matches the values of deconstructive feminism, centred around the transformation of broader intersecting societal structures of inequality, exposes itself various times in concrete ways in the sections on the prognoses in reintegration. As I am bound by the scope of this thesis, only a few of these explicit manifestations will be addressed. Various sections explain that the core activities of reintegration are concerned with trainings, including *‘peace, reconciliation and conflict resolution training; human rights training; relevant and targeted life skills training; and health awareness training’* (p. 18). Further, in order to build social cohesion and reconciliation community-based support is given, which includes *‘activities for the promotion of gender; seminars and workshops on peaceful coexistence; and development, revitalization and/or rehabilitation of structures for community education for literacy and civic education’* (p. 52). All of these proposed solutions have a highly transformative nature.

As explained by Verloo (2005b), solutions connected to human rights and democracy are often reflections of a desire for transformation. Teaching ex-combatants about peace, human rights, gender, education, and entrepreneurship strongly relate to these values and can result in a reconstruction of existing societal structures. These solutions might challenge various systems of oppression, including gender, age, ethnicity, and disability, and could possibly lead to a more equal and peaceful society. The activities have a transformative nature, because they are not limited to reintegration programs only, rather they focus on the wider structures in the social, cultural, and economic spheres of society. This strongly matches the values of deconstructive feminism.

Another explicit manifestation of deconstructive feminism was discovered in the section on ‘support to children associated with armed forces and groups’ (p. 22). The prognosis demonstrates that ‘*support activities will take into account the child’s age, gender, individual resilience, capacity to make informed decisions, and the range of opportunities in an environment*’ (p. 22). Age is an important intersecting power hierarchy in deconstructive feminism, as noted in chapter 2.2. The radical focus on children mirrors the oppressed and unequal position of children in the DRC. The intersectionality of age, in turn, intersects with various other systems of oppression, including class, ability, and even explicitly gender. Moreover, the proposed solutions have a transformative nature, as they hope to challenge and improve the existing societal structures. This is based on the set objectives, such as ‘*the development of networks and community protection mechanism*’ (p. 22) and ‘*the establishment of the legal framework for protection*’ (p. 22) that require a change in the roots of Congolese society. The proposed solutions closely match the solutions of a strategy of displacement, because they aim to change the poor position of children in the wider society.

The discussed manifestations match the essential values of a strategy of displacement and deconstructive feminism, while in other similar manifestations certain characteristics are missing. This was for instance the case in the section on ‘socio-economic reintegration’ (p. 19). The DDR III reintegration component tries to link ex-combatants to host community members in order to improve reconciliation and sustainable reintegration. The section tries to empower children by including vulnerably children from the host community in this reconciliation measure. That the document tries to deal with the intersecting power system of age by empowering vulnerable children might point towards a strategy of displacement. This ‘*sustainable reintegration*’ (p. 19), however, shows certain aspects that could disprove the transformative characteristic of this particular prognosis.

Although ex-combatants will receive valuable transformative trainings on human rights, gender and conflict resolution, as discussed in the beginning of this sub section on the results of prognosis in reintegration, the document does not refer to host community members receiving similar trainings. This makes it seem as if the document holds ex-combatants accountable for transferring their gained knowledge of equal and peaceful societies and the reconstruction of systems of inequality to their respective community. This impossible task disproves the potential transformative nature of the solution, because in the end ex-combatants are reintegrated into the current situation as it is.

Besides the strategy of displacement, figure 10 shows that the strategy of reversal representing the values of radical feminism reoccurs multiple times in the sections on reintegration too, mostly in an explicit way. As discussed in the results of the diagnosis dimension of the reintegration phase, the section devoted to ‘lessons learned in previous DDR programs’ (p. 9-10) reveals the gendered diagnosis of women’s exclusion from DDR due to stigmatization. The corresponding prognosis to this particular issue was framed from an explicit strategy of reversal as well, and serves as an example to illustrate what a prognosis in reintegration looks like framed from an explicit strategy of reversal.

The solution proposed is the introduction of ‘*parallel programs for women*’ (p. 9) in order to improve their position and participation in reintegration. This solution directly targets a gendered issue carried specifically by women, namely the exclusion of women from reintegration due to fear of stigmatization. Despite that the earlier identified diagnosis does not explicitly blame male norms and patriarchal structures, the literature in chapter 2 has shown that women continue to be excluded from DDR due to the highly masculine dominated fields of peace and security that reproduce traditional gender assumptions and power structures that continue to ignore women’s agency in conflict and work against their participation (Willet, 2010). Further, the issue of stigmatization is highly gendered because of expected traditional gender roles that mainly affect women (Mazurana & cole, 2013; NOREF, 2016). Thus, the proposed solution hopes to tackle highly gendered causalities in order to improve women’s marginalized positions in DDR.

The strategy of reversal reflecting the values of radical feminism only manifests itself in more implicit ways. As discussed earlier in the section on diagnosis in reintegration, the issue of gender-based and sexual violence was identified in the policy document under the section on ‘reconciliation and trust building’ (p. 51-52). As a response to this issue the prognosis is to ‘*make sure that the dignity and safety of victims, especially survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, is respected*’ (p. 51). Since the document earlier reflected that

mainly women and children were victims of sexual and gender-based violence, it is likely that this proposed solution mainly refers to women and children again. The acknowledgement of women’s often vulnerable and victimized position closely matches radical feminism as does the desire to empower them and improve their marginalized position in reintegration and in the wider spheres of society. In turn, this example of a manifestation that reflects an implicit strategy of reversal lacks an essential value of radical feminism. The objective to revalue women’s embodiments that come with their unique experiences is missing.

In the sections on the prognoses in reintegration the code of an explicit strategy of inclusion was only applied two times. An example of a quote reflecting this explicit strategy of inclusion was identified under the special section devoted to ‘support to female ex-combatants’ (p. 21). The quote states that ‘*all training and benefit made available to men will be offered to women*’ (p. 21). The emphasis on a gender balance in the provided trainings and benefits for both male and female ex-combatants highly matches a liberal feminist perspective, as it strongly reflects a desire to equalize men and women and offer equal access to opportunities and rights.







Show codes in group Prognosis in reintegration					
Name	▲	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by
● Displacement prognosis and roles reintegration~			10	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Progn
● Explicit inclusion prognosis and roles reintegration~			1	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Progn
● Explicit reversal prognosis and roles reintegration~			10	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Progn
● Implicit inclusion prognosis and roles reintegrati...~			17	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Progn
● Implicit reversal prognosis and roles reintegration~			4	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Progn
○ non displacement prognosis and roles reintegrat...~			1	0	[Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Progn

Figure 10: ATLAS ti results on the prognosis dimension in the sections on reintegration

Voices in reintegration

In contradiction to the attribution of voices in the sections on disarmament and demobilization, the sections devoted to reintegration stipulate a more intended deliberate democratic vision on the implementation process. However, which actors are meant by this ‘diverse group of actors’ and how they get to participate in the implementation process remains very vague. Controversy, the sections especially devoted to gender mainstreaming in reintegration reveal a technocratic approach to the envisioned implementation process. The following paragraphs will discuss these main findings.

Deconstructive feminists have promoted a deliberate democratic approach to policy processes in which a diverse multi-layered network of politicians, bureaucrats, academics, and civil society actors closely cooperate. In multiple sections references are made to ‘*involve a*

broad participation of different stakeholders in the process (p. 20). Amongst other actors, ‘national and international NGO’s’ (p. 20), ‘civil society organizations’ (p. 17, 24, 52), and ‘special public services’ (p. 20) are mentioned various times in these sections. The policy document now and then elaborates how these diverse actors are included in the implementation process. For example it is argued that *‘the DDR Advisory Committee is comprised of: UEPNDDR, UN Agencies, donor representatives, national and international NGOs, and civil society. Its role will be to coordinate and provide guidance on the activities’* (p. 24). Nevertheless, how these diverse actors should be involved remains too vague and abstract to conclude whether these actors actually have a voice in the DDR policy program.

A more interesting quote reflecting a deliberate democratic approach to the implementation process is the quote that explains that *‘a training of trainers’ sessions will be conducted prior to commencement of training at the community level including training participants who are leaders of key community groups across diverse segments of the populations, youth, women, and ex-combatant focal points’* (p. 52). Furthermore, the section mentions that *‘the programme will use traditional institutions, local government structures, and collaborate with existing Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)’* (p. 52). The emphasis on a cooperation between trainers who represent diverse segments of the population, including youth and women, government actors and other local and national institutions is the first reference that reveals a highly deliberate democratic approach to the implementation process of the DDR III in which rather concrete roles are assigned. The requirement that diverse interests and issues should be heard matches the ideas of deconstructive feminism.

On the other hand, however, when focussing explicitly on women and gender a highly technocratic approach to implementation can be uncovered in the reintegration phase. Under

Show codes in group Voices in reintegration					
Name	▲	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by
○ Displacement voices and roles reintegration~			5	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Voices	frede
○ Inclusion voices and roles reintegration~			2	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Voices	frede
○ Reversal voices and roles reintegration~			0	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in reintegration sections of the DDR III] [Voices	frede

Figure 11: ATLAS ti results on voices in the sections on reintegration
the section ‘support to female ex-combatants’ (p. 21) it is argued that *‘UEPNDDR officers will be trained to work with female ex-combatants’* (p. 21). Further, the section explains that *‘specialized medical practitioners and caregivers will be made available to work with women’* (p. 21). Women’s movements, civil society actors, or NGO’s are nowhere mentioned in relation to the support to female ex-combatants. Fully relying on experts, such as the IU-NDDRP and specialized medical practitioners and caregivers, suits the ideas of a gender

mainstreaming strategy of inclusion and liberal feminism in which policy effectiveness is believed to be essential.

4.5 General sections

Besides the sections of the policy document that are directly concerned with the disarmament, the demobilization, or the reintegration phase, several other sections yet need to be discussed. These sections will be called the general sections of the central policy document and generally serve as an introduction to the three phases of the DDR III policy in the DRC. These sections first discuss some background information on the conflict in the DRC. Further, they address the justification for a third round of DDR in the DRC in which the main reasons for the DDR III are put forth. Finally, the central principles of the DDR III policy and its main objectives are discussed. The gender components of the general sections will be analysed in-depth in the final sub sections on the results of this analysis.

Diagnoses in the general sections

The diagnosis dimension of the general sections discusses different overall issues of the conflict such as ‘the instability of civilians communities and socio-economic structures’, and in particular women ‘facing, rape, and displacement’. These sections also address issues directly linked to DDR in the DRC specific, including ‘a poor climate trust regarding the DDR program’. In turn, the implicit strategy of inclusion was identified as dominant based on gender neutral issues that do not distinguish between men and women, such as the poor balance of earlier DDR between the support given to former combatants and the assistance to the entire community. Furthermore, these sections of the document contain an explicit and implicit reference to a gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal by depicting women as main victims of the conflict. Finally, a strategy of displacement was uncovered as a result of the focus on ‘the wider conflict affected population’ that form the main carriers of the conflict and exceeds the boundaries of DDR. The following paragraphs will elaborate on these findings.

The framing of the diagnoses in other general sections reveal an implicit and explicit strategy of reversal that corresponds with the thoughts of radical feminists, as shown in figure 12. Despite the fact that only one of the many diagnoses in the general sections of the policy document is framed from an explicit strategy of reversal, it occurs in the very first section of the policy document that contains a diagnosis dimension. The identified issue explains that

‘Thousands of people have been displaced, leaving their homes and livelihoods behind, a process through which vulnerable groups such as women and children suffer the most’ (p. 5) and *‘the conflict has had a particularly worrisome impact on vulnerable groups such as women who are paying the highest price, facing violence, rape, and displacement as a day-to-day reality’ (p. 5)*. Assumingly, this diagnosis is framed from a radical feminist perspective, because it acknowledges the unique and oppressed experiences of women in wartime as a result of their distinct embodiments that differentiate them from men and their assumed traditional roles as care takers. The diagnosis implies that mainly women are victimized and considered as carriers of the problems that come with the violent conflict. In turn, it depicts men as responsible for the atrocities and violence. From this perspective women’s specific forms of embodiment actually affect their responsibilities and agency.

The same section continues with the quote that *‘meanwhile the perpetrators of these indescribable crimes have remained largely unpunished’ (p. 5)*. This quote refers to perpetrators in general without explicitly mentioning men as responsible. Nevertheless, earlier in the same section of the policy document, that presents the previous central diagnosis, especially women’s vulnerable positions were stressed, often in relation to multiple references of the crime ‘rape’. This way of framing depicts women as main victims of the conflict. Hence, it might be possible to assume that the perpetrators in this diagnosis are considered men, while women continue to be the carriers of the problem. These ideas partly correspond with the ideas of radical feminists who make a clear distinction between the agency of men and women, which is often determined by distinct types of embodiments as a result of diverse traditional gender roles.

Show codes in group Diagnosis in general sections					
Name	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by	
● Displacement diagnosis and roles general sections~	1	0	[Diagnosis in general sections] [Mainstreaming strategies in general secti	frede	
○ Explicit inclusion diagnosis and roles general secti...	0	0	[Diagnosis in general sections]	frede	
● Explicit reversal diagnosis and roles general secti...~	1	0	[Diagnosis in general sections] [Mainstreaming strategies in general secti	frede	
● Implicit inclusion diagnosis and roles general sec...~	7	0	[Diagnosis in general sections] [Mainstreaming strategies in general secti	frede	
● Implicit reversal diagnosis and roles general sect...~	1	0	[Diagnosis in general sections] [Mainstreaming strategies in general secti	frede	

Figure 12: ATLAS ti results of the diagnosis dimension in the general sections

Prognoses in the general sections

The prognosis dimension of the general sections present different solutions to tackle the identified issues directly linked to previous DDR, such as ‘providing targeted support for vulnerable groups’, improved ‘sensitization and public information’. The presented solutions also tackle the more general issues as a direct result of the conflict by focussing on the

‘stabilization of the security situation in eastern DRC’. More solutions will be discussed in the following paragraphs. The prognosis dimension of the general sections include a wide-variety of different gender mainstreaming strategies. Apart from the dominant implicit strategy of inclusion, almost all the other mainstreaming strategies are equally present. The following paragraphs will discuss how these diverse visions of gender mainstreaming are present.

Figure 14 shows that the majority of the prognoses are framed from an implicit strategy of inclusion based on the central value of gender neutrality promoted in liberal feminism. Nevertheless, the formulation of the prognoses in the general sections of the DDR III policy document also reveal different gender mainstreaming strategies and feminist perspectives. It seems as if a gender mainstreaming strategy of displacement is present in the prognosis dimensions of the general sections. Central in the strategy of displacement is its transformative character promoted by deconstructive feminism. An example of its presence is the objective to ‘*provide targeted support to vulnerable groups including the disabled and psychosocially affected ex-combatants and the wider conflict affected population*’ (p. 12) identified in the section that summarizes the activities of the DDR III. In this quote the strategy of displacement is mostly recognizable through its focus multiple intersecting systems of inequality, such as disabled and psychosocially affected. The solution to provide special attention to vulnerable groups most likely implies that these groups have long been deprived from participation in DDR programs. This could be a consequence of structural inequalities in the broader spheres of society. Essential in the strategy of displacement is the requirement that the diagnoses and prognoses are not limited to either DDR specifically, or to the economic sphere of society only. Rather, the identified issues and proposed solutions remain abstract and aim to achieve some sort of transformation of current structures of inequality that shape the broader spheres of society.

The ‘*wider conflict affected population*’ shows that the targeted support is not limited to those eligible for the DDR III, but aims to include society as a whole. Further, it remains unclear what exactly ‘*targeted support*’ entails, to whom it should be directed, and what outcome is desired. For example, the quote does not link support for vulnerable groups specifically to sustainable reintegration, nor to economic support. Based on the fact that this solution has no clear limits or boundaries, one might assume that it is meant to go further than DDR only and cross multiple areas of society in order to reconstruct these systems of oppression and improve the social status of disabled and psychosocially affected people. The transformative element of this prognosis might reflect characteristics of a strategy of displacement.

While the previous quote on the prognosis possibly shows characteristics of a strategy of displacement, a similar prognosis in a later section lacks some essential characteristics of a strategy of displacement and deconstructive feminism when taking a closer look. This partly explains the code ‘non displacement of prognosis and roles in general sections’ visualised in figure 13. The general section of the policy document on ‘programme components’ (p. 12-13) explains that the specific component to provide ‘*support for vulnerable groups*’ (p. 13) focusses on ‘*Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups; Women Associated with Armed Forces and Groups; ex-combatants with disabilities or chronic illness; and ex-combatants requiring psychosocial support*’ (p. 13). Although the proposed solution to include vulnerable groups most likely hopes to challenge diverse systems of inequality that are at the heart of the issue, the corresponding activities show no transformative nature. These activities, in contrast to the previous formulation of a similar prognosis, remain limited to the boundaries of the DDR III policy itself. Unlike the reference to ‘*the wider conflict affected population*’, this particular formulation shows no signs that suggest that the special support for the vulnerable applies to the wider spheres and population of society. Moreover, the addressed activities explicitly refer to ‘*ex-combatants*’ and women and children associated with armed groups or forces only. These references clearly mark the limits and boundaries of DDR. Accordingly, due to the special programs for vulnerable groups, including women, an explicit strategy of reversal might be more accurate for this particular framing of the prognosis.

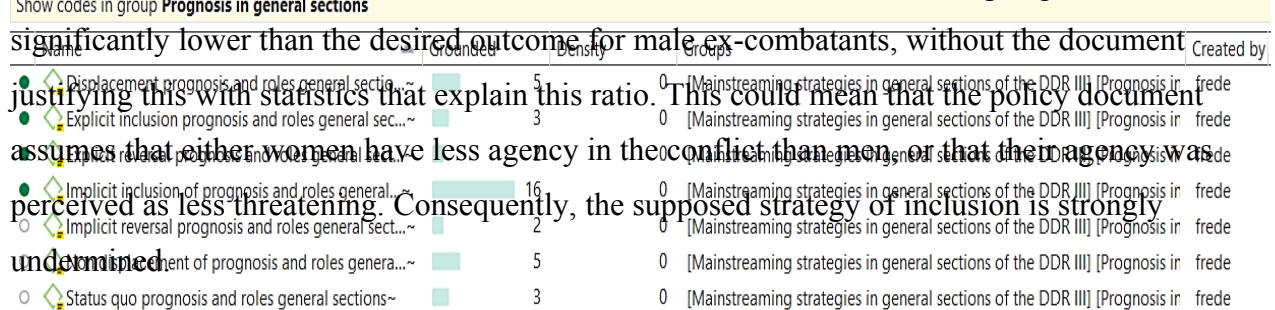
The prognoses in the general sections of the policy document also reveal an explicit strategy of inclusion based on gender-neutrality and equal treatment of men and women as valued by liberal feminism.

ESTIMATED BENEFICIARIES	DEMOB.	REINS.	REINT.
Adult Ex-Combatants	8,542	8,542	8,542
Adult Ex-Combatants – Male	7,321	7,321	7,321
Adult Ex-Combatants – Female	1,221	1,221	1,221
Children Associated with Armed Forces or Groups (CAAFG)	3,663	3,663	3,663
Adult members of the communities of reintegration			8,542
Vulnerable children of the communities of reintegration			3,663
TOTALS	12,205	12,205	24,410

Figure 13: Estimated caseload for DDR III (Democratic Republic of Congo’s department of National Defence and Veterans Affairs 2014).

At first sight, figure 13, which presents the estimated target beneficiaries of all the three phases of the DDR, could serve as an example of a prognosis framed by an explicit

strategy of inclusion. The table explicitly shows the aim to include both men and women in the participation of the DDR III policy. The participation of ex-combatants in the DDR III, regardless of sex, acknowledges the agency of both men and women in the conflict. However, when taking a closer look into the exact numbers of the estimated beneficiaries of male and female ex-combatants separately, an underlying inconsistency can be uncovered. Figure 13 reveals that the desired number to include of women associated with armed groups is



Voices in the general sections

The voices dimension of the general sections of the policy document mostly stipulate and mainstreaming vision of inclusion to the processes of formulation and implementation by including governmental actors and policy experts. These sections also stipulate an intended mainstreaming vision of displacement on the implementation process by including ‘diverse stakeholders’. The strategy of reversal was also present in the intended vision on the implementation process as stipulated by the documents. This was based on the reference to include ‘care takers of children’, which are women at large. The elaboration of the document on the strategies of displacement and reversal remain rather vague. The following paragraphs will discuss these findings in more detail.

The strategy of displacement promoted by deconstructive feminists believes in a diverse multi-layered cooperation between policy experts, bureaucrats, academic experts and various civil society movements. One of the general sections of the policy document that reflects this requirement is concerned with ‘communications: sensitization and public information’ (p. 13). The document explains in this section that a diverse variety of stakeholders is involved in the communication activities of the DDR III. The document claims that voices and responsibilities concerning ‘*disseminating information*’ (p. 13) are given to the international community, the national government, general citizenry, and other civil society actors, including churches and other socio-cultural organizations.

A diversified partnership is also desired in the implementation of the DDR III. In the general section on ‘principles of DDR III’ (p. 8) it is put forth that the ‘*implementation of DDR III will rely on an expanded and diversified partnership in order to ensure that the*

programme draws on a large pool of skills’ (p. 8). These explicit references to ‘*an expanded and diversified partnership*’ in various general sections of the document reflect the importance of including a wide variety of different actors and voices. These manifestations reflect a deliberate democracy approach to the policy process, in which diversity is central, mirror a strategy of displacement that matches the characteristics of deconstructive feminism.

The strategy of displacement in the attribution of roles in both the diagnosis and prognosis can also be less explicit. Chapter 2 has shown that a deliberate democratic approach to policy processes is based on the key values of participation and dialogue. At times, the policy document does not specifically mention all the different actors that will be included, nor does it always explicitly refer to a ‘*diversified partnership*’. Instead it might use particular words that could match the central values of displacement. In the following quote a strategy of displacement can be uncovered based on the words ‘*interactive and participatory mechanisms*’. The quote lauds that ‘*UEPNDDR will conduct stakeholder consultations and working groups to identify programs already operational or being planned related to humanitarian assistance, HIV/AIDS, women combatants and associated rights of the child, human rights, food security, justice and transitional justice, governance, economic development, reduction of conflicts and peace-building through interactive and participatory mechanisms*’ (p. 11).

While these signs might point towards a strategy of displacement, there is no elaboration on who these stakeholder are and how these actors are exactly involved. As soon as more concrete roles or voices are attributed to actors in the general sections an implicit and explicit strategy of inclusion with a technocratic approach to policy processes takes over. Liberal feminists who believe in a technocratic approach to policy processes mainly assign voices and responsibilities to policy experts in order to assure effectiveness.

The reflection of a technocratic approach to the DDR III process matching a strategy of inclusion can be subtle and implicit. Under the section ‘*implementation arrangements*’ (p. 10) the document refers to a strong national ownership and leadership and assigns voices and responsibilities to ‘*relevant government ministry representatives, including Defence and other stakeholder*’ (p. 10). Despite the reference to ‘*other stakeholders*’ the document continues to assign specific implementation and incorporation responsibilities to government representatives and the Bank, leaving the responsibilities and roles of ‘*other stakeholders*’ completely unaddressed.

Positioning the DDR III process as technocratic occurs in an explicit manifestation too and will be explained according to the next two quotes in the general section on children associated with armed groups:

'Due to continued insecurity in the region, the high prevalence of acute malnutrition faced by young children is considered by United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) as of 2014 as a silent emergency' (p. 6).

'Further, UNICEF highlighted that due to the recent humanitarian crisis; more than one million children were living in travel status, of which 690,000 were of primary school age' (p. 6).

Both quotes demonstrate that solely the UN OCHA and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have voices in defining the issues faced by children. As explained before, a technocratic approach mainly gives voices and responsibilities to policy experts. Considering that UN OCHA and UNICEF are international institutions specialized in policies and programs related to humanitarian affairs and the protection of children worldwide, and that no further actors on diverse levels are given a voice in the identification of issues faced by children, this matches the values of liberal feminism.

Finally, as shown by figure 15, under the general section on the 'estimated target beneficiaries' (p. 8-9) and under the section 'monitoring and evaluation' (p. 26-28) another manifestation of a technocratic approach to the DDR III process can be uncovered. The exclusive focus on achieving the desired numbers and outcome indicators, as well as the proportion of male and female ex-combatants that determines the success of the DDR III, position both the entire DDR III process and its gender dimension, as technocratic. Besides the favouring of these analytical tools to get the numbers right, there appear to be little references to specific qualitative tools and techniques related to participation or representation that might indicate another measurement of success. Tools and techniques, such as hearings and meetings, that focus for instance on whether women's interests and needs are taken into account sufficiently, seem receive no priority. The policy document mentions only once that qualitative studies will be conducted, including a study on gender, in order to measure qualitative dimensions of the DDR III. However, no elaboration on these studies can be found in the policy document. The document does not explain who will conduct these studies nor how these studies will be conducted. Evidently, the appreciation and determination of this qualitative dimension of success appears to be much lower than the analytical tools focussed on numbers.

Show codes in group Voices in general sections					
Name	▲	Grounded	Density	Groups	Created by
○ Displacement voices and roles general sections~			6	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in general sections of the DDR III] [Voices in ge	frede
○ Inclusion signs general sections			2	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in general sections of the DDR III] [Voices in ge	frede
○ Inclusion voices and roles general sections~			7	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in general sections of the DDR III] [Voices in ge	frede
○ Reversal voices and roles general sections~			1	0 [Mainstreaming strategies in general sections of the DDR III] [Voices in ge	frede

Figure 15: ATLAS ti results of voices in the general sections

4.6 The results in short

Generally, the policy document shows a high variety of diverse frames in the different dimensions of the disarmament phase, the demobilization phase, the reintegration phase, and the general sections. It is important to be aware of the fact that the different frames often occur nearly as frequent, or even equally as frequent in the different policy dimensions and sections of the DDR III. As a result, it is hard, sometimes even impossible, to draw conclusions on the dominance of the respective frames. This conclusion will, nevertheless, try to determine where and how the three feminist frames and the gender insensitive frame are most dominant. Accordingly, the main findings of the results will be presented.

The presence of the dominant frames

The *liberal feminist frame* with its gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion was most dominant throughout the policy document. This frame was identified in the diagnosis, prognosis, and voices dimensions of all the different phases of the policy document. Moreover, apart from the prognosis dimension of the disarmament phase and the voices dimension in the reintegration phase, it was the dominant frame all the three policy dimensions of the sections on disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and the general sections.

The liberal feminist frame is however mostly dominant in an implicit way only. The explicit liberal feminist frame is present in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of the disarmament phase, in the prognosis dimension of the demobilization phase, in the prognosis dimension of the reintegration phase, and in the prognosis dimension of the general sections. Nonetheless, the tables in chapter 4 show that often solely single manifestations of an explicit form of liberal feminism have been uncovered. In fact, the explicit liberal feminist frame was only relevant in the prognosis dimensions of the demobilization phase and the general sections.

Although the *radical feminist frame* with its gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal also occurred in all the sections on the different phases in the policy document, it was not uncovered in all the three policy dimensions. To be specific, the radical feminist frame was uncovered in both prognosis dimensions of the disarmament and demobilization phases, in the both the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of the reintegration phase, and in all three policy dimensions of the general sections. Similar to the explicit liberal feminist frame, the tables presented in this chapter reveal that in many cases only single manifestations of an explicit radical feminist frame can be uncovered. In other words, this frame is most dominant and relevant in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of the reintegration phase, and in the prognosis dimension of the general sections of the policy document.

The final feminist frame is the *deconstructive feminist frame* with its mainstreaming strategy of displacement. Considering the diversity of the feminist frames throughout the document so far, it is not very surprising that the deconstructive feminist frame is also present in all the different phases of the DDR III, except for the disarmament phase. To be more precise, the deconstructive feminist frame occurred in the framing of the diagnosis dimension of the demobilization phase, and in the diagnosis, prognosis, and voices dimensions of the reintegration phase and the general sections. Given the lack of concreteness and specificity of deconstructive feminism and the promoted strategy of displacement, no distinction has been made in whether this frame occurred implicitly, or explicitly. Once more, the frame is inconsistent in how it expresses itself throughout these diverse phases and policy dimensions. One can truly speak of the presence of a deconstructive frame in the prognosis and voices dimensions of the reintegration phase and the general sections of the policy document.

Besides the pre-established codes that represent the three feminist frames, the open codes that contain a status quo element and reflect a *gender insensitive frame* require clarification as well. Given that the status quo codes are applied in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of the disarmament and demobilization phase, and in the prognosis dimension of the general sections, this analysis reveals that a gender insensitive frame can be uncovered in the DRC's DDR III policy. This has been the case in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of the disarmament and demobilization phases.

Main findings

Based on these results a few important concluding findings can be presented. First of all, the radical feminist frame most dominant in the reintegration phase appears to be the only time where the document explicitly seems to express the relevance of incorporating gender mainstreaming. The rest of the phases largely leave gender unaddressed, with a few

exceptions of manifestations of the explicit liberal feminist frame and the radical feminist frame in the other phases. Despite these initiatives to target women in particular, the explicit radical frame does not occur consistent in all the three policy dimensions of the reintegration phase since the voices dimension in these sections reveal a highly technocratic approach that leaves no room for women's own voices. Moreover, the radical feminist frame now and then even co-exists with a gender insensitive frame. It is however important to address that the co-existence of the radical feminist frame and the gender insensitive frame is minimal in these respective phases.

As a result of the strong diversity of frames present in the central policy document, the DRC's DDR III policy shows more inconsistencies. At various occasions the document is inconsistent in the way it frames similar issues and similar solutions. In other words, many identified issues and proposed solutions are presented in diverse ways. As a result of this inconsistency, corresponding diagnoses and prognoses often do not match anymore. In other words, the identified issues in the different phases of the DDR III reveal different feminist frames than their corresponding solutions. This is striking considering the fact that both dimensions tackle a similar aspect of the DDR III policy. Furthermore, the document proposes multiple solutions from different perspectives to tackle one and the same diagnosis. This applies for the all the frames and reoccurs in all the phases of the DDR III policy.

This inconsistency is in particular the case for the deconstructive feminist frame. In the diagnosis dimension of the demobilization phase a manifestation that matches a deconstructive feminist frame was uncovered. Despite the attempt to incorporate a gender mainstreaming strategy of displacement promoted by deconstructive feminism in the demobilization phase, the prognosis dimension related to this specific diagnosis did not reveal characteristics of a strategy of displacement. A similar inconsistency occurs in the general sections of the policy document. In this case, however, the inconsistency of the deconstructive feminist frame is not noticeable in the framing of a corresponding diagnosis and prognosis. Rather, the inconsistency of the frame occurs in the way the document frames two nearly identical prognoses tackling the same diagnosis. Proposing multiple solutions from diverse and competing perspectives to tackle one and the same diagnosis also applies for the other frames and reoccurs in all the phases of the DDR III policy

Another finding is that the codes containing a displacement element are now and then accompanied by the open non-displacement codes. This means that these sections manifest certain characteristics of a deconstructive feminist frame, while at the same time other

essential characteristics of deconstructive feminism are missing. The inconsistency of the deconstructive feminist frame has made it difficult at times to identify this frame.

A further inconsistency in the DRC's DDR III policy document is that at times, mainly in regard to the implementation process, the policy document refers to the voices of diverse stakeholders. This points towards a stipulated deliberate democratic approach to the policy making process of the DDR III and reveals a deconstructive feminist frame. Nonetheless, a detailed elaboration on who exactly belongs to these diverse stakeholders cannot be found anywhere, nor how these diverse stakeholders have been involved in the policy-process of implementation. The only concrete reference in the policy document that actually shows a deconstructive feminist frame was found in one of the sections on the reintegration phase. However, the sections devoted to the reintegration phase that explicitly concentrate on women and gender, in turn, reveal a highly liberal feminist frame. Overall, it is possible to conclude that the DRC's DDR III policy-process has a highly technocratic nature that corresponds with the values of liberal feminism.

Another finding is that the status quo codes that reflect a gender insensitive frame were regularly applied in relation to the term 'fighter' often as a result of corresponding eligibility criteria. In other words, the gender insensitivity in the DRC's DDR III policy is often a consequence of the restricted meaning of this term and the corresponding eligibility criteria. Similar manifestations of the gender insensitive frame reoccur in all the different phases of DDR. Moreover, what is remarkable is that the gender insensitive frame is only present where the implicit liberal feminist frame dominates.

These results reveal the most important findings of the critical frame analysis. I will further reflect on the meanings of these findings in the concluding chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and discussion; Now what does it all mean?

This final chapter will answer the central research question posed at the beginning of this thesis by discussing the four sub-questions. To answer the sub-questions a comparison of the presence of different feminist frames will be made. Accordingly, I will empirically and theoretically reflect on the final answer to the central research question and make recommendations for future research.

The answer to the central research question

The following paragraphs will answer the four sub-questions by briefly addressing once more the presence of the dominant multiple frames underlying the different gender mainstreaming strategies in the different phases of the DDR III. The analysis reveals that the diagnosis dimensions of the disarmament and demobilization phases are mainly framed from an implicit liberal feminist frame in combination with a gender insensitive frame, while the diagnosis dimension of the reintegration phase reveals an implicit liberal feminist perspective in combination with an implicit and explicit radical feminist frame. In the diagnosis dimension of the general sections only the implicit liberal feminist frame is significantly present.

The prognosis dimensions of the disarmament and demobilization phases are framed from an implicit liberal feminist perspective in combination with a gender insensitive perspective. Nonetheless, the prognosis dimension of the demobilization phase revealed the significant presence of an explicit liberal feminist frame too. Apart from the dominant presence of the implicit liberal feminist frame in the prognosis dimension of the reintegration phase, this particular prognosis dimension was framed from a deconstructive feminist frame and an explicit radical feminist frame too. The prognosis dimension of the general sections reveal the presence of even more different frames. Here the implicit liberal feminist frame, the deconstructive frame, the gender insensitive frame, and the explicit liberal feminist frame coexist.

The final policy dimension of voices reveals, in comparison to the diagnosis and prognosis dimension of the different phases, a more consistent framing. In this dimension of all the different phases of the DDR III the liberal feminist frame is most dominant. In the voices dimensions of reintegration phase and the general sections the liberal feminist frame is accompanied by a deconstructive feminist frame. Accordingly, one can conclude that all the frames are present in the DRC's DDR III policy.

The co-existence of the multiple frames underlying the different gender mainstreaming strategies in the three policy dimensions of the phases of the DDR III have resulted in several inconsistencies. The first major finding is the inconsistent presence of an overall explicit gender mainstreaming strategy. Despite the lofty intentions about gender mainstreaming in peace-building, it is very absent in this leading policy. The presence of the explicit radical feminist frame underlying an explicit gender mainstreaming strategy of reversal was only significant in the raised issues and proposed solutions of the reintegration phase, while the explicit liberal feminist frame only returns a few times in the framing of the prognosis dimensions of the demobilization phase and the general sections, however hardly significant.

In conclusion, although the DDR III policy sporadically includes gender mainstreaming explicitly, it largely leaves gender completely unaddressed. The inconsistent presence of explicit gender mainstreaming is in particular relevant for the overall dominant implicit liberal feminist frame. The main dilemma with this implicit liberal feminist frame is whether it reveals an inclusive gender neutral approach, or whether it reveals ignorance towards gender in the DDR III. The gender neutral nature of this implicit liberal feminist frame is undermined by the presence of the explicit feminist frames. The fact that in some sections the document explicitly addresses gender, while in other sections it completely leaves this out, undermines the inclusive gender neutral nature of this dominant implicit liberal feminist frame. This is supported by the fact that where the implicit liberal feminist frame is most dominant it is always accompanied by a dominant gender insensitive frame.

A second major finding is that similar diagnosis dimensions reveal different visions of gender mainstreaming, meaning the document is inconsistent in defining the main issues in regards to the conflict in eastern DRC and DDR in the DRC itself. This inconsistency is relevant in all the diagnosis dimensions of the different phases. Consequently, this finding potentially implies that the DDR III policy is hesitant in determining the central issues.

A similar inconsistency is uncovered in regard to the prognosis dimensions of the different DDR III phases. The results reveal the presence of different visions of gender mainstreaming when the document proposes solutions to tackle one and the same policy issue. This inconsistency is also relevant in all the phases of the DDR III policy. In other words, this inconsistency could imply that the DDR III policy is hesitant on how to best tackle the identified issues. As a result, the raised issues and proposed solutions do not match anymore.

Another important conclusion is that the DDR III policy is inconsistent in its envisioned approach to the implementation process as stipulated in the central policy document. This inconsistency manifests itself in two ways. Firstly, one can conclude that the

framing of the voices dimensions of different DDR III phases at times do not match with the corresponding frames of the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of these respective DDR phases. In other words, the intended gender mainstreaming approaches to the implementation process of the DDR III occasionally do not match with how the document defines the issues and proposes suitable solutions. This has particularly been the case for the implicit and explicit radical feminist frames in the reintegration phase. Defining issues and matching solutions from a radical feminist perspective would logically imply a more consultative approach to the implementation process, in which women are allowed to have a say. However, this consultative approach cannot be found anywhere in the policy document and remains to be overruled by a strong technocratic approach.

The second manifestation of the returning inconsistency in regard to the voices dimension of policy issues is the alleged promotion of a deliberate democratic approach to the policy making process. The document contains various explicit references to include a diverse group of stakeholders in the voices dimensions of the reintegration phase and the general sections. These references point towards a deconstructive feminist frame. At first glance, it seems as if civil society actors, women's movements, and policy experts cooperate to design and implement an effective DDR III policy. However, when taking a closer look nowhere in the document can be found who exactly belongs to this diverse group of stakeholders in addition to governmental and international policy experts, nor how these diverse stakeholders have had a voice in the DDR III policy. Taking into account that the policy document only assigns concrete voices and responsibilities to policy making experts reveals a more envisioned technocratic approach to the DDR III policy process that matches a liberal feminist frame.

For both inconsistencies in regard to the voices dimensions of the different phases an unfortunate explanation can be that the explicit references to an alleged diverse group of actors has solely been a formality to cover up the strong technocratic and conservative approach to the implementation process of the DRC's DDR III. This would explain the co-existence of radical feminist frames and deconstructive feminist frames in the diagnosis and prognosis dimensions of the different phases in combination with the presence of the liberal feminist frame underlying the technocratic approach in the voices dimensions of these respective phases. For the latter inconsistency in regard to voices it is possible that the document truly envisions the involvement of these diverse actors in the implementation process of the DRC's DDR III, meaning that these inconsistencies can be blamed on the incomplete and inconcrete stipulated vision on who these diverse actors are and how they should be involved.

Finally, the deconstructive feminist frame manifests itself in inconsistently too. At times the diagnosis dimensions of the different phases reveal a transformative nature. In these cases the raised issues do not lie within the boundaries of DDR itself, but can be found in the broader Congolese society often caused by multiple societal systems of inequality. However, the transformative nature of the DDR III policy is then in several cases undermined by non-transformative prognosis dimensions, in which the solutions are searched within the limits of the DDR only, and vice versa. Some solutions in the central policy document actually reflect a deconstructive feminist frame and concentrate on reconstructing broader unequal societal structures. However, the transformative nature of these solutions is often questioned by competing solutions to tackle the same issue lacking transformation. The inconsistent presence of the deconstructive feminist frame raises questions on whether the document actually focusses on transforming broader societal structures of inequality, or whether it remains within the boundaries of traditional DDR.

Returning to the main question posed at the beginning of this thesis, it is possible to conclude that different visions of gender mainstreaming have shaped the DRC's DDR III policy inconsistently. The inconsistent framing of the DDR III has resulted in competing perspectives on identifying and defining main issues around gender inequality in both the eastern Congolese society as well as in the DRC's DDR itself. Furthermore, conflicting ideas have been uncovered on how to tackle the main issues to improve gender equality and who should have a voice in the implementation of these solutions. I believe

Empirical reflections

The inconsistent DDR III policy has several empirical repercussions for the post conflict dynamics of the DRC. Essential the potential risk of insufficient implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies in local DDR programs that continues to ignore women's needs in peace-building and their involvement in decision-making. The lack of clarity in defining concrete issues of gender insensitivity in the DDR III combined with conflict and disagreement on how to challenge the issues of gender insensitivity in DDR sincerely make me question how gender mainstreaming in DDR in Eastern Congo can be assured during its implementation. Especially considering that the design of the leading policy document reveals that the DDR III policy is unsure how to. This empirical consequences is underpinned by the main findings that show that the DDR III policy is inconsistent and hesitant in how to identify and define the main issues while taking into account gender mainstreaming. This issue is also relevant for determining which solutions would best tackle these issues. Consequently,

corresponding raised issues and proposed solutions do not match one another, meaning that the proposed solutions only partially, or not at all, address and tackle the raised policy issues.

Furthermore, that the inconsistent gender dimension of the DDR III policy undermines the effectiveness and success of DDR in the DRC and the opportunity to shed light on conflicting and complementing gender norms in society at large. Considering the overall inconsistency in the gender dimension of the DDR III and the significant presence of the gender insensitive frame, significantly present where gender is not explicated, implies a general ignorance towards the gender mainstreaming in the DRC's DDR III. The gender insensitive frame was mainly present in the disarmament and demobilization phase as a result of the restricted meaning of the term combatant and the corresponding eligibility criteria. Consequently, largely women will not meet the eligibility criteria and risk to be excluded from DDR.

The inconsistent DDR III policy requires some empirical reflections on policy level too. An important potential consequence of the inconsistent operationalization of gender mainstreaming in the DDR III policy is the successive exclusion of women from the different phases of DDR. This findings shows that DDR policies are insufficiently aware that the different phases of the DDR determine each other, because the approach to gender mainstreaming in the first phase sets the stage for gender mainstreaming in the next. In the DRC's DDR III policy this is particularly problematic for the gender insensitive frame and the dominant implicit liberal feminist frame, foremost present in the disarmament and demobilization phase. The analysis reveals that the exclusion of women and sometimes men in one phase, leads to their exclusion in other phases of the program. This can be explained by the fact that the eligibility criteria of the disarmament phase return in the demobilization phase, and that successive phases simply build on the previous phases. These findings undermine the UN's claim that women's exclusion from one phase does not exclude them from other phases. The successive exclusion of women at large is an essential remark for the design of further DDR policies and programs.

Another potential policy consequence is the inability to guarantee gender sensitivity in DDR as a result of the lack of concreteness of second generation DDR on how to assure gender sensitive DDR. Although the DRC's DDR III policy does not always explicate gender one would assume that some sort of gender sensitivity is envisioned and incorporated in the document. Nevertheless, despite these intentions of second generation DDR to increase a focus on special groups, including women and girls, it has largely been absent in the DRC's DDR III. The inconsistent presence of explicit gender mainstreaming in the DDR III policy

has shown that these lofty intentions are insufficiently concrete and therefore unable to guarantee gender sensitive DDR. Hence, it is crucial to provide concrete policy tools on how to guarantee this essential objective of second generation DDR.,

A third empirical consequence on a policy-level is the potential risk of isolated DDR policies and programs that do not relate to other transitional justice and reconciliation initiatives and fail to challenge broader societal issues of (gender) inequality. This undermines the effectiveness of DDR in the DRC and in other (post)conflict societies. Considering the inconsistent presence of the deconstructive feminist frame, it is highly questionable to what extent the DDR III policy has a transformative nature. A recommendation for the policy making of gender sensitive DDR is to be more aware of the potential pitfalls and strengths of transformative DDR.

A final potential policy consequence, as a result of the strong technocratic approach as stipulated in the policy document of the DRC's DDR III, is the risk to undermine initiatives to operationalize gender mainstreaming in DDR. Radical feminists are reluctant towards the alleged technocratic assumption that women will be represented by policy experts. From their perspective, the low numbers of women in decision-making and the masculine structures in the fields of peace and security and in public spheres maintain a dominant male norm. The technocratic approach in combination with the reoccurring gender insensitive frame supports this critique. This finding proves that at occasions a gender mainstreaming strategy of inclusion in the voices dimension promoted by liberal feminism might not be sufficient to improve gender equality in DDR.

Empirically, these findings contribute to the debate on gender in peace-building by showing the different natures of gender mainstreaming in DDR and the effects and consequences this might have for gender (in)equality in both peace-building industries and post conflict societies. Consequently, it has created a better understanding why gender mainstreaming fails to be operationalized in DDR. Recommendations for further research would be study how these inconsistencies are translated into local DDR programs and what local consequences come with this. Moreover, it is essential for gender scholars and the international community to determine how then gender mainstreaming can be operationalized successfully in peace-building.

[Theoretical and methodological reflections](#)

This final chapter requires some theoretical reflections too. This thesis has shed new theoretical light on how different strategies of gender mainstreaming relate and co-exist, which is relevant for feminist analytical frameworks and political intervention. The essential

knowledge gap of this thesis is whether the co-existence of different mainstreaming strategies can reinforce one another or risk to undermine each other. The main findings have shown that in the case of the DDR III the co-existence of different mainstreaming strategies has led to an inconsistent gender dimension that has undermined the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming.

This theoretical contribution on the co-existence of different visions of gender mainstreaming is however only supported in the context of a policy within a single policy domain that is not particular devoted to challenge gender inequality. Whether this finding applies for national and regional policies especially devoted to tackle gender mainstreaming in diverse policy domains remains to be questionable. A recommendation for further research would therefore be to study this knowledge gap in the latter context too.

Apart from the contribution to the central knowledge gap of this thesis, the main findings have resulted in several other theoretical implications. The first theoretical reflection is strongly linked to the inconsistent framing of the voices dimension and approaches to the policy processes. As previously noted, the radical feminist frame present in various diagnoses and prognoses is always accompanied by a technocratic approach, while a consultative approach that allows women to have their own voice would be expected. Although the formulation of raised issues and proposed solutions in the reintegration phase match the values of radical feminism largely, an essential value is always missing. Radical feminists aim to valorise women's particular embodiments as a result of their unique roles and experiences in violent conflict. From this perspective women's presumed subjection to gender-based and sexual violence and stigmatization should, accordingly, lead to unique embodiments that can be useful in the resolution and prevention of the conflict. This notion, however, cannot be found in the policy document, because of the dominant technocratic ignores the unique value of women in decision-making. Without the essential value to valorise and use women's specific embodiments in decision-making, the manifestations of the radical feminist frame are merely linked to the depiction of women as victims of the conflict. Although the co-occurrence of the gender insensitive frame and the radical feminist frames is not significantly present, the DDR III policy shows some signs of their co-existence.

Accordingly, the common critique of liberal feminists regarding radical feminism becomes meaningful. From their perspective, an exclusive focus on women and femininities intensifies essentialist binary oppositions, which link men to strength and protection, while women are still considered as inherently peaceful victims. As a result of these essentialist assumptions the voices of women remain to be silenced and their specific needs continue to

be ignored. It is therefore particularly important for radical feminism to not only recognize women's marginalized positions and propose positive initiatives that favour women, but to also recognize their unique contribution in decision-making and see their involvement through.

A second theoretical reflection as a result of the inconsistent framing of the gender dimension of the DDR III is related to the inconsistent presence of the deconstructive feminist frame in the central policy document. As mentioned earlier, the inconsistent presence of the deconstructive feminist frame makes it difficult to determine the actual transformative nature of the DDR III. The uncertainty then identifying this frame and when concluding that essential aspects were missing supports the critique by feminist scholars of the lack of concreteness and specificity of this latest stream within feminism. For deconstructive feminists it would be highly relevant to better operationalize their vision on gender (in)equality and gender mainstreaming.

A third theoretical finding is concerned with the presence of the gender insensitive frame that often cooccurs with the implicit liberal feminist frame. The returning gender insensitivity throughout the different phases of the DDR III policy does not necessarily imply that no initiatives were undertaken to incorporate a liberal feminist interpretation on gender (in)equality. It is certainly possible that a gender neutral approach in the DDR III was desired, but that the gender insensitive frame is an unfortunate consequence of the broader underlying hypermasculinity in the fields of peace and security. This consequence illustrates how the main critique of radical feminism on liberal feminism becomes valid. It shows how the objective towards gender neutrality may result in maintaining hypermasculine power structures and barriers that lead to women's exclusion.

Radical feminists have expressed their concerns about this gender neutral approach to tackle gender inequality, considering that this approach might result in the common issue of 'add women and stir'. Moreover, this feminist school of thought has been critical towards a technocratic approach to policy making processes. To deprive civil society actors and women's movements from their right to have a voice in initiatives that have serious consequences for their social status, comes with the risk that women and other marginalized groups will not be represented at all. Consequently, it is crucial for liberal feminists to explicitly incorporate gender neutrality by directly referring to both men and women. Furthermore, this feminist stream should be extra aware of the possible consequences of a technocratic approach to policy making.

The different inconsistencies allow this thesis to conclude that the different visions of gender mainstreaming have shaped the DRC's DDR III inconsistently. Whether this inconsistency is an unfortunate consequence of the struggle for a voice between different actors with competing and hidden interests and values or whether this has been the result of intentional manipulation and pursuing of individual political agendas remains to be unknown.

A final recommendation for further research would therefore be to finish the second aspect of this critical policy analysis and gain knowledge on how these conflicting visions of gender mainstreaming have come to be. As explained in chapter three, this next step involves research into the different policy-processes of the DRC's DDR III policy. Further, it requires insight in which actors have been involved in the different processes, how they have been involved, and in which stages and phases they have been given a voice. Finally, this second aspect requires knowledge on the relevant power dynamics and policy mechanisms the policy-process and its actors have been subjected to. All these aspects have eventually resulted in an inconsistent gender dimension of the DRC's DDR III policy. This knowledge will eventually contribute to a complete understanding of the emergence of conflicting visions of gender mainstreaming.

Apart from these theoretical insights, this thesis has significant methodological contributions too. It has taken the operationalization of critical frame analyses in the context of gender mainstreaming to a higher level by presenting a complete and ready-to-use methodological framework that serves as a tool for researchers and policy-maker to study both explicit and implicit manifestations of gender mainstreaming in policies. This allows researchers and policy-makers to study the nature of gender mainstreaming in policies and the effect this has on effective policy making.

While we still might not know what gender exactly is, this thesis has improved our understanding of gender mainstreaming. Considering the 'empty' nature of the UN's definition of gender mainstreaming, it would be more than logical to end this thesis with an accurate definition of gender mainstreaming. Taking into account that she is one of the founders of critical frame analyses of gender mainstreaming policies, it is not very surprising I will end this thesis with Mieke Verloo's definition of gender mainstreaming.

'Gender mainstreaming is about organising procedures and routines, about organising responsibilities and capacities for the incorporation of a gender perspective. It is about organising the use of gender expertise in policy making, organising the use of gender impact analyses in this process, organising consultation and participation of relevant groups and organisations in the process' (Verloo, 2000, p. 3).

References

- Ackerly, B. A., Stern, M., & True, J. (2006). Feminist methodologies for international relations. In B. A. Ackerly, M. Stern, & J. True (Eds.), *Feminist methodologies for international relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alusala, N., & Thusi, T. (2004). A step towards peace. Disarmament in Africa. *Institute for Security Studies*, 2004(98), 75. Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/a-step-towards-peace-disarmament-in-africa/>
- Autesserre, S. (2012). Dangerous tales: Dominant narratives on the Congo and their unintended consequences. *African Affairs*, 111(443), 202-222. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8BP022R>
- Baaz, E. M., & Stern, M. (2010). *The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Sida Working Paper on Gender-based Violence. Sida. Retrieved from <http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:319527/FULLTEXT02>

- Barbehön, M., Münch, S., & Lamping, W. (2015). Problem definition and agenda-setting in critical perspective. In F. Fischer, D. Torgerson, A. Durnová, & M. Orsini (Eds.), *Handbook of critical policy studies*. Cheltenham, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783472352.00021>
- Berdal, M. 1996. Disarmament and demobilization after civil wars: Arms, soldiers, and the termination of conflict. *The Adelphi Papers*, 36(303) Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, 26(1), 611-639. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611>
- Beveridge, F., Nott, S., & Stephen, K. (2000). Mainstreaming and the engendering of policy making: a means to an end?. *Journal of European public policy*, 7(3), 385-405. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760050086099>
- Bochel, C., Bochel, H., Somerville, P., & Worley, C. (2008). Marginalised or enabled voices? 'User participation' in policy and practice. *Social Policy and Society*, 7(2), 201-210. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1474746407004150>
- Booth, C., & Bennett, C. (2002). Gender mainstreaming in the European Union: towards a new conception and practice of equal opportunities?. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9(4), 430-446. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F13505068020090040401>
- Cohn, C., Kinsella, H., & Gibbings, S. (2004). Women, peace and security resolution 1325. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(1), 130-140. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000165969>
- Colletta, N. J., & Muggah, R. (2009). Context matters: interim stabilisation and second generation approaches to security promotion. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9(4), 425-453. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800903345762>
- Conoir, Y. (2012). *Ending war, building peace: contribution of the national DDR program in DRC to peace in the African Great Lakes region*. (World Bank Working aper No. 77425). <https://doi.org/10.1596/27214>
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks. California: Sage publications, Inc.
- Daniels, C. Personal communication, (2019).

Democratic Republic of Congo's department of National Defence and Veterans Affairs (2014). *Global plan on disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR III) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*.

Dietz, M. G. (2003). Current controversies in feminist theory. *Annual review of political science*, 6(1), 399-431. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.121901.085635>

Eriksen, S. S. L. (2009). The liberal peace is neither: Peacebuilding, state building and the reproduction of conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *International Peacekeeping*, 16(5), 652-666. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310903303289>

European Institute for Gender Equality (n.d.). *What is gender mainstreaming*. Retrieved from <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>

Farr, V. (2003). The importance of a gender perspective to successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes. In *Disarmament Forum*, 4, 25-35.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 5(1), 80-92. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F160940690600500107>

Ferree, M. M., Gamson, W. A., Gerhards, J., & Rucht, D. (2002). *Shaping Abortion Discourse; Democracy and the public sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Fischer, F., Torgerson, D., Durnová, A., & Orsini, M. (2015). Introduction to critical policy studies. In F. Fischer, D. Torgerson, A. Durnová, & M. Orsini (Eds.), *Handbook of critical policy studies*. Cheltenham, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2018.1437972>

Gannon, S., & Bronwyn, N. (2011). Postmodern, post-structural, and critical theories. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Eds.), *Handbook of feminist research; theory and praxis*. Thousand Oaks. California: Sage publications, Inc. Retrieved from <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483384740>

Goldstein, J. (2001) *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Greer, M. J., & Greene, P. G. (2003). Feminist theory and the study of entrepreneurship. In J. E. Butler (Eds.), *New perspectives on women entrepreneurs*. Greenwich. Connecticut: Information Age Publishing.

- Harding, S. (2011). Feminist Standpoints. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Eds.), *Handbook of feminist research; theory and praxis*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage publications, Inc. Retrieved from <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483384740>
- Howlett, M., & Ramesh, M. (1993). Patterns of policy instrument choice: Policy styles, policy learning and the privatization experience. *Review of Policy Research*, 12(1-2), 3-24. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-1338.1993.tb00505.x>
- Hudson, H. (2009). Peacebuilding through a gender lens and the challenges of implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire. *Security Studies*, 18(2), 287-318. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410902899982>
- Humphreys, M., & Weinstein, J. M. (2007). Demobilization and reintegration. *Journal of conflict resolution*, 51(4), 531-567. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022002707302790>
- Inglis, D., & Thorpe, C. (2018). *An invitation to social theory*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (2014). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Kronsell, A. (2005). Gendered practices in institutions of hegemonic masculinity: Reflections from feminist standpoint theory. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(2), 280-298. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740500065170>
- Lister, R. (2008). Recognition and voice: the challenge for social justice. In G. Craig, T. Burchardt, & D. Gordon (Eds.), *Social justice and public policy: Seeking fairness in diverse societies*. Portland: The Policy Press.
- Mayanja, R (2010). *Armed conflict and women – 10 years of Security Council Resolution 1325*. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/armed-conflict-and-women-10-years-security-council-resolution-1325>
- Mazurana, D. (2003). Do Women Matter in Peacekeeping? Women in Police, Military and Civilian Peacekeeping. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 22(2), 64-71.
- Mazurana, D., & Cole, L. E. (2013). Women, Girls and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). In M. A. Malden (Eds.), *Women and Wars*. Polity Press.
- Mazurana, D. E., Carlson, K. C., Kasper, J. C., & McKay, S. A. (2002). Girls in fighting forces and groups: Their recruitment, participation, demobilization, and reintegration. *Peace*

and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 8(2), 97-123. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327949PAC0802_01

Muggah, R. (2005). No magic bullet: A critical perspective on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and weapons reduction in post-conflict contexts. *The Round Table*, 94(379), 239-252. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530500082684>

Muggah, R., & O'Donnell, C. (2015). Next generation disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 4(1), 1-12. <http://doi.org/10.5334/sta.fs>

Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre. (2016). Women in Armed Groups and Fighting Forces: Lessons Learned from Gender-sensitive DDR Programmes. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03ec67e9de77d98612373f974b54909c.pdf>

Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (2002). Gender mainstreaming: an overview. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/e65237.pdf>

Phillips, A. (2003). Recognition and the struggle for political voice. In B. Hobson (Eds.), *Recognition struggles and social movements: Contested identities, agency and power*. Cambridge. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

QUING Consortium, & Verloo, M. (2011). QUING final report (Report No. 028545-2). Retrieved from https://www.iwm.at/projects/quing/www.quing.eu/files/QUING_Final_Report_Jan%2012.pdf

Schroeder, E. (2005). A window of opportunity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Incorporating a gender perspective in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process. *Peace, Conflict & Development*, 6(6), 4-49.

Sjoberg, L. (2010). Introduction. In L. Sjoberg (Eds.), *Gender and international security. Feminist perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Spear, J. 2002. Disarmament and demobilization. In E. M. Cousens, D. Rothchild, & S. J. Stedman (Eds.), *Ending civil wars: The implementation of peace agreements*. Boulder. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishes

Sprague, J. (2005). *Feminist methodologies for critical researchers: Bridging differences*. Lanham. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Suluhu (n.d.) *Armed group maps*. Retrieved from <https://suluhu.org/congo/mapping/>.

Squires, J. (2005). Is mainstreaming transformative? Theorizing mainstreaming in the context of diversity and deliberation. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(3), 366-388. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxi020>

Stake, R. E. (2005). *Qualitative Case Studies*. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks. California: Sage Publications Ltd.

Theidon, K. (2009). Reconstructing masculinities: The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia. *Human Rights*, 31(1), 1-34. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.0.0053>

True, J. (2003). Mainstreaming gender in global public policy. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5(3), 368-396. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000122740>

True, J. (2014). The Political economy of gender in UN peacekeeping. In G. Heathcote, & D. Otto (Eds.), *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security*. London. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137400215_13

Tunda, K. F. (2016). Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: can stability prevail? *Conflict trends*, 2016(4), 26-32.

United Nations (2000). *Security Council resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security, S/RES/1325*. Retrieved from <https://documents.un.org/prod/ods.nsf/xpSearchResultsM.xsp>

United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Resource Centre (2006). *5.10 Women, Gender and DDR*. Retrieved from <http://www.iddrtg.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/IDDRS-5.10-Women-Gender-and-DDR1.pdf>

United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Centre (2014). *Operational guide to the integrated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration standards*. Retrieved from <https://www.unddr.org/uploads/documents/Operational%20Guide.pdf>

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (1999). *Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in a peacekeeping environment; principles and guidelines*. Retrieved from <https://www.somali-jna.org/downloads/DD&R%20UNPKO.pdf>

United Nations Great Lakes (2014). *First progress report on the peace and security cooperation framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region*. Retrieved from

https://ungreatlakes.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/first_progress_report_on_the_peace_security_and_cooperation_framework_agreement.pdf

United Nations Peacekeeping. (2020). *MONUSCO CVR, a Strategic Paradigm Shift: from traditional to 2nd Generation DDR*. Retrieved from <https://monusco.unmissions.org/en/ddrrr>

Väyrynen, T. (2004). Gender and UN peace operations: The confines of modernity. *International Peacekeeping*, 11(1), 125-142. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1353331042000228481>

Verloo, M. M. T. (2000). Gender mainstreaming: Practice and prospects. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/2066/129450>

Verloo, M. M. T. (2005a). Mainstreaming gender equality in Europe: A critical frame analysis approach. *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 5(117), 11-34. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.12681/grsr.9555>

Verloo, M. (2005b). Displacement and empowerment: Reflections on the concept and practice of the Council of Europe approach to gender mainstreaming and gender equality. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(3), 344-365. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxi019>

Verloo, M., & Lombardo, E. (2007). Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe: Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach. In M. Verloo (Eds.), *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality: A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*. Budapest: Central European University press.

Walby, S. (2005). Gender mainstreaming: Productive tensions in theory and practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(3), 321-343. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxi018>

Weber, S. (2020). From gender-blind to gender-transformative reintegration: women's experiences with social reintegration in Guatemala. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 1-22. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1768879>

Willett, S. (2010). Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: assessing the impact on women, peace and security. *International peacekeeping*, 17(2), 142-158. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533311003625043>

Woodward, A. E. (2015). Travels, triangles and transformations. *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies*, 18(1), 5-18. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVGN2015.WOOD>

World Bank (2010). *MDRP Final Report; overview of program achievements* (Report No. 56458). Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/481721468149096857/pdf/564580WP0MDRP110Box349496B01PUBLIC1.pdf>

World Bank (2015). *International development association project appraisal document on proposed grants* (PAD1244). Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/556921468182955472/pdf/PAD1244-PAD-P152903-IDA-R2015-0112-1-Box391422B-OUO-9.pdf>

Wright, S. (2010). Feminist theory and arms control. In L. Sjoberg (Eds.), *Gender and international security. Feminist perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge

Yanow, D. (2000). *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Yanow, D. (2015a). Making sense of policy practices: interpretation and meaning. In F. Fischer, D. Torgerson, A. Durnová, & M. Orsini (Eds.), *Handbook of critical policy studies*. Cheltenham, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783472352.00031>

Yanow, D., & Schwartz-Shea, P. (2015b). *Interpretation and method: Empirical research methods and the interpretive turn*. New York: Routledge.

Zalewski, M. (2010). 'I don't even know what gender is': a discussion of the connections between gender, gender mainstreaming and feminist theory. *Review of International Studies*, 36(1), 3-27. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210509990489>