

VIRTUAL DISCUSSION ON GENDER AND DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION & REINTEGRATION

Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good practices and lessons learned in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of women and girls

Discussion Summary

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security was passed in October 2000. It is one of the most important international mandates covering the full and equal participation of women in all peace and security initiatives and the mainstreaming of gender issues in armed conflict, peacebuilding and reconstruction processes. UNSCR 1325 specifically recognizes the distinct roles of women and girls as agents in armed conflict and emphasizes the importance of recognizing the special needs of women and girls in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements including in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes.¹ The Resolution also calls for an adoption of a gender-perspective² and an increase in women's participation at all levels of decision-making in conflict resolution and peace processes, including in DDR.³ This position is reiterated in the 2009 Report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict.⁴ Nevertheless, the particular experiences, vulnerabilities and roles of women and girls during conflict and post-conflict are often overlooked during the reintegration phase.

The effective DDR of female and male ex-combatants and former members associated with armed groups is a key component in post-conflict stability and successful recovery; in turn, contributing toward sustainable peacebuilding and the prevention of conflict resurgence. The success of such a programme demands the cooperation of actors at all levels: including civil society, government and the international community. In this regard, the United Nations (UN) has assumed a significant role in supporting the planning and implementation of sustainable DDR and continues to work with relevant actors at all levels, contributing toward the effectiveness of all DDR phases. In so doing, the UN adopts an integrated approach to DDR, in which the consolidation of lasting peace and security and long-term humanitarian

¹ S/RES/1325, para. 13

² S/RES/1325, para. 8a

³ S/RES/1325, para. 1

⁴ A/63/881 – S/2009/304, para. 12

and development impacts of sustainable reintegration processes for men, women, boys and girls are emphasized.⁵

To highlight existing efforts and to strengthen the analysis and replication of good practices, UN-INSTRAW hosted a virtual discussion from 28 June to 19 July 2010 to foster the dynamic exchange of experiences and information between affiliates, practitioners and experts in the area of gender and DDR. The discussion results will be incorporated into future UN-INSTRAW research, projects and proposals, including policy and UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan recommendations. Additionally, UN-INSTRAW aims to contribute to the field by facilitating the creation of a network of practitioners working on gender and DDR issues, allowing for the identification of potential partners and encouraging collaboration on gender and DDR, both virtually and face-to-face.

During the three-week virtual discussion, more than 315 experts from 62 countries around the world registered, exchanging experiences and discussing good practices, lessons learned and recommendations for integrating gender into DDR processes. This summary highlights some of the main issues that were addressed by participants during the discussion. Additionally, this document contains a bibliography of related documents.

The discussion was divided into three modules:

- 1. Specific needs analysis of women and girls in reintegration;
- 2. Good practices and lessons learned in gender and reintegration;
- 3. Measuring impacts and recommendations.

Context

A number of participants commented on the need to consider context when planning and implementing DDR programmes. *Eva Ronhaar* (Consultant, UN-INSTRAW) rebuked reintegration as a one-size-fits-all package; conflict, culture, and religion are important dynamics to consider. From her work in Islamic contexts, Eva shared that many women felt that the aid and psychosocial services provided did not take into account religion or religious leadership. This had a negative impact on programme effectiveness because the women did not feel that the reintegration projects had much impact on their communities. Similarly, while *Pam DeLargy* (UNFPA) highlighted the good practices incorporated into the DDR programming in Liberia, she stressed the failure to adapt these practices to specific contexts as the reason for initial project challenges. *Ana Leao* (PhD Candidate on African Women Fighters) noted that different cultural contexts often mean different family structures, which can affect the distribution of resources in DDR programmes.

⁵ For additional information on the United Nations approach to DDR, see United Nations DDRRC, *Integrated DDR Standards* Available from <u>www.unddr.org/iddrs/framework.php</u>

Maduka Christian Chibuzo (Producer/Trainer, BBC World Service Trust in Nigeria) suggested that the specific needs of beneficiaries of DDR programmes should be analyzed taking into account the specific context. Shauna Kelly (Intern, IANSA) recommended the active participation of women in the creation of a vision for a successful reintegration programme in their cultural context. This could help guide effective reintegration activities. This connects with provisions in UNSCR 1325 which emphasize women's involvement in peace processes as well as recommendations from UN guiding principles on DDR, such as UNIFEM'S Getting it Right, Doing it Right and the UN IDDR Women, Gender and DDR (OG 5.10: Women, Gender and DDR).

In addition to context, a number of participants emphasized the importance of accounting for factors such as age and rural/urban area. Within the Zimbabwean context, sexual violence affects women of different ages differently, particularly given the emphasis on purity (*Solomon Bobosibunu*, Secretariat Advisor, Pacesetters Youth Network). From her work in Mozambique, *Ana Leao* (PhD Candidate on African women fighters) added that rural/urban difference may also influence the level of patriarchy in a given context. Status, ethnicity and geographic location should also be taken into account (*Sahro Ahmed Koshin*, Gender and Human Rights Officer, UNDP Somalia). The number of years a particularly excombatant has spent fighting and what position that person held can also influence his or her needs and is something that should be taken into consideration (*Oluwatoyin Oluwaniyi*, Redeemer's University).

Training

The provision of training in DDR programmes was raised numerous times during the discussion. Several participants suggested that DDR programmes should incorporate a community training aspect. *Sarah Dalrymple* (Regional Conflict and Security Advisor, Saferworld) suggested that such trainings can help to dispel myths and promote reconciliation and trust building. *Courtney Rowe* (Research Intern, DePaul University) said that training for male counterparts and community members can help to reduce that women and girl ex-combatants often face. *Eva Ronhaar* (Consultant, UN-INSTRAW) reiterated this point, stating that effective reintegration must involve the entire community. During the DDR process in Nepal, training will be conducted in three tiers: i) male and female ex-combatants; ii) people in the surrounding community; and iii) other concerned stakeholders working with the ex-combatants (Bishnu Pathak).

Another aspect discussed was the training provided to DDR beneficiaries. It was noted that the training programmes had generally not considered the needs or wishes of the beneficiaries (Ana Leao, Faiza Omar, Sahro Amhed). In the Mozambican context, trainings have been based on the assumption of "traditional" female roles, such as the provision of sewing classes, despite the interest from beneficiaries in formal education and literacy, language and numeracy classes. In the Nepali context, women excombatants have expressed preference for training and employment rather than formal education (Sarah Dalrymple). This reiterates the importance of cultural context. The focus of one particular trade in Ghana for Liberian refugee women in vocational training programmes also failed to recognize the needs of women (Faiza Omar), as was the case in Somalia, where trainings provided did not consider gender, ethnicity, age or literacy, resulting in an absence of women (Sahro Ahmed Koshin). The rural/urban factor might also be of particular importance when designing training programmes (Ana

Leao). Each case requires specific evaluation of needs, which can help to increase the buy-in from beneficiaries.

Gender roles

In discussing training programmes, the issue of gender roles was raised since many programmes tend to provide training that assumes "traditional" gender roles. As female combatants challenge such gender norms, failing to account for transformed norms of behaviour may lead to further stigmatization during reintegration (Onyinyechukwu). From her work with Maoist ex-combatants in Nepal, Sarah Dalrymple (Regional Conflict and Security Advisor, Saferworld) added that many women felt empowered in their "male" roles. She described the ways in which subsequent community shaming challenge women's reintegration, being stigmatized as violent and sexual. Notably, reintegrated women have been rejected by women who had remained in the community during the conflict. Faiza Omar (Administrator and Gender Facilitator, Young Peace Brigades) similarly noted that Liberian refugee women in Ghana are often stigmatized as violent and as sex workers. This has had an impact on their ability to find employment and to obtain respect in their communities. Additionally, women's roles as "wartime wives" and the stigma attached to such roles can limit their options for marriage in the aftermath of the conflict. In Sierra Leone and Liberia, this rejection often led to suicide or prostitution. (Oluwatovin Oluwaniyi, Redeemer's University). There is often the expectation that women will return to their "traditional" gender roles after a conflict (Ana Leao), denying the opportunity to challenge existing gender norms and inequalities.

In addition to the marginalization of women and girls by conceptions of traditional roles in training programmes, women's empowerment through vocational training also impacts family dynamics (Eva Ronhaar). In East Africa, the provision of such training aimed to support women to earn income for their respective families and communities. The consequent emasculation of men in the community, feeling frustrated and inferior by the removal of their role as economic providers, led to an increased level of violence against women. Such failure to effectively assess gender dynamics stresses the importance of accounting for gender issues such as "traditional" gender roles, expectations, and the transformation of gender roles during the conflict. This should feed into reintegration and the planning of vocational training programmes.

Adopted measures for GDDR programming

Regarding adopted measures that incorporate gender, *Angela Gil* (High Presidential Commissioner for Social and Economic Reintegration of Ex-combatants in Colombia) shared the goals of the programme she works on, which deals directly with gender roles. The general objective of the programme is to contribute to the transformation of rigidly defined masculine and feminine identities of female and male ex-combatants that challenge an effective reintegration process, which is achieved without violence and addresses rights and duties as citizens. In order to achieve this, the specific objectives of the programme include: providing equal access opportunities for the participants of the reintegration process; reducing

social stigmatization of the women that participate in the process; and promoting leadership and political skills of women participating in the reintegration process.

Sarah Masters (IANSA) also spoke about specific measures taken to integrate gender into DDR processes, using Liberia as an example for lessons learned. The criteria for disarmament were expanded beyond gun ownership/access as a means of encouraging women's participation. Women and men were also offered gender specific facilities and services, which included reproductive health and counseling on HIV/AIDS, and maternal and child health for women. Despite these provisions, insecurity issues remained within the sites and women experienced harassment. Such insecurity was also evidenced in the female-only cantonments in Liberia. The affected women suggested that they would feel more secure being housed with their male counterparts. This highlights the need for establishing a secure environment during DDR processes that adequately address the needs of beneficiaries (Pam DeLargy).

Needs

The DDR process in Liberia also failed take into account women's needs, subsequently failed to adequately respond to their needs. This resulted in insufficient training and education provisions. Women and girls were on the fringes of communities and often resorted to prostitution for survival. *Helen Basini* (University of Limerick) also noted that during her research in Liberia, women and girls had spoken about the lack of psychosocial support during the DDR process. *Sarah Dalrymple* (Saferworld) raised the need for psychosocial support for men and women as well. She suggested that men may need support to address the potential emasculation of the inability to provide a sufficient livelihood for their families and communities. She recommended that provisions for psychosocial support be made at the individual level rather than at the community level to avoid stigma and harassment.

A number of participants stressed the need to provide reproductive health services in reintegration packages. In the case of Nepal, reproductive health needs were largely unaddressed (Sarah Dalrymple). In Liberia, similar challenges existed in supporting survivors of sexual violence during the early stages of DDR. *Pam DeLargy* (UNFPA) discussed the subsequent need for privacy, but also for an adequate screening process for pregnant women and girls, and women and girls with sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Women and girls who have contracted HIV/AIDS can experience particular vulnerabilities (Dr. Deji-Odutola Olubunmi). *Courtney Rowe* (Research Intern, DePaul University) suggested that women and girls need specific benefits and protections for the duration of the DDR process and beyond, with particular regard to sexual and domestic violence.

The needs of women with children also came up during the discussion. A DDR programme must offer adequate child care services to allow mothers to take full advantage of the reintegration package (Obianuju Nwobi). This has been important in Nepal, where women ex-combatants may not have family members who can help with childcare and/or might be single parents (Sarah Dalrymple). *Pam DeLargy* (UNPFA) spoke also of the needs of children ex-combatants. In Liberia, she noted, she found that children often felt resentment for being separated from their friends and "protectors," which included comrades and fellow combatants. She discussed how many children no longer identified as children and

felt entitled to the same benefits as older ex-combatants. She also noted that children said that they felt that the DDR programme implementers were trying to control them.

Eva Ronhaar (Consultant, UN-INSTRAW) and *Sarah Dalrymple* (Regional Conflict and Security Advisor, Saferworld) inferred that DDR programmes also need to make provisions for women who do not feel comfortable or safe returning to their communities. *Eva Ronhaar* noted that the needs of these women could be different; for example, the need to become self-sustainable might be greater, which would require greater focus on such provisions as vocational training and micro-credits. *Sarah Dalrymple* added that such women may migrate to urban areas and in recognition of this, as noted above, reintegration packages must be applicable and relevant to women and girls living in both rural and urban areas.

Impediments to women's participation in DDR processes

Several participants noted that the very definition of the beneficiary in DDR processes is sometimes problematic for women and girls' participation in DDR processes. The definition of "women fighter" largely excluded women in Mozambique (Ana Leao). Despite the lack of title or participation in the "front lines", women combatants in the Mozambique conflict were responsible for vital decisions (including when to evacuate from camps, leading combatants through mine fields, and deciding where to flee) and should have been incorporated into the DDR process. This reinforces the importance of an expanded definition of combatant. At the governmental level, women in national armed forces were allegedly discharged prior to the DDR process, which explicitly excluded them from receiving DDR benefits (including two years of salary). Women who had played a role in government forces therefore felt they were disregarded compared to women who fought for rebel movements.

Ana Leao (PhD Candidate on African women fighters) and *Courtney Rowe* (Research Intern, DePaul University) both noted that weapons tests (one gun/one fighter) policies may not be the best approach and may exclude women and girls in the initial stage of DDR, making them unable to have access to benefits provided during reintegration. In Somalia, the criteria for participation implicitly excluded women, who were not considered or treated as equal to men (Sahro Ahmed Koshin). The forced nature of combatant roles is often not understood, which can have a negative effect on the reintegration of women and girls (Courtney Rowe).

This type of exclusion and lack of consideration for the roles of women and girls is often a result of a larger problem, the lack of participation of women and girls in the initial programme appraisal, assessment, formulation, implementation and evaluation. This has strong links to the absence of women in peace and security processes in general and emphasizes the importance of lobbying governments for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325. Women are often unable participate in peace negotiations. In the case of the Philippines peace negotiations, while women participated in the negotiations, they were not adequately representative women of the armed forces (Jennifer, Philippine Action Network to Control Arms). The level of authority women have and the limited number of women represented in

decision-making challenges their effectiveness in lobbying for the rights of women and girls in peace and security processes.

Anu Mundkur (Associate Director, Gender Consortium, Flinders University) framed the discussion within UNSCR 1325, which emphasizes the participation of women and girls in peacebuilding, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. *Corey Barr* (Moderator, UN-INSTRAW) also brought in UNSCR 1325 and the subsequent women, peace and security resolutions (Resolutions 1820, 1888, and 1889), addressing the so-called "Three Ps" of UNSCR 1325: the participation of women; mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all conflict prevention activities; and the protection of women. Discussions revealed the significance of these aspects in the DDR process. Regarding participation, discussions highlighted that provisions must be made to increase women's participation as both beneficiaries of DDR programmes and as part of the decision-making process on the implementation of DDR programmes. Getaneh Gobezie (an independent rural finance consultant) spoke of how this participation can be problematic since many institutions are inherently patriarchal and do not consider women's multiple responsibilities in the home and community. This can make it difficult for women to compete for and hold positions of authority.

Methodology

Nearly all participations in the discussion stressed the need to include beneficiaries, particularly women and girls, in needs assessments and planning processes. In introducing the discussion, *Ani Colekessian* (Moderator, UN-INSTRAW) noted that without effectively incorporating the perspectives of women and girls, needs cannot be fully understood or addressed. While factors such as technology, language, and literacy levels may limit the participation of ex-combatants in forums such as the virtual discussion, participants noted that other practitioners can help to bridge these challenges, bringing the voices of such women and girls to discussions and other forums. *Sarah Masters* (Women's Network Coordinator, IANSA) highlighted the place of networks, which have the ability to carry the voices of those who may not be able to participate themselves, but have shared their experiences. We can help to bring the voices of women and girls in rank and file positions to the discussion, acting as kind of "conduits" to share their experiences (Jennifer).

Several participants recommended that DDR programmes start with a participatory needs assessment. While such assessments are not often carried out, it is essential to consult with the "target" populations of a given programme (Eva Ronhaar). If women and girls are not involved in the planning of DDR, the extent to which and how they are affected by such programmes cannot be completely understood: "nothing without them is for them" (Solomon Bobosibunu). The cantonment period could provide a good time to carry out a census and subsequent needs assessment (Ana Leao). *Mavic Cabrera-Belleza* (International Coordinator, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders) identified another assessment tool that her organization uses in the workshops that it conducts on UNSCRs 1325 and 1820: the SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats). *Anu Mundkur* (Associate Director, Gender Consortium, Flinders University) suggested that participatory gender analysis tools be applied to

encourage women to talk about a) the roles they played in armed groups and b) their needs and how gender roles affect those needs.

In addition to drawing in participation and needs at the individual level, Sarah Dalrymple (Regional Conflict and Security Advisor, Saferworld) suggested that a reintegration process should be community driven. Community reintegration committees could be formed of both community members and returning ex-combatants to support mutual dialogue, which could help foster reconciliation and trust building. Such committees must consider the balance of caste, ethnicity, age, and sex. These committees could subsequently monitor the reintegration process and provide feedback to service providers and implementers. Miranda Worthen (PhD Candidate, University of California, Berkeley) also suggested a group methodology for providing psychosocial support to young mothers. She proposed peer groups, which could help provide positive coping mechanisms and social reintegration skills. Such groups can help facilitate the reintegration of young mothers by increasing their strength and improving their capacity to be seen and heard in communities.

Policies and their implementation

As noted above, some of the discussion touched upon particular DDR policies that have been adopted. The majority of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 released to date do include DDR to varying degrees, some with specific provisions or sections and others with little reference to DDR processes Interestingly, the action plans of donor countries often have more extensive coverage of DDR issues than those in conflict-affected countries. The process of creating a gender-sensitive policy (such as a National Action Plan) is important, but it is in the implementation of the policy that the commitment of stakeholders and the government is really tested (Corey Barr).

Jennifer (Philippine Action Network to Control Arms) talked about the "action-reaction" phenomena in policy-making and implementation, noting that policies are adopted according to the dominant paradigm and normative framework of power holders taking into account and reacting to popular opinion. She discussed the implementation of policy, suggesting that while policies may exist to advance gender equality, their implementation may be carried out in a way that actually reinforces inequalities. One way to bolster the effective implementation of policy is to engage and inform the public. A variety of venues could be used to disseminate information, such as radio programmes, school discussions, TV talk shows, public essay writing contests, and opinion pieces for major papers.

Communication

A number of participants stressed the need to communicate the goals and specific provisions of DDR programmes widely, including to the communities where DDR participants will be reintegrated. Such communication should effectively explain why there is a need for a DDR process (Ana Leao). Among other things, this can help to reduce the shame or intimidation that women and girls may feel for participating in such programmes. Expressing the need for a DDR programme could help to alleviate the frustration that other community members may feel. For example, *Shauna Kelly* (Intern, IANSA) mentioned that in Sierra Leone, amputees and war wounded individuals expressed frustration that they

received less financial support and job training than ex-combatants who were engaged in the DDR process. She stressed that the goals of the DDR process needed to be communicated to the community.

It is also important to effectively advertise eligibility to potential beneficiaries of DDR programming. In Liberia, some women and girls received incorrect information about their eligibility. Those women and girls who did participate felt as though they had received incorrect information and that they had received much less from the DDR process than expected (Helen Basini). Similarly, women interviewed by *Sarah Dalrymple* (Regional Conflict and Security Advisor, Saferworld) in Nepal said that they did not have the right information about the options and packages available to them. Women are not as well informed about DDR processes as their male counterparts. This has significant implications and can impede their participation in DDR programmes (Uju12345678).

Part of the issue with effective communication is that there may be multiple goals that are being pursued by different implementing bodies of DDR programmes. For instance, *Pam DeLargy* (UNFPA) addressed an incident in which the Liberian Ministry of Health, the United Nations, and NGOs attempted to use the DDR process to distribute HIV prevention education and materials, while the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) was trying to push the DDR process forward and to rush disarmament. Incompatible with the Ministry of Health, United Nations and NGO programming, the SRSG published a radio announcement, which informed combatants to return their arms to Monrovia. This created a rush to the capital, which resulted in significant threats to security, including increased violence and an increase in the transmission of sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

Indicators, monitoring and evaluation

Ana Leao (PhD Candidate on African women fighters) concluded the discussion with some thoughts on indicators, monitoring and evaluation. It is important to think about how we measure success. While most DDR plans and programmes include a quantitative assessment component (how many participants, etc.), she questioned whether such indicators can show the entire picture. Monitoring and evaluation must show the success or usefulness of the programme and should identify short- and long-term success. She suggested that more comprehensive indicators be used, which take into account a number of different variables. She gave the example of participation, which cannot be simply understood quantitatively, but needs to be appraised from a qualitative perspective as well (who the women are, how they are participating, and what impact their participation has).

Questions raised and follow-up

As a point of follow-up to the virtual discussion, *Mavic Cabrera-Belleza* (International Coordinator, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders) expressed interest in linking to groups directly involved in developing and implementing DDR programmes to explore possibilities for partnership. The Global Network hopes to conduct DDR-focused discussions to create community-based accountability programmes that address the concerns on the role of communities and families in reinforcing the stigma of female combatants. She is also looking for resources on this subject.

Ifeoma Ezeabasili (Redeemer's University) from Nigeria asked: How can women who have suffered rape and other forms of sexual violence that has resulted in unwanted pregnancies be reintegrated into society, particularly taking into account the stigmatization and psychological trauma as well as STDs?

Sarah Masters (Women's Network Coordinator, IANSA) asked: How are the gender guidelines and standards (such as those developed by UNIFEM and IDDRS) being used in the field?

Helen Basini (University of Limerick) asked: Many recommendations say similar things. How are these recommendations applied and do they translate into higher participation rates in DDR processes? Also, how do we get around implementers having their own agenda and imposing this on DDR processes?

Corey Barr (Moderator, UN-INSTRAW) asked: How have DDR plans incorporated UNSCR 1325? How have civil society and grassroots organizations working on DDR used UNSCR 1325 as a tool in their advocacy for gender-specific provisions in DDR processes?

Recommendations

- Engage beneficiaries (including men, women, boys and girls) in needs assessments, particularly in the adaptation of good practices and lessons learned in a given context. Such needs should guide programmatic activities, including training programmes. Engagement includes consulting with women and girl-child ex-combatants in the reintegration process. This could include engaging women in creating a specific vision of what successful reintegration of women looks like in a particular cultural context and all reintegration activities can be oriented in that direction.
- Evaluate the definition of the beneficiary "fighter/combatant" in DDR programming from a gender-perspective to ensure that women and girls are not explicitly or implicitly excluded.
- Consider variables such as age, rural/urban, marital status, ethnicity, and geographic location in DDR programme planning.
- Provide psychosocial support at the individual level rather than at the community level.
- Integrate reproductive health services as a key component in reintegration packages.
- Complement DDR programmes for women and girls with sufficient training for their male counterparts and community members. This can help reduce stigma.
- Encourage women and the girl-child to participate in DDR processes, regardless of their status as civilian or combatant.
- Develop programmes that include prenatal, child care, sexual abuse and sexually transmitted infections to address the larger numbers of women and girls who participate in DDR initiatives.

- Provide effective communication of the overarching goals of a DDR programme to communities and to potential beneficiaries. The reintegration support options available for potential beneficiaries, particularly women and children, also need to be effectively communicated.
- Involve communities from the outset in the planning of a DDR programme and allow community ownership of the process.
- Coordinate DDR programmes with peacekeeping operations and other reintegration efforts that may extend after a given DDR programme has ended.
- Engage local organizations, grassroots movements, religious and spiritual leaders in reintegration processes and use local mechanisms of conflict resolution where possible.
- Engage men in programme activities and awareness campaigns, which can help to mitigate the increase in domestic violence that is linked to women's empowerment programmes.
- Support women and girls in organizing themselves independently (such as through an independent association). This can help women and girls assess and define their own needs and can help them engage with the design of initiatives.
- Encourage the increased participation of women in higher level decision-making positions in international organizations that are coordinating and implementing DDR programmes.
- Adapt good practices and lessons learned to specific contexts, recognizing specific challenges and possibilities.
- Training, formal and informal education is needed for disqualified and other ex-combatants, including female ex-combatants.

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