

ADDRESSING GENDER ISSUES IN DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION PROGRAMS

Nathalie de Watteville

August 2002

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the author(s), they do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank Group, its Executive Directors, or the countries they represent and should not be attributed to them.

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Abstract

Despite varied roles, female ex-combatants share one unfortunate characteristic: limited access to benefits when peace and demobilization comes. This is true as well for girls abducted for sexual services and the

families of ex-combatants in the receiving community. This work focuses on selected gender issues; and its objective is to ensure that female-specific needs are identified and addressed during demobilization and reintegration programs (DRPs).

Authors' Affiliation and Sponsorship

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Africa Region Working Paper Series

**Addressing Gender Issues
in Demobilization and
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Nathalie de Watteville

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Preface

Women have always participated to some extent in combat, but several recent wars have seen them fighting on the front lines. And while the roles of female ex-combatants vary widely, the women seem to share one characteristic: limited access to benefits when peace and demobilization come.

But, in addition to the female ex-combatants, there are other affected groups neglected when demobilization comes. These include abducted girls, ex-combatants' families, and women in the host community.

Demobilization and reintegration programs (DRPs) can have several objectives—including reducing military expenditures, or addressing economic and social issues. But how does a gender dimension fit with these objectives?

This work focuses on selected gender issues—that is, women and girls' needs during demobilization and reintegration programs. The target groups of this work include female ex-combatants, abducted girls, wives of ex-combatants, and women in the receiving community. The study's first objective is to ensure that female-specific needs are identified and addressed in future DRPs. The study also intends to identify DRP strategies that minimize gender discrimination. This paper does not take a geographical perspective (region specificities); instead, it favors a culturally consistent approach.

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Executive Summary

Introduction

Despite their varied roles, female ex-combatants seem to share one unfortunate characteristic: limited access to benefits when peace and demobilization come. This is also true for girls abducted for sexual services and the families of ex-combatants in the receiving community. These groups are often neglected during demobilization and reintegration; or, at best, women, men, boys, and girls may receive equal benefits but are treated as a homogenous group, which prevents specific needs from being addressed.

Some think that the first objective of a DRP (demobilization and reintegration program) is to have a positive impact on the peace dividend. Another goal often mentioned is the reduction of military expenditures for budgetary reasons. Or, as others argue, the DRP objective should be to assist vulnerable ex-combatants. How does a gender dimension fit with these objectives?

Gender has no direct impact on military expenditures, but addressing gender issues could help post-conflict recovery. Gender is also linked to vulnerability: Evidence suggests that female ex-combatants are generally more vulnerable than male ex-combatants as, in some contexts, are families.

This work focuses on selected gender issues—that is, women and girls' needs during demobilization and reintegration programs. This paper does not consider a geographical approach (region specificities) but instead favors a culturally consistent approach. The first objective of this work is to identify and address specific female needs in future DRPs. Second, the work aims to identify DRP strategies that guarantee minimal gender

discrimination. Because DRPs cannot solve every potential post-conflict problem, it is vital to identify the most important needs and resources for each context, propose strategies, and focus on the mandate of DRPs.

1. Targeting

The first step of a DRP is to identify target groups—female ex-combatants, abducted girls, and ex-combatants' families. Actors may try to limit the number of women given ex-combatant status, arguing that their role during the struggle does not entitle them to that rank; and female ex-combatants often have to rely on men to confirm their grade or status. One solution is to choose selection criteria that do not discriminate. DRPs should also try to identify and reach abducted girls.

So far, the majority of DRPs have treated families as secondary beneficiaries. This means that it is up to the soldier to share benefits with the household, even though the soldier might misuse benefits. Giving some benefits directly to families might resolve this problem. However, this option is generally more expensive and difficult to implement because family members must be identified and registered. A better way might be to conduct an intra-household analysis and an assessment of the male ex-combatant's acceptance. Or, a strong sensitization campaign targeting ex-combatants and communities could trigger community pressure on the ex-combatant to use benefits fairly and wisely. Government should also be prepared to deal with issues like polygamy, war widows, and orphans.

It would also be a good idea to define each group's socioeconomic profile in order to identify needs and

opportunities. Gender-disaggregated information should be collected, and a gender context study should be conducted. It is also important to plan a targeting mechanism that limits gender discrimination. Clear selection criteria must be defined, allowing no room for personal interpretation. Gender sensitive people should help select staff, and an advisory committee to monitor gender discrimination could be created.

2. Demobilization

All male and female soldiers being demobilized should be present during encampment; but, for reasons of cost and security, the time of encampment should be minimal. Encampment facilities should be able to meet specific female needs—for example, separate shelter and sanitation facilities. The transport home of ex-combatants from discharge centers should be coordinated with the transport of families.

Pre-discharge information must correspond to women's needs and cover the following topics: women's civic rights, land rights, access to credit, access to education and employment, how to start an income-generating project, HIV/AIDS prevention, preparation for difficult social acceptance in the community of settlement, and domestic violence.

The encampment phase is an opportunity to register beneficiaries and collect data. Abducted women should have the option of being registered separately from their partner. Usually, families are registered in the database of ex-combatants. However, in situations where families are considered primary beneficiaries, it might be better to give them separate ID cards.

Men and women's health facilities during encampment should be separated, and should be adapted to women's specific needs. Services could include reproductive health facilities, family planning, and HIV/AIDS prevention and mitigation.

Girl soldiers should be sent to recovery camps. In order to avoid further trauma, they should not be mixed with adults. These recovery camps should be able to address their most urgent needs. Family tracing could be initiated simultaneously.

3. Reinsertion

The transitional safety net is meant primarily to help the ex-combatant after demobilization, preferably covering basic needs for both the ex-combatant and his or her family. If the calculation of the TSN (transitional safety

net) depends on several criteria, it must be certain that these criteria are not causing gender discrimination. If women are among the potential beneficiaries, then vulnerability criteria should be introduced because evidence shows that they are more vulnerable than male ex-combatants. And because large cash amounts can put women at risk, the cash allowance should be distributed in several installments.

In many societies, housing is the principal geographical base for women's work; therefore, a housing allowance is critical for female ex-combatants. Women, especially single women heads of households, often lack the labor force and technical skills needed to build their own housing.

Temporary medical care for ex-combatants may be an important element of reinsertion. Specific medical needs of female ex-combatants include: reproductive health facilities and family planning, services for pregnancies, treatment of injuries resulting from sexual abuse, treatment of gynecological complications, programs conceived to deal with sexual abuse traumas, treatment for sexually transmitted diseases, and drug addiction.

The safety net will sometimes include support for the education of ex-combatants' children. Unfortunately, experience shows that parents are much more inclined to send their boys to school rather than their girls. It might be feasible to provide support for each child or, in some contexts, to launch sensitization programs or flexible school timetables—for example, if girls are not sent to school because of cultural reasons.

4. Reintegration

Lacking skills, credit, and childcare facilities, women have few opportunities to generate income. DRP programs could combine educational programs with access to credit projects, and adapt them to the needs of female ex-combatants. In addition, because of low levels of education—or male hiring prejudices—female ex-combatants usually have poor access to employment. Sensitization campaigns, as well as incentives, could be directed at the private sector to encourage employers to hire the women. In conjunction, women should be given access to labor intensive programs. Working conditions should be gender friendly, and fixed quotas could enhance participation. The access to land, however, can be problematic for female ex-combatants. If the government initiates land reforms and ex-combatants are to receive land, DRPs should ensure that female and male ex-combatants are treated equally.

Again, a lack of education and professional skills hinders the economic reintegration of female ex-combatants and wives. Training and transfer of skills should be adapted to market needs and female opportunities. Childcare facilities and outreach programs would boost their participation. Because their schooling was interrupted, the educational level of many abducted girls is low. This group needs a combination of remedial education, skills training, and apprenticeship.

Women's participation in war redefines their traditional identities, generally expressing itself by their emancipation and rejection of patriarchal systems. Many female ex-combatants identified revolutionary movements with the liberation of women. Unfortunately, in many cases when peace comes, female ex-combatants find that the cause for which they fought—their liberation—is forgotten. Women feel betrayed, and some reject their home communities and do not return there upon demobilization.

Communities of settlement may also reject female ex-combatants. Ex-combatants often leave their partner and marry a local woman as a step toward community acceptance; however, the man's home community will sometimes not accept his wife. This is typically the case if the wedding takes place without the family's approval or not according to tradition, which can be quite common during wartime. Sadly, abducted girls can also be rejected because they are seen as impure and therefore ineligible for marriage. DRPs could include sensitization programs for families and communities to reduce the risk that they add further trauma to the returning girl. Traditional purification rites have had good results in giving girls a new start.

Female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives associations can help reintegration and, therefore, should be encouraged. Incentives for community projects involving residents, ex-combatants, and ex-combatants' families should also be supported since they can play a major role in social reintegration and reconciliation.

The most vulnerable groups—female disabled ex-combatants and heads of households—need special attention. Female disabled ex-combatants have reported that physicians evaluating disabilities showed gender discrimination. Another concern is the unusually high percentage of heads of households among female ex-combatants. Vulnerable cases could be prioritized to access reintegration programs.

Counseling and communicating are vital to help female ex-combatants achieve economic and social reintegration. Counseling and communicating should especially be supported for victims of trauma, drug addiction, and prostitution. Compared to men and boys, women and girls usually suffer from sexual abuse traumas. And this kind of trauma is linked to later prostitution and drug and alcohol abuse. Female staff alone should conduct the counseling programs, and bureaucratic procedures should be strictly limited in order to encourage victims to ask for help.

5. Impact of Demobilization on Women in the Host Communities

We first introduce several issues to analyze positive and negative impacts of the return of demobilized soldiers on women in host communities. We then recommend strategies to mitigate potential problems.

In several post-conflict contexts, women lose their jobs because men come back from war. Planners should carefully consider the potential negative consequences of DRPs on women's employment, and should favor an integrated approach.

Post-conflict countries often see a deterioration of law and order. Poverty, coupled with the erosion of the authority of traditional institutions, leads to crime and delinquency. Unemployed, demobilized young men, socialized to violence and brutality during war, are more likely to form gangs, particularly in urban areas, and can pose a constant threat to the security of women and children. Several strategies are recommended to reduce street and domestic violence, including sensitization campaigns, education programs, and group therapy.

In some countries, sexually transmitted diseases (STD) rates are two to five times higher in the military than in the civil population. Soldiers should be educated about the risks of HIV infection during pre-discharge orientation. Information campaigns targeting women in host communities should also be orchestrated simultaneously within or without DRPs. Dealing with ex-soldiers with AIDS raises serious questions about the will and the capacity of families and communities to commit themselves to caring for the ex-combatant. Issues of how and to what extent military forces, demobilization programs, or the government can or should extend support to families and communities should be discussed.

The return of ex-combatants to civilian life often causes tensions among the local community. Their acceptance is not unanimous, and people take sides. The potential positive impact women can have on the reconciliation process is particularly relevant for the social reintegration of ex-combatants. Many women's peace organizations share the conviction that peace should be approached primarily at the community and family level. In many cases (because of wedding traditions), they have loyalties to different kin groups. This increases their credibility as mediators between clans or villages from enemy factions.

Because men are away during conflict time, gender roles usually shift. The renegotiation of gender roles between men and women during the post-conflict period will determine if changes that occurred during the war will be temporary or permanent, and if women will gain or lose power. In addition to family disintegration, war is also responsible for social disruptions among communities. Interestingly, female ex-refugees and ex-combatants share several characteristics that can provoke resentment from communities and obstruct their reintegration. These similarities suggest that collaboration between reintegration programs for refugees and reintegration programs for ex-combatants could be worthwhile.

During the planning and the implementation of demobilization and reintegration programs, one question keeps returning: To what extent should DRPs include individuals among beneficiaries who are not directly related to demobilization? Examples include women in host communities or returning refugees. DRPs have a primary mandate—the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. They cannot be used to address every post-conflict issue. However, ex-combatants do have an impact on women in host communities (HIV/AIDS, employment, violence, and gender roles) and vice versa. Therefore, it should be the responsibility of DRPs to offer affected groups access to some services—or at least ensure that other programs do.

6. Implementing Arrangements

Female staff should be recruited for jobs that involve the reinsertion and reintegration of other female ex-combatants. They usually have a better understanding of female ex-combatants' problems, psychology, and limitations. Female staff are also more able to reach out to female beneficiaries.

The staff involved in the implementation of the DRP should be trained to detect gender-based social and economic differences and constraints, and to develop strategies to overcome them. One or several gender specialist should be recruited as part of the staff of the DRP. The gender specialist's terms of reference could include gender training, avoiding gender discrimination within DRP, and addressing specific female needs.

A gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation tool should be identified for implementing the DRP. The idea is to adapt the Logframe matrix to the given context by introducing two elements: first, a tool responsive to the objectives pursued by a DRP; second, introduce a gender sensitive approach. Another idea is to adapt and use Beneficiary Assessment to ensure that the program is gender sensitive. The last section presents a chart with the financial aspects that could be generated by introducing a gender dimension for DRPs.

Introduction

Behind every army the world has sent marching over land, and with a good many of the naval forces as well, there were always camp followers, who might be the wives of soldiers following from the start, or women who joined along the way. They cooked, carried the baggage, served as nurses and as sanitation officers who buried the dead, served as scouts and spies, and suffered the same rigors as the soldiers.¹

Although women have always participated to some extent in combat, several recent wars have seen them fighting on the front lines. Sri Lanka, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, and El Salvador offer concrete evidence of female combatants' participation in regular armed forces or guerilla groups. And while the roles of female ex-combatants can vary widely, the women seem to share one characteristic: limited access to benefits when peace and demobilization come.

But in addition to female combatants, there are other affected groups—for example, the girls abducted by fighting parties, often to provide logistical support or sexual services. Many people, when referring to child soldiers, think “boy soldiers” and forget that girls may represent one third of the total number of child soldiers.² “The very sexual nature of many girls' experience of war makes its very expression taboo.”³ Unfortunately, this group often remains invisible and is rarely targeted by reintegration programs.

Ex-combatants' families are another affected group. In some wars, families follow the combatant to battle, giving logistical support to the combatant's faction (food supply, transport of ammunitions, taking care of wounded soldiers). In other situations, families are stationed in army barracks, away from the struggle, or they stay at home. When demobilization comes, demobilization and reintegration programs (DRPs) often treat the ex-combatant as the sole beneficiary instead of seeing the ex-combatant and his family as a beneficiary unit. Thus, the needs of families are often neglected.

Women in the host community can also be a group of concern when soldiers come home. The degree of their

vulnerability depends on the context, but evidence suggests that they are at special risk in civil wars. Societies emerging from conflict are often not prepared to face the traumas and socioeconomic changes resulting from the war. Furthermore, AIDS/HIV prevention and mitigation programs are scarce or not adapted to the situation

In the worst cases, female ex-combatants, abducted girls, ex-combatants' families, and women in the host community are neglected when demobilization comes. In the better cases, women, men, boys, and girls have equal access to benefits; but, the majority of DRPs treat them as a homogenous group, and the standard approach attracts only a small percentage of women and girls and does not address their special needs.⁴

What are the primary objectives of a DRP? Some think that the first objective should be to have a positive impact on the peace dividend. Unhappy and frustrated soldiers can be a threat to the stability of the country. Others believe that the purpose should be to reduce military expenditures for budgetary reasons. Still others argue that DRPs should focus on helping ex-combatants to overcome vulnerable social and economic situations—hence fighting poverty.

How does a gender dimension fit with these objectives? Female ex-combatants are generally not seen as threatening as male ex-combatants, and gender has no direct impact on military expenditures. However, gender could have a positive impact on the post-conflict economy,⁵ and there is evidence that female ex-combatants are more vulnerable than male ex-combatants, as, in some contexts, are families.

This work focuses on selected gender issues: women and girls' needs during demobilization and reintegration programs. The target groups of this work include female ex-combatants, abducted girls, wives of ex-combatants, and women in the receiving community. The study's first objective is to ensure that female-specific needs are identified and addressed in future DRPs. Next, the study aims to identify DRP strategies that minimize gender discrimination. This paper does not take a geographical perspective (region specificities); instead, it favors a culturally consistent approach.

DRPs cannot solve every potential post-conflict problem. Therefore, with regard to DRPs and selected gender issues, it is vital to identify the most important needs and resources for each context, propose strategies, and focus on the mandate of DRPs.

1 Salmonson, J. (1991).

2 According to case studies, this has been observed in El Salvador, Ethiopia, and Uganda. See Child-Soldiers.org. "Girls with guns"; Government of Canada "Girls in militaries, paramilitary groups"; World Vision "The effect of armed conflicts on girls."

3 Charnley, H. and de T. Silva (1995) in M. Barron (1996).

4 ILO / Baden, Sally (1997).

5 The World Bank / Blackden, Mark C. and Bhanu Chitra (1999).

1

Targeting

The DRP's first objectives are to identify beneficiaries, their needs, constraints, and opportunities. Ideally, the targeting mechanism would ensure minimal leakages and discrimination. It is essential to identify and register each primary beneficiary of a DRP.

Identification of female ex-combatants, abducted girls and families

Female ex-combatants: status within armed forces

Few people would claim that female ex-combatants should not receive the same treatment as male ex-combatants. However, many might try to limit the number of demobilized women given the status of ex-combatant—a status that gives access to benefits—arguing that the role of women during the struggle (often more logistical than fighting) does not entitle them to it. Women often are not allowed to take part directly in combat and are sometimes considered an auxiliary body to the army, like in the USA army during and after World War II. Which action or position should justify the attribution of the status of ex-combatant? As a female commander from the RENAMO said, “the women’s detachment tasks included cooking, tending the wounded, having involuntary sex and carrying military equipment.”¹ Therefore, if the criteria were based on taking part in combat alone, fewer women than men would qualify, since more men than women are deployed on the front line. Selection criteria based on specific duties or activities traditionally performed by men would also result in gender discrimination (for instance military intelligence, radio, engineering, etc.).

The participation of women recruited during the war, especially in guerrilla movements, is often unofficial. For example, in Nicaragua when demobilization came, many women could not find high-ranking officials to confirm that they were ex-combatants, and they were turned away.² Similarly, in other demobilization programs, the amount of the ex-combatant’s allowance depended on his rank. Many women had no official rank and had to rely on their male superior for confirmation, and many male officers were reluctant to confirm high ranks—this would have recognized the importance of women to the war. Clearly, this allowance system was not favoring women.³ In such situations, women should be able to rely on verification committees with strong and dedicated women present.

Experience has also shown that women have less access to information than men do. Women must receive information about selection criteria and procedures so that they can take measures to obtain ex-combatant status. In addition to the use of official communication channels and radios, the use of women-favored communication channels (women groups, health centers, churches, schools, etc.) is recommended.

Abducted girls

If a DRP chooses to target abducted girls, it would, logically, have to define who is abducted and who is not. Many would say that one could not ask somebody to prove that she or he has been abducted, like one could not ask someone to prove that she or he has been raped. This issue may be less problematic for young girl soldiers, because being a child soldier already qualifies them for reintegration programs. However, it will

be problematic for teenage wives of demobilized soldiers who claim to have been abducted and do not want to resettle with their partner. Verification units composed of gender sensitive men and women could provide clarification about debatable cases. Local communities could also be involved in decision-making.

A DRP will have to surmount another obstacle: how to reach abducted girls. Many of them are hidden, and case studies have shown that authorities were more inclined to send them home quietly without creating publicity. As a result, they leave the army or the guerrilla unit without any benefits. A strategy could be set up to identify them as soon as possible. In Uganda, for example, an information campaign was initiated to tell them where to go and how to be registered.⁴ Campaigns to advocate for abducted people would build recognition and programming of this issue during peace talks. It is also important to identify a strategy for those who have escaped or been released prior to demobilization.

Problems for families

An important objective of DRPs is to help ex-combatants, who are usually in a vulnerable social and economic situation. But, ex-combatants' families can be exposed to the same vulnerable situations as the soldier. Some families have followed the soldier during the struggle or have been stationed in army barracks, and have no agricultural skills, which could be problematic if resettling in a rural area. For others, the small but steady income the soldier received before demobilization is no longer available, and the wife must start generating an extra income.⁵

If a government decides to target families, it should identify the most appropriate strategy. So far, when DRPs include families, they treat them as secondary beneficiaries. Benefits are calculated based on the family unit and are given to the soldier. It is up to the soldier to share them with the rest of the household. However, the benefits might be misused by the soldier and not reach the intended targets—spouse and children. A fair solution would be to treat the families as primary beneficiaries. They would then receive benefits directly and not have to depend on the good will of the ex-combatant. But this solution is generally more expensive and more complicated because family members would have to be identified and registered.

The following solutions are proposed: A preparatory study analyzing representative households could provide important information, such as who inside the household controls the given benefits (intra-household analysis). It would be interesting to evaluate if the male ex-combatant would accept some benefits being given directly to the family and under what condition (see questionnaire in annexes). In addition, a culturally consistent approach could be adopted to identify the best strategy to encourage local communities to be gender sensitive without forcing them to go against tradition. Related costs should be calculated for each strategy. Finally, a strong sensitization campaign about demobilization and benefits targeting ex-combatants and communities could trigger community pressure on the ex-combatant to use benefits fairly.

Identifying families could be difficult, because few administrations have accurate and reliable data about them. There are some exceptions, such as Eritrea, where families received a monthly allowance from the government during the war. They were thus already registered, and these data were valuable. One solution for registering families is to ask the ex-combatant to provide data about them, although crosschecks may be complicated. Verification units (composed of individuals who would not discriminate) could do random checking and solve litigious cases—for example, a woman claiming she is the wife of an ex-combatant and asking for benefits.

Governments should also be prepared to deal with issues like polygamy: which wife, which children should be chosen? One practice is to follow the national law. Another issue is the size of the family for the calculation of benefits. What about dependents without blood relation? A common practice is to determine an average family size for the calculation of benefits and apply it to every household. The government should also be prepared to deal with widows and orphans. Widows or orphans of soldiers who died before demobilization are often not included in DRPs, although they may qualify for pensions. On the contrary, widows and orphans of ex-combatants dying after discharge but before the end of the reinsertion or reintegration period are generally included in DRPs. In that case, there should be a mechanism for transferring benefits from the ex-combatant to his dependents.

Planning for benefits: defining needs and opportunities for each target group

The needs and opportunities for each target group must be identified in order to decide which benefits should be included and for whom. Obviously, female ex-combatants do not have the same needs as male ex-combatants (child-care, medical care, education), and boy soldiers compared to girl soldiers (incidence of trauma or community acceptance). Opportunities for each target group are different. For example, in many countries female ex-combatants have less access to the employment market than do male ex-combatants. Employment opportunities are scarcer and salaries are lower. The definition of each group's socioeconomic profile is highly recommended to identify needs and opportunities. For each target group, this socioeconomic profile should include the study of a representative sample and the use of a questionnaire (see annexes). One objective is to collect gender-disaggregated information in order to understand gender specificity. Gender-disaggregated information is especially interesting to analyze the situation of women compared to men—average income, average level of education and training, average capital, age groups, etc. The questionnaire in the annex provides more information on recommended data to be easily disaggregated and compared.⁶ Another objective is to facilitate a gender context study—for example, in Africa it is helpful to understand how men and women spend their time. In some countries, women are already working eighteen hours per day, and have no time for an educational program.

A targeting mechanism ensuring no discrimination

Despite the adoption of nondiscriminatory measures during the planning of a DRP, extended discrimination can still take place during its implementation, especially during the targeting phase. Clear selection criteria must be defined, allowing no room for subjective interpretation. A quota could be set up for a representative participation of women in selecting criteria for staff. If the local DRP office plays a role in the selection process of beneficiaries, this quota could also be enforced at the decentralized level. Another solution could be to create an advisory committee at the national and local level reporting to the national or local DRP office, with a fair representation for females and families. This committee could include female ex-combatants, ex-combatants' wives, female authorities, etc. The presence of women in decision-making bodies does not always guarantee that they will be gender sensitive or "pro women" because social class or ethnicity often have greater influence. But, if well trained and sensitized, these powerful women would probably incorporate a good gender perspective.⁷ Victims of gender-based discrimination could bring their case in front of this committee and ask for support and guidance. This committee should be powerful enough to make a difference.

1 Nordstrom, C. in Barron, M. (1996).

2 Centro de Estudios Internacionales (1996).

3 ILO/Petronela Maremba (1995).

4 Interview with Betty Bigombe who was at that time Resident Minister for the Pacification of Northern Uganda.

5 GTZ (1993).

6 More information on tools for gender analysis can be found on www.worldbank.org/gender

7 Discussion with Vanessa Farr. Bonn International Center for Conversion.

2

Demobilization

Demobilization includes the following steps: assembly of soldiers and sometimes dependents in designated places, registration and distribution of identification documents, data collection, pre-discharge information, medical screening, and transport home.

Duration, location and participation to encampment

For costs and security reasons the duration of encampment should be limited to a minimum because the presence of bored soldiers and accessible weapons can be dangerous for a neighborhood.¹ Nonetheless, having everyone assembled is a unique opportunity for registration and information. It actually might be much less expensive to conduct sessions during encampment instead of organizing them in communities of settlement.

Generally, all male and female soldiers being demobilized should be present during encampment. On several occasions (Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua), soon to be demobilized female soldiers were not present during encampment because they were not informed or were deliberately excluded. Consequently, they were not registered to access benefits and did not receive any orientation.

The case of abducted girls can be tricky. On one hand, it is generally not recommended to mix children with adults during encampment. In Angola, for example, UNITA commanders took the opportunity of being with children in assembly areas to manipulate them into re-recruitment.² Therefore, to help reintegration, many recommend that abducted children be sent instead to recovery camps in order to make a clear break with mili-

tary life. This break should take place as soon as possible to avoid further trauma.³

But abducted teenage girls sometimes are accompanied by adult partners and children, and are unwilling to be separated from them. In these cases, counseling and respect of free choice should prevail.

Families are generally not present during encampment, with the exception of demobilization during peacetime with families living in army barracks. It is nonetheless important to keep them informed of demobilization procedures and benefits. (See section on women in the host community.)

Encampment logistic: what gender specificity?

The first point of consideration is related to security. In cases like Mozambique, the encampment phase lasted several months. Soldiers became increasingly aggressive, stressed by immobility, inactivity, and poor camp facilities. If women had been present, their security would have been at risk if no logistical measures were taken, such as armed guards and fenced women quarters. "Preventive measures [should] include the construction of facilities in camps which must be carefully designed to avoid creating opportunities for gender-based aggression against women and children."⁴ The decision to assemble men in one camp and women in another will depend on how much one group shares in common with the other. In addition, organizing a gender separation of assembly areas might open the door to different quality standards.

The second point is related to family encampment. It is usually not possible to have family members present during encampment; it is too expensive, many family

members live elsewhere, and there are security considerations. However, if families are stationed in army barracks it might be better to register, inform, and discharge them from there. Most of the logistical facilities are already present (sanitation, kitchen, shelter, etc.); thus it is less complicated and expensive to use these facilities.

The third point of consideration is to plan for gender facilities. Women and children have different logistical needs, and facilities should meet those needs. The following measures are mentioned as examples: separate shelter for families, separate sanitation facilities and appropriate sanitation material, food adapted to children's and mothers' needs, and distribution of appropriate clothing to female ex-combatants.

Pre-discharge information: what specificity?

The information given to male ex-combatants does not necessarily correspond to women's needs, and women are often less aware of their rights than are men. Therefore, it is important to provide information to female ex-combatants and families about benefits, where to obtain them, what their rights are (for example, the right to possess land), and how to make sure those rights are respected. It is also important to use a communication channel adapted to women's understanding and literacy level. In Uganda, for example, booklets were edited and distributed to women containing a simple summary of their rights, and tips for investment.⁵

Female ex-combatants are influenced by their emancipation and are likely to have higher employment expectations than other groups of women. They must therefore be provided with information about market and employment opportunities. This might reduce frustration and disappointment without diminishing their positive motivation. It is also crucial to make them aware of the skills they have acquired during the struggle and how to transfer those skills, or obtain a skills certificate from the army. Whenever possible, educational information should be given during encampment. Women should be provided with information and counseling on how to start an income-generating project, how to write a credit proposal, and how to organize in groups or women's associations. Their civic education will also be important.

HIV/AIDS and domestic violence must be discussed with both male and female ex-combatants, but the discussion must be adapted to each audience. One could emphasize the risk HIV-positive female ex-combatants

have of infecting their children. It is also crucial to educate them on how to protect themselves from being infected by HIV positive partners. In most societies, women dare not ask their partner to use a condom because it goes against tradition and culture. Tips on appropriate ways of asking their sexual partner to use a condom can be useful.

Registration, ID cards, and data collection

The registration of ex-combatants and the delivery of ID cards are crucial because they give access to benefits. All measures should be taken to discourage discrimination based on sex. Every ex-combatant should get an ID card; male and female partners should get separate ID cards so that each has access to benefits. However, one has to guard against one family getting double benefits. Abducted women should have the opportunity to register separately from their partners in order to access benefits independently. This is especially important if a woman does not want to follow her partner after demobilization. Information that gives access to special benefits should be written on ID cards—for example, if the person is widowed or disabled.

As mentioned before, in some cases it will be necessary to register families—and families may be registered on the ID card of ex-combatants. However, in situations where families are primary beneficiaries, one might give them separate ID cards, the idea being to facilitate their access to benefits without depending on the ex-combatant.

The encampment phase is also an opportunity to complete and adjust data already collected for a socioeconomic profile. Group discussions and filling in of questionnaires could be appropriate. This is also a time to gather more information on female ex-combatants and their families. The questionnaires could include such topics as intended community of settlement, intended accompanying party for resettlement, and expected social and economic difficulties (see annexes).

Health facilities inside the assembly area

Health services during encampment, which provide daily medical needs, can also teach ex-combatants about basic hygiene and sanitation principles, do medical screenings, and recommend appropriate benefits. Health services for women should be separated from those for men, and facilities should be welcoming enough for even the most reluctant women (rape victims or HIV

positive cases). Although trauma cannot be cured in a few days, basic guidance can be given to women on what trauma counseling is, where to find it, and what the usual female traumas are. Services could also include reproductive health facilities, family planning and primary health care for mothers and children, with a special focus on young mothers' needs, and HIV/AIDS counseling. Medical screening should be designed to avoid gender discrimination. Typical feminine sickness, injuries, or disabilities should be part of every referral list and treatment. Screening staff should include female doctors and nurses.

Requirements for transport home

Transport allowance or facilities will encourage the ex-combatant to go back to his or her home area. In Mozambique, most female ex-combatants did not go through encampment and therefore did not receive any travel help. Transport fares to the province were exorbitant, and many female ex-combatants could not make the trip. A direct consequence was that they could not celebrate the traditional purification and reintegration rites, which must be done together with family members at the place of origin.⁶ If people are transported by bus, and the journey lasts several days, sleeping and sanitation facilities should be provided for women and children during stopovers. Usually, it is simpler to pay an allowance to the ex-combatant for his or her family's transport to the community of settlement. If for any reason the transport cannot be handled individually and has to be centralized, there should be coordination with families so that the ex-combatant doesn't go one place and the family another.

Abducted girls need special attention. They must be sent where they want to go, even if their destination is different from that of their partner. In Mozambique, where the international community financed the demobilization, nobody actually asked dependents where they wished to go. Women welfare organizations reported that "abducted women and families were forced onto lorries to accompany departing soldiers while screaming "I want to go to *my* home."

Abducted girls: recovery camps and family tracing

Some actors recommend that abducted children be sent to recovery camps instead of assembly areas. Others argue that family reunification and community-based re-

integration programs are the most effective strategies. They say that reintegration centers are costly and isolate children from their community. World Vision program in Uganda provides a good example of a middle solution. Many children had lost contact with their families and had to be traced.⁷ This lapse of time was used to send them to a 4–6 weeks recovery camp instead of being sent to encampment with adults. They were registered, and their most urgent needs were covered.

These camps should provide facilities to meet specific needs of abducted girls: trauma counseling for sexually abused girls, health and nutrition facilities for babies, and training for young mothers (many lack basic knowledge on how to take care of their babies). Child psychology and child war traumas are complicated issues and should be addressed by specialists. If culturally relevant, a specialized NGO could be contracted to organize and implement recovery camps.

The reunification with the family is a priority for abducted people, especially children. It is especially true for girls and young women, since they need their family for survival more than boys do. Family tracing for children can be initiated during recovery camps—the sooner the tracing starts, the greater chance of tracing parents or relatives. Family reunification often demands resources the applicant does not have. Tracing activities are expensive and time consuming, as well as labor intensive. A typical tracing operation will start by the location, identification, and registration of the child by a specialized institution and the documentation of the case, which involves interviewing the child to obtain information about locating the parents. The next step consists of tracing the parents—traveling to the indicated address and checking if the parents are there. If they are not there, the neighbors should be interviewed to find other leads. Once parents or relatives are located there must be an assessment to decide whether the child can and should return to them.⁸

Some organizations like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are specialized in this field and have the logistical capabilities for this service. Once parents have been located, it is important to prepare them for the return of their child. This is especially true for girls who often come back with the shame of having been raped. Parents should know about services they can access to help with reintegration.

Preparing women in receiving communities for the return of soldiers during demobilization

In some contexts, ex-combatants are seen as heroes; but in many situations, civilians do not trust them—especially if their image is linked with bloodshed and violence, and their life style is totally alien. It is crucial to prepare receiving communities, especially women, by giving them information about the returning ex-combatants before their arrival. Lists of returnees with names and dates could be published at the local level. Furthermore, information about signed peace agreements (if they exist) would foster a better understanding of the demobilization process. The impact of DRPs on women in host communities—for example, HIV infection—and the role women can play to help reintegrate ex-combatants is discussed more in Section 5.

1 In some cases, weapons are not collected directly at the beginning of the encampment. In other cases, such as Mozambique, soldiers in encampment forced their access to collected and stocked weapons.

2 Verhey, B. (2000).

3 World Vision/Grow, Melanie (2000).

4 United Nations. Report of the expert panel of the Secretary-General, Ms. Graca Machel (1996).

5 Republic of Uganda (1992–93–95).

6 ILO/Baden, Sally (1997).

7 World Vision International (1996).

8 Bonnerjea, Lucy (1994).

3

Reinsertion

Initiation of the transitional safety net

The primary purpose of the transitional safety net is to assist the ex-combatant for a certain period—normally between six and twelve months—after demobilization, and cover his or her basic needs and, preferably, those of the ex-combatant's family. The safety net is often initiated during encampment with the distribution of cash and/or goods.

The calculation of the TSN (transitional safety net) may depend on various criteria: rank, number of years in the army, etc. To avoid discrimination based on sex, these criteria must be defined in such a way that they leave little room for subjective interpretation. In some contexts it is possible to introduce a criteria based on vulnerability—total income of the family, number of dependents, capital, etc.—and is recommended for DRPs with women among the demobilized population. In Guinea-Bissau and Eritrea, the analysis of the socio-economic profile of ex-combatants showed that female ex-combatants are more vulnerable than male ex-combatants.

Another point of consideration is related to payment modalities for the TSN. If significant, the amount distributed could put women at risk, since the women are easier targets for thieves and aggression. A recommended solution, if banks are available, is to divide the amount of cash into several installments transferred to the beneficiary's bank account. The bank account should be under the name of the beneficiary—not, for example, under the name of the husband or the father—and the beneficiary must have free access to that money. Another proposed solution is to operate through the DRP office at the local level, which would be in charge of the payment divided into several installments (to

avoid big cash amounts). If this solution were chosen, close financial monitoring would be crucial to avoid embezzlement. Potential tensions should be carefully evaluated—the husband may beat his wife because she refuses to give him money.

Gender specificity for housing benefits

Housing is a basic need and can be covered by the safety net. In urban areas, assistance is usually provided with cash to cover rent fees for six to twelve months. In rural areas, assistance can consist of support for constructing or rehabilitating a house—material, food for work, etc. In many societies, housing is extremely important for women because they work out of their houses—cooking food to sell on markets, renting a room, etc. But women, especially single heads of households, might face problems building a house of their own, since they often lack labor and technical skills. For these situations, extra assistance could include the payment of essential labor force and the stimulation of community support. For example, in Eritrea, an ex-combatant started a construction company, targeting low-cost housing and self-help groups of ex-combatants.¹ This kind of initiative is worth supporting.

Temporary medical care adapted to women/girls' needs, HIV, psychosocial counseling, drug addiction

Health care assistance is often provided temporarily to ex-combatants, especially if they received such services in the army. This support can be through cash allowances or vouchers. Female ex-combatants and abducted girls have specific medical needs, with high infection rates of sexual transmitted diseases—a direct con-

sequence of early sexual intercourse or rape. They also face a high risk of transmitting HIV to their babies, and many girls with early pregnancies face miscarriage and gynecological complications. Women and girls generally suffer from back and abdomen problems due to the heavy loads (ammunitions) they carried during combat. Often, they are also anemic and may suffer from drug addiction.

Gender adapted medical programs should facilitate access to reproductive health facilities and family planning, services for pregnancies, treatment of injuries resulting from sexual abuse, treatment of gynecological complications, programs to deal with traumas resulting from sexual abuses, and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases and drug addiction.

Education for children avoiding gender discrimination

Education support for ex-combatants' children is recommended, especially if they received this benefit during active duty. Parents' preferring to send boys rather than girls to school is a major problem. It must be determined whether this is related to cost, culture, or security. If it is only a cost issue, extending the scholarship to the children of every ex-combatant might be appropriate.² However, gender discrimination could be linked to other things. Security in a post-conflict situation could be one of them—parents do not think the school safe

enough to send their girls there. Another reason could be that, in many societies, girls have to perform errands (looking after siblings, collecting water etc.), and parents are reluctant to lose this work force. Parents also tend to think that education is a bigger asset for a boy's future rather than a girl's. For these last two examples, extending scholarships to every child will not be enough. Education sector reforms, such as organizing flexible school timetables and sensitization programs, could have more impact.

Post-discharge orientation

The primary goal of a post-discharge orientation is to provide the ex-combatant with information about the local region. Information related to benefits, as well as opportunities to start an income-generating project or to find employment, should be provided. For instance, programs should also have a good outreach program. Programs could provide information about education and market opportunities for women, available benefits, and specific programs for target groups (training, trauma counseling, domestic violence, etc.).

1 German Development Institute (1995).

2 In Uganda, school PTA fees were raised after Phase I, and allocated to every eligible child. Republic of Uganda (1992–93–95).

4

Reintegration

The last step of a DRP is a long-term process that starts at the same time as reinsertion and focuses on the reintegration of ex-combatants and families. A successful reintegration is completed when ex-combatants and families are able to generate enough income to ensure their financial independence, and when the community has accepted them. However, female ex-combatants, abducted girls, and ex-combatants' families, may face several obstacles during this last step.

Access to reintegration benefits

Depending on the DRP, the access to reintegration benefits can be restricted to ex-combatants with certain characteristics. Some actors propose focusing on ex-combatants with good economic potential. After a conflict, the economy of the country is generally in ruins, and people with such potential are valuable. Other actors prefer to focus on the most vulnerable cases. They identify vulnerability criteria and select ex-combatants. This strategy is recommended if dealing with significant differences in vulnerability among ex-combatants. This is generally the case when women are among them. As mentioned, the analysis of their socioeconomic profile often reflects less income and less capital (Eritrea and Guinea-Bissau).

Supporting economic reintegration

Access to credit and income-generating projects

One of the first obstacles women face is their limited access to credit. They must deal with discrimination and a lack of information, and they usually are less educated

than male ex-combatants. Many of them are illiterate and do not know how to present a credit proposal. They are not geographically mobile (tradition prohibits them from going too far away from home), and many do not own land, and have no collateral.

A project designed and implemented by ACORD in Eritrea¹ shows how some of these constraints might be addressed. The main goal of the project was to set up a micro-credit program called "Barefoot-Bankers" to reach the most vulnerable ex-combatants and support them with credit facilities. Gender was important, since more than 5,000 ex-combatants were women, many with small children. But at the beginning of the program, there were no female ex-combatants among the applicants—the main reasons for this were a lack of information and unfamiliarity with money matters among the women. ACORD decided to take several measures. First, they hired a female ex-combatant and trained her to reach other female ex-combatants. Then, to overcome problems of geographical mobility, ACORD decentralized the implementation of the project to go "from door to door." In addition, the project, provided business, management, and administration training because the female ex-combatants, lacking money management skills, had to learn to plan and invest for the long term. ACORD involved local institutions and encouraged them to include female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives. The project also encouraged the organization of groups to solve some of the gender-related problems, such as the lack of childcare facilities. Finally, poor female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives with no collateral were able to secure their loans with group liability. This project partially fulfilled its objectives.

Access to land

Access to land is an essential component in any successful reintegration strategy. Many countries have a prevailing primary sector, and ex-combatants will start agricultural projects to gain an income. Unfortunately, female ex-combatants face enormous difficulties since most are only granted land use rights and not ownership. In Nicaragua, the demobilization agreements did not recognize the right of female ex-combatants to own land, and women had to register land under the name of the closest male relative who had belonged to the Resistance.² Therefore, when governments begin land reform processes in a post-conflict context, DRPs could take part to ensure equal treatment for male and female ex-combatants. Countries sometimes take the opportunity of the conflict's end to reform their constitution; for example, Eritrea adopted a new legislation abolishing gender discrimination in land ownership. Other countries edict special laws; in 2000 Rwanda passed a new law that allowed girls to inherit property, which was very important for many orphan heads of households. Girls especially had not been able to inherit property from their deceased parents.³

However, new laws against discrimination must also be enforced. In most cases, customary laws continue to prevail, and victims of discrimination lack the education and the resources to address the courts. In some countries, land and housing commissions have been established as an alternative to court procedures.⁴ In Mozambique, many poor peasant women were not aware of the importance of possessing a land title for the enforcement of their land rights. Some grassroots organizations focused on poor peasant women, and provided them with basic land rights knowledge.

Promoting the employment of target groups

The feminization of work places has more to do with the needs of the labor market than with politics, and so post-conflict periods often see the re-masculinization of some labor activities. Another issue is the prejudice that private employers have against hiring female ex-combatants. The women are seen as lacking femininity, sexually promiscuous, or homosexual. In addition, male employers view women's work as an extension of their domestic unpaid labor.⁵ The women's low levels of education and the absence of childcare present other obstacles.

The concentration of female ex-combatants in the informal sector is a direct consequence of their limited access to formal employment. Nonetheless, the informal sector offers certain advantages: flexible working schedules that allow the women to fulfill their domestic obligations, and fewer skill and education requirements. Programs focusing on the informal sector and targeting female ex-combatants should be supported—but supported in parallel with programs that encourage employers to hire female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives. Sensitization campaigns could target potential employers to encourage them to employ female ex-combatants. For solidarity reasons, employers who are ex-combatants could specifically be solicited, and cooperation between ex-combatants' organizations and the private sector could be developed. In addition, the government could issue skills certificates adapted to female ex-combatants' skills (nursing, transports, logistic, administration, etc.).

Another solution is to promote the participation of female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives in labor-intensive programs. A good example is the "Feeder Roads Program" in Mozambique in which 4,500 to 5,000 people were employed.⁶ One target was to hire enough women to make up 25 percent of the total work force. Although the program was only able to achieve a participation rate of 14 percent, the following lessons were learned:

- Program staff should be sensitized to gender issues
- Coordination should be enhanced with national and local women's organizations (their experience and advice were very helpful)
- Working conditions should be gender favorable, ensuring childcare facilities, access to health facilities, and food supplies
- Educated women should be better represented among supervisors
- Setting quotas for women's participation in the work force could stimulate their participation.

Vocational training and education

The low level of education and professional skills among female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives hampers their economic reintegration. Some ex-combatants' wives, living for years in army barracks or following the soldier during the struggle, lack agricultural skills. If

they decide, upon demobilization, to resettle in a rural area they would need advice. It is therefore crucial to give female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives access to educational training programs adapted to their needs.⁷

The first step is to identify their existing skills (team spirit, nursing skills, logistical skills, etc.) and decide whether those skills are transferable to civilian employment or income-generating activities. Those skills should respond to labor market opportunity, and training might be necessary to help the transfer of skills—which would probably be faster and cheaper than providing training for new skills.⁸ Training should be based on demands and should result in gainful employment, not just an additional workload (women invest time and energy without making any real profit).⁹ Accelerated training programs limited to specific skills are preferable because, in a post-conflict situation, incomes must be generated as quickly as possible.

Because of gender-related constraints, like childcare, it may be difficult for female ex-combatants to attend the full training session. Timetables should be organized in such a way that they do not limit their presence. Apprenticeship is especially recommended for women and girls with only a low level of education, or who have difficulties with formal education. Some cannot sit and concentrate for more than a couple of hours and need to learn with alternative methods, focusing on practical experiences. Supporting artisans or small businesses with small-scale assistance materials could encourage apprenticeship.¹⁰

Girl-combatants sometimes were not able to finish school, and thus their level of education is low. When they return to the community, they cannot enter the normal school class for their age, and many, feeling ashamed, leave school. A combination of remedial education, skills training, and apprenticeship is recommended for this group just entering the labor market.

Childcare facilities

The organization of childcare facilities is a prerequisite to the economic reintegration of the target groups. A survey in Eritrea shows that 80 percent of female ex-combatants have at least one child, and only 53 percent are married. For most, it was difficult to follow training or start an income-generating project because of a lack of childcare facilities.¹¹ Also in Eritrea, a group of fe-

male ex-combatants started a childcare center by collecting enough money from other women. They were able to attain two objectives: providing more childcare facilities and providing this service at a low and affordable cost. This type of initiative could be encouraged with credit facilities, training, and counseling support.

Enhancing social unity

The economic reintegration of women is undoubtedly important, but their return to civilian life is not complete until they achieve their social reintegration.

Female ex-combatants rejecting home community

Women's participation in war redefines their identities and traditional roles, generally expressing itself by a rejection of patriarchal systems.¹² Unfortunately for female ex-combatants, at the end of conflict most of the population favors a return to patriarchal traditions—which symbolize the peace before the war. Upon their arrival in the home community, female ex-combatants are expected to obey their fathers and husbands and to take up their traditional tasks. Some prefer to stay alone, not returning to their home community. A primary reason for women joining the struggle is their will to participate in the revolution process (see the case of Nicaragua, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, etc.). Many female ex-combatants identify revolutionary movements with the liberation of women. Their participation in battle is linked to a social idea where the woman plays a new role. Unfortunately, in many cases when peace comes female ex-combatants see the cause for which they fought—their liberation—being forgotten.¹³ Sometimes (Eritrea and Uganda, for instance), emancipated female ex-combatants prefer to resettle in cities instead of going back to rural areas.

Receiving community rejecting female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives

In some situations, home communities reject female ex-combatants. The demobilization experience in Uganda showed that the acceptance of female ex-combatants by the community depended on which side they were on. If they were from the "losing side," they would face more problems; people who suffered thought that justice should be done.¹⁴ In Uganda, the divorce rate of ex-combatant returning families was between 50–65 percent, which is much higher than the average rate (it was

mainly related to female ex-combatants' emancipation and inter-ethnic marriage).

The husband's home community can also reject female ex-combatants or wives if the wedding took place without his family's approval. In Uganda, many returning ex-combatants had married a local woman as a step toward community acceptance and reintegration. War situations are known to lower cultural and social differences, and it is common to have people who would have never married in peacetime decide to share their lives. Sadly, when the partner is brought home, severe social incompatibilities arise because the partner brings alien traditions and culture. In the worst-case scenario, women are finally driven to leave their husbands, or their husbands abandon them. In many cases, they do not return to their parents' household because they are unwilling to comply with patriarchal traditions and thus prefer to minimize social and family tension. According to a survey executed by GTZ interviewing 128 ex-combatants' wives in Uganda, most of the resistance is resolved over time—women either leave during the first months or they stay, being finally accepted.¹⁵ The acceptance issue thus needs to be addressed before the arrival of the ex-combatants' family or during the first months after their arrival. A first step to prevent such separation would be to give family counseling. In particular, ex-combatants successfully integrated into the community could be encouraged to act as mediators and community acceptance facilitators.

In some cases, returning dependents suffer from a well-founded fear of revenge by the local community. An evaluation of the acceptance capacity of the receiving community could be made, and a decentralized approach to foster ex-combatants' acceptance would favor a better-tailored response adapted to each community's needs.

Home community and family rejecting girl soldiers

The home community can be suspicious about the young girl soldier coming back, especially if she was integrated into an enemy faction. They can also look down on her for having served as a slave when she was abducted to provide sexual services, and they sometimes perceive her as impure and therefore ineligible for marriage. The community may shun child soldiers if they believe that the ex-soldiers committed atrocities; however, according to a World Vision survey, girls are less likely to have committed atrocities than

boys are.¹⁶ Sensitization programs could target the receiving community to not add further trauma to the already suffering child, and purification rites are probably a good solution for both community acceptance and assisting the child with trauma.¹⁷ Some recommend giving life skills training to young ex-combatants to deal with conflict resolution, HIV awareness, drug prevention, reconciliation, value and respect of life, and basic hygiene.

Female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives associations

Women's organizations can be helpful for abandoned, lonely and depressed female ex-combatants, abducted girls, or wives of soldiers. They can provide them with a safe place to exchange views, to dream, to get organized, and to build confidence. Female ex-combatants often benefit from a great asset—namely, their team spirit, encouraged and developed during the struggle. Therefore, programs could include group elements to take full advantage of this asset. Nicaragua and El Salvador reflect some of the best practices in terms of female ex-combatant associations. At first, most belonged to gender-mixed associations; but the decision-making process was monopolized by male ex-combatants, and women started creating female ex-combatant associations. A major problem they faced was the establishment of sound leadership. They lacked experience and often reproduced the only model they knew, which was based on authority.¹⁸ Of particular interest is the example of women living in refugee camps. With the support of the UNHCR, many gained leadership and organizational experience since they were encouraged to create women's groups for community programs and income-generating projects. The UNHCR, for instance, supported the formation of volunteer groups in refugee camps in Bosnia and encouraged women to take leadership roles. Many acquired new confidence, new skills, and a new vision of the future.¹⁹ These women were thus better equipped to face reintegration as they transplanted the model of their organization into their community of settlement.

DRP could adapt and transfer this best practice to support capacity building in associations of female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives, and help train women in decision-making. Female ex-combatants' interests are often not represented, and very few women can make decisions in organizations or government bodies. Many

of them still live according to traditional modes, and do not question male predominance in decision-making. They should, therefore, be made aware of their right to participate in the decision-making process. This awareness could be initiated during the pre-discharge orientation, and continued with the development of their management skills for income-generating projects or when building capacity in their association/organization.

Incentives for community projects involving residents, ex-combatants, and ex-combatants' families

Village communities may not trust females ex-combatants for a number of reasons, including different backgrounds, or because the women chose the nontraditional path of going into battle. Communities may also think that female ex-combatants are incompetent because their experience and skills are not related to money or business management.

Although ex-combatant associations may give female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives a place to meet people with similar experiences, community projects give ex-combatants the opportunity to be included and accepted by civilians as they work together and get to know each other. In addition, integrating target groups into community projects lessens the chance that civilians will envy the support given exclusively to ex-combatants. Support could target community education projects, local infrastructure rehabilitation programs, or income-generating activities. The UCOBAC/UNICEF project in Uganda, for example, tried to integrate female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives in already existing income-generating projects.²⁰ Several women's organizations even recommended that men be included in their program activities in order to enhance gender relations in communities.²¹ It was also found that it was easier to get the support and acceptance of husbands if they were included in the project.

Addressing the most vulnerable cases

With the absence of a bottom-up approach, vulnerable people, especially women, play a minor role in the preparation of development plans. Formal institutions, like cooperatives or village councils, are often the vehicle for most development assistance. Hence, poor, uneducated women, not fully accepted by the community (criteria which generally characterize female ex-combatants or ex-combatants' widows), do not par-

ticipate in these formal institutions and therefore do not benefit from development assistance. In Ethiopia, for example, the village leaders (among whom women are poorly represented) who administer access to land were known to show gender biases in allocating land. Consequently, a good demobilization and reintegration strategy should address vulnerable targets or, if using intermediaries, should plan for monitoring and evaluation measures to ensure that women are integrated into formal institutions and that they receive their share of benefits. Vulnerability criteria should be defined to channel DRP benefits to the most vulnerable cases.

Female disabled ex-combatants

In many countries, a disabled man is able to marry a wife who can provide the labor that the man can no longer perform. In contrast, if the woman is disabled, her husband might abandon her. This kind of situation has especially been documented in countries with many land-mine injuries.²² According to UNDP (1995), in some cultures women with disabilities are twice as prone to divorce, separation, and violence than non-disabled women.²³ In several contexts, such as the Intifada in Palestine, male ex-combatants with disabilities were considered heroes, whereas female ex-combatants with disabilities were outcasts because they were unable to play the traditional role attributed to women—that is, demonstrating the family's wealth through the health and beauty of the family females.

In families where one boy and one girl are disabled, the boy is more likely to get access to resources allocated to disability. DRP planners should pay special attention to ensure that disabled female ex-combatants are not discriminated against when receiving pensions or participating in assistance programs for disabled people. Outreach and sensitization programs, as well as special participation quotas, are recommended. Receiving a disability pension depends on a physician's examination and recommendation; but female ex-combatants have complained that they have been discriminated against in many cases. A recommended measure could be to ensure that female ex-combatants can turn to female physicians for examination. The specificity of female ex-combatant disabilities is another issue to be raised. In the USA a bill has been presented to Congress that gives pensions to female ex-combatants with birth defects caused by exposure to war hazards.²⁴

Female ex-combatants, ex-combatants' wives, and girl soldiers heads of households

As mentioned above, when discussing female ex-combatants rejecting their community of settlement and vice-versa, a sad consequence is that many of them end up single-mother heads of households (Eritrea and Uganda). Of greater concern are girl soldiers who are young mothers when demobilization comes. Some no longer have parents to turn to, and their partner has abandoned them. They need special care and priority access to assistance programs. In Angola, child soldiers and their new families received support for home construction.²⁵ And the vulnerable situation of ex-combatant widows and wives of disabled or chronically ill ex-combatants should be mentioned. DRPs should plan a mechanism that transfers benefits the ex-combatant cannot use to his wife or family.

Counseling and communicating: trauma, drug abuse, and prostitution

Counseling programs and good communication strategies are highly recommended to help female ex-combatants, abducted girls, ex-combatants' wives—and most of all those suffering from trauma, drug or alcohol addiction, and prostitution—to reintegrate.

In addition to taking part in the fighting and providing logistical support, girl soldiers and female fighters are often forced into sexual services. It is difficult to collect data on trauma related to sexual abuse—victims try to avoid attention and are reluctant to talk about it. Therefore, the number of cases and their traumatic effect is probably much higher than evident.

Prostitution and drug and alcohol abuse are directly linked to trauma from sexual abuse. It is no surprise then that sexually abused women are more likely to turn to prostitution if they face a difficult economic situation. With time, different forms of gender-based violence experienced during armed conflicts become institutionalized, since many of the conditions that created the violence remain unchanged. Young girls forced into prostitution for armies, for example, may have no other option but to continue after the conflict has ceased. In Phnom Penh, the number of child victims of prostitution continued to escalate, with an estimated 100 children sold into prostitution each month for economic

reasons.²⁶ The presence of peacekeeping forces generally increases the temptation of choosing prostitution, as the demand for this type of service increases. It has also been noted that female ex-combatants consume much more drugs and alcohol than average female civilians do. Where male ex-combatants express their trauma and difficulty in adapting to the civilian society through aggressive behavior and domestic violence, female ex-combatants isolate themselves, close up, and turn to alcohol and drugs. In addition, women and girls have often been drugged when abducted and thus have developed a dependency.

Counseling programs—conducted exclusively by females—can play an important role when dealing with this kind of trauma. The presence of men often brings back terrible memories, and a trusting relation between the therapist and the victim cannot be established.

A national study on female ex-combatants in the USA found that female ex-combatants with a high level of emotional support from family and friends after war were less likely to suffer from PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder). The support of family and friends is thus fundamental, and programs should aim at reducing the isolation and rejection of female ex-combatants. Programs could also include some outreach elements, since most people in this target group do not know whom to turn to for help, and might include elements dealing with drug and alcohol addiction. Because sexual abuse victims are afraid or ashamed to report what happened, bureaucratic procedures should be kept to a minimum to encourage them to ask for help. Victims should not have to prove anything to access counseling and therapy.

Sensitization campaigns should target places where women are present. Traditionally, their duties include going to markets, fetching water, and taking care of the health of the family. Wells and pumps, markets and health centers are good places to provide information, and religious communities and schools have also been effective. Sensitization campaigns should use actors trusted by women: elder women, teachers, community workers, and nurses. Women may be discouraged from participating in local group meetings if men are present. On some occasions, separating the sexes could be recommended to communicate better with women.

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 - 9 Many programs have the tendency to provide training for "typical female activities," which in post-conflict economies do not respond to market necessities. GTZ (1996).
 - 10 Verhey, B. (2000).
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5

Impact of Demobilization on Women in the Host Community

This chapter focuses on women in host communities affected by the return of demobilized soldiers. Specifically, we look at the situation of all women confronted by a post-conflict situation and the potential positive or negative impact of demobilization and reintegration programs. We do not imply that all these post-conflict issues should be included into DRPs—that will depend on the context. Instead, the goal is to provide a broader picture to DRP planners.

Gender and unemployment

In some post-war countries, the need for human resource development is so strong that women are encouraged to take employment even if it contradicts traditional gender roles. Women might also profit from the introduction of new employment opportunities, such as the tourism industry in Cambodia and Guatemala.¹ Furthermore, post-war situations may offer new areas of employment for well-educated women, especially with the resources of relief and development organizations.

In other countries, high male unemployment—resulting from increased competition because of repatriation of refugees and demobilization, economic crisis, and restructuring—caused women to be excluded from employment in the formal sector (Angola, Mozambique, former Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe).² One has to distinguish between unemployment of women caused by post-conflict economic crisis and unemployment of women due to demobilization. In Nicaragua, an estimated 16,000 women lost their jobs because of the men returning from war.³ Unfortunately, in some countries, like Eritrea, women can only compete with the return of men be-

cause they accept lower salaries. Women are also sometimes pressured by the government or patriarchal views to become housewives in order to help reduce male unemployment.⁴ Studies on Angola, Eritrea, and Namibia show that even when women have the same level of education and qualification, employers often prefer to hire men. The social acceptance of women in typical male professions seems to be temporary and only because of war needs. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the general capability of women to perform men's work. During the post-conflict period in Cambodia, women were the first to lose their job, especially if they were linked through their husbands with the losing side.⁵

The ILO observed in Lebanon that, "the return migration of war exiles, witnessed the past few years, could negatively affect the demand for women workers as it is already the case in the banking sector for instance."

In some countries, the loss of employment had negative psychological impacts on the family. "During the war, when we were able to work, we felt secure; now that the men are the ones who work, we depend on them because they are the ones who earn a living to support the family, so they dominate and we are demeaned."⁷ On the contrary, in Bosnia women interviewed actually expressed positive opinions about employment programs targeting their husbands because it relieved both economic and psychological strain on their families. However, as noted by the Women's Commission, "there is always a danger of creating a situation where men get jobs and women counseling."⁸ This kind of dilemma can be solved by avoiding the use of separate approaches where there is little or no relation be-

tween separate objectives or target groups. The Local Development Initiatives Project in Bosnia funded through the World Bank did prioritize ex-combatants, but at the same time targeted rural unemployment and displaced women.⁹

Gender approach for violence reduction

Post-conflict countries often must deal with the deterioration of law and order. Poverty, coupled with the erosion of authority of traditional institutions, contributes to an increase in crime and delinquency. Typically, during the war lawless behaviors like rape or other forms of violence against women, which formerly would have provoked a strong reaction and sanctions from the community, remain unpunished and contribute to the loosening of local social control. Unemployed, demobilized young men, socialized to violence and brutality during war, are more likely than others to form gangs, particularly in urban areas, and can pose a constant threat to the security of women and children. The training of men in the army generally involves instilling an aggressive masculinity, generally linked to misogyny. This can include visiting prostitutes as a demonstration of male virility, and forcing women to cook and clean for them.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, and El Salvador, despite the fact that human rights violations decreased after the war, violent crimes increased, posing substantial threats to urban and rural women. Although international actors promoted army and police reforms to reduce government-perpetrated human rights violations, they sometimes failed to solve the problem of lawlessness and violence.¹⁰

Various cases have shown that domestic violence of men against women and women against children increases in war-torn countries. The culture of violence, the traumas of war, and the difficult economic situation exacerbate family tension. In 1991 in Guatemala, 75 percent of women admitted with injuries to the hospital were victims of their partner.¹¹ M. Barron describes the result of discussions conducted in Mozambique after the war, where the instances of men drinking and wife beating had increased dramatically. "The women portrayed the men's day as finishing at 11 a.m., when they started to drink catchasu (local beer), and the beating they received in the evening when the men came home. The men agreed with this and one said,

"What are we supposed to do? We have no work any longer, if we produce we have nowhere to sell it so why bother?"¹² According to a study of the World Bank, domestic violence and gender violence vary among rural and urban areas, but are linked to poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and power asymmetry within households. Domestic violence is often a result of male social impotence or gender frustration.¹³ During the post-conflict period, the stress of men and women having to adjust to changes (demobilization, returnees), the renegotiation of roles, and the new division of responsibilities often result in increased violence.

In several cases, it has been observed that domestic violence increases as social tensions grow. Sarah Maguire's research shows that in the buildup to the war in former Yugoslavia, the demand for support to domestic violence victims grew significantly in Belgrade when TV programs promoted "national honor" in preparation for the war.¹⁴ In addition, social tensions do remain long after war ends, and warlike nationalist and violent discourses are often accompanied by the renewal of a patriarchal familial ideology, deepening the separation between men and women. Economic circumstances can also have an impact on violence. When men have economic advantages over women, they have a privilege to defend. Economic changes, which often accompany a conflict or post-conflict period, can put at risk or even destroy men's traditional livelihoods and, without alternatives, can make violence an attractive option. Reaction to powerlessness may include violence against women or children, or joining gangs or armed factions to restore feelings of control.

The emancipation acquired by women in the army or during their exile as refugees can trigger domestic violence. This is especially true for husbands going through a self-confidence crisis and not accepting the new assertiveness of their wives and their leadership capacities. Unfortunately, too often the leadership does not consider domestic violence a major problem and thus does not try to reduce it. This is why governments have to take a leading role in fighting post-war violence.

Several strategies with a special focus on counseling and communicating could be recommended. Group therapy techniques were used in El Salvador, with the participation of husband, wife and children, aggressors and victims. The primary objective was to

restore communication.¹⁵ The possibility of transferring this experience to another context (Africa or Asia) could be evaluated. Some adaptation might be necessary, especially since traditions are different. Sensitization campaigns and popular folk theatre can increase public awareness of violence reduction. In Mozambique, the Association of Demobilized Soldiers (AMODEG) suggested a civic education radio program, where families with demobilized soldiers could send their questions and submit their problems. Questions would be answered, providing an excellent forum for discussion.¹⁶ The same experience took place in Uganda. In Algeria, so many women were reporting gang rapes that on 22 December 1994, there was a “totally unprecedented move for the society, where sexuality remains a taboo subject to discussion; three young women between the age of 15 and 28, who had survived similar ordeals, appeared with their fathers on national Algerian television to speak about their experiences.”¹⁷

Although education cannot “re-socialize” boys or men, in the sense of pressing them into a nonviolent mold, it can open up new pathways, and allow boys and men to use a broader spectrum of their capacities. “Solving the problem of violence and building a culture of peace certainly requires a change in masculinity. But it does not require men to become weak or incapable. On the contrary, violence often happens because masculinity is constructed to make violence the easy option, or the only option considered.”¹⁸ Violence prevention could be introduced in the curriculum of pre-discharge information given to soldiers to be demobilized.

Programs aiming at empowering women and increasing their self-esteem can also be helpful. More controversial are programs aiming at giving financial independence to women, the primary reason being that when the wife does not depend on her husband for the family’s subsistence, arguments are less likely to happen. Some argue that the engendered jealousy and emasculation of the partner might cause even further domestic violence.

HIV/AIDS

A first priority is to analyze the HIV/AIDS national strategy, activities, and resources before deciding on what should or should not be covered by a DRP. In Ethiopia, for example, the government proposed that the national HIV/AIDS program cover HIV/AIDS issues of the DRP.

In some countries, rates of STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) in the military are two to five times higher than in the civil population (STD rates in the US military are estimated to have risen by a factor of fifty during periods of engagement).¹⁹ This can be explained in several ways: soldiers are usually young and sexually active, they are often single, they are trained in high risk-taking, they are less than fully literate, they are at risk of physical injury and more likely to be contaminated by blood. Like women everywhere, female military personnel are especially vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection for physiological reasons, and because they are often in a weaker situation for sexual negotiations, including the use of a condom.

One of the best strategies in a DRP for preventing infection is to inform and educate soldiers before they are discharged (see *Pre-discharge orientation*). Demobilization presents a unique opportunity to have a captive audience. Soldiers are generally well disciplined and used to instruction, and are trained to internalize new information. The situation might be quite different when dealing with irregular forces, who are often more difficult to reach. Individual approaches, such as situation prevention exercises, have demonstrated positive impacts on soldiers. Prevention exercises should especially target the use of condoms and sexual negotiations between men and women.²⁰

A more proactive approach could be introduced by selecting and training some demobilized soldiers to serve as agents of change in their communities for HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns. In Bolivia for example, the Sentinels of Health Program of the Bolivian armed forces uses demobilized soldiers as health promoters in remote regions. The demobilized soldier receives a specific health education that allows him to make an important contribution in terms of health and HIV/AIDS prevention. It also facilitates his acceptance and reintegration since he is contributing to the well-being of his community.²¹

Another recommended strategy is having soldiers tested during demobilization. On this issue, voluntary participation and confidentiality are norms internationally accepted and strongly suggested by UNAIDS. However, in many countries, especially in Africa, only a small percentage of positive cases can afford treatment. The consequences of such a situation must be considered before proposing HIV/AIDS testing. Experience

has also demonstrated that testing must be accompanied by counseling to generate a good impact and not limit the exercise to a collection of data.

The HIV/AIDS sensitization of women in the receiving community is very important. Although programs other than DRPs normally cover this issue, it is important to flag it for coordination. In Mozambique, ex-combatants' wives prepared themselves for the return of their husband by tattooing their body and collecting herbs to dry their vagina and increase their husband's pleasure.²² They feared their husband would abandon them for another woman if they were not able to satisfy him. Tragically, this measure is well known to drastically increase the risk of HIV/AIDS transmission. HIV/AIDS sensitization and mitigation is a long process, and requires important changes in traditions and behaviors. It is therefore vital to identify efficient sensitization strategies that have an impact on communities without stigmatizing ex-combatants.

Dealing with soldiers or ex-soldiers with AIDS raises serious questions about the will and the capacity of the families or local communities (who might also have been infected) to commit themselves to caring for the ex-combatants. Practicability and cost have to be considered in addressing how and to what extent military forces, demobilization programs, or the government can and/or should extend support to families and communities. Support could include home-care services and support of widows and orphans where social services are inadequate. According to the International Center for Migration and Health, some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have already taken steps to ensure the livelihood of children orphaned because of AIDS-related deaths among military personnel.²³ Caring for ex-combatants, their families, and possibly affected communities, does have a strong impact on costs. "The costs of AIDS care in militaries with high HIV rates could severely distort their defense budgets. Since the highest military priority is readiness for national defense and effective deployment, these armies might be inclined to discharge AIDS patients and thus to transfer the costs of care to the civilian sector."²⁴ This issue could be part of the discussion. In any case, dealing with HIV/AIDS and military/civilian populations does require a strong cooperation between military and civilian programs.

Women's roles in reconciliation and peace

The return of ex-combatants to civilian life often creates tensions within the local community. Their acceptance

is not unanimous and people take sides. Usually during war situations, when men are away, it is the role of women to keep their communities alive. To some of them it creates the opportunity for more exposure and allows them to participate in the peace process at the end of the war. Unfortunately, so far their participation has been limited. Some men believe that war is a matter for men and should be solved by men only. In Burundi, where women were excluded from government meetings, they made themselves heard by creating their own association for peace building and reconciliation.²⁵ Those kinds of self-started initiatives could be encouraged. The participation of women, and especially female ex-combatants, in peace negotiations at an early stage is a prerequisite to the promotion of their interests and to their future participation in decision-making. It is at the peace table that the tone is set for the reconstruction of the country, and that the political, economic, social, and institutional changes are initiated. It is also an opportunity for women to express their views and influence decisions.

Women have been more successful at the local level and have demonstrated that they can play a substantial role at the grassroots level when campaigning for peace. They were able to mobilize large numbers of women, and they sometimes succeeded in building a new culture of peace by encouraging community-based reconciliation and social reconstruction activities. The potential positive impact women can have on the reconciliation process is especially relevant for the reintegration of ex-combatants. Many women's peace organizations share the conviction that peace should be primarily approached at the community and family level. In many cases (because of wedding traditions), they have loyalties to different kin groups, which increases their credibility as mediators between clans or enemy factions.

Social integration and disintegration

With men away during conflict, gender roles usually shift. The renegotiation of gender roles between men and women during the post-conflict period will determine if changes that occurred during the war will be temporary or permanent, and if women will gain or lose power. Unfortunately, this negotiation does not take place without confrontations. The family unit is the first place for such crises. Sometimes, the returning husband does not accept the new role taken by his wife, and his frustration—caused by unemployment and what he sees as his loss of power due to his wife's emancipation—

can generate obstacles to social integration. The possible lack of understanding on the wife's part and her eagerness to impose drastic changes can also hamper social/family reintegration.

Paradoxically, while social disintegration has high social costs, for some women this presents new opportunities and is the result of deliberate choices. The decision to divorce or separate from her husband can give the wife a new sense of responsibility and independence. In Chad, "the trade-off in the form of economic security gained through submission to men in the marriage contract was no longer automatically expected."²⁶ But this option is only available when the women's economic and social legal rights (custody of children for example) after divorce are equal to men's. Women's organizations can play an important role in counseling and campaigning for rights awareness and implementation. In Nicaragua, women's organizations established legal support groups to teach women about their rights and help them in court cases.²⁷

In addition to family integration or disintegration, war brings social disruptions within communities. Interestingly, female ex-refugees and ex-combatants may provoke jealousy and resentment from communities, obstructing the reintegration of returnees. One female refugee from Guatemala says, "In refuge, we are opening our eyes."²⁸ What she means is that by getting out of the patriarchal system she starts to perceive her role as different and emancipated. The displaying of such a behavior developed during wartime can be perceived as a lack of respect for local cultural traditions. And communities may be jealous of great wealth which they believe refugees have accumulated during their exile. Demobilized soldiers, on their side, often come back with pensions and large cash amounts, evoking similar envy.

These similarities suggest that collaboration between reintegration programs for refugees and ex-combatants could be useful. For example, since both groups can face social reintegration problems (emancipation of women for instance), a common program could target them both and aim at their reintegration in local communities.

An integrated approach including gender perspectives

During the planning and the implementation of demobilization and reintegration programs, one question keeps returning: To what extent should DRPs include

individuals among beneficiaries who are not directly related to demobilization—for example women in host communities or returning refugees? DRPs have a primary mandate—the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants—and they cannot address every post-conflict issue. Therefore, the general tendency is to exclude most of them in order to focus on primary target groups—soldiers to be demobilized and, possibly, their families. The logic is that during a post-conflict period, there are or should be other donor, UN agency, or NGO programs aimed at rehabilitating and reconstructing the country as well as focusing on its economic recovery. Actually, DRPs are increasingly integrated into bigger reconstruction programs. For example, in Sierra Leone the DRP is financed partly by the World Bank's Community Reintegration and Rehabilitation Project.

This being said, one must also acknowledge that ex-combatants have an impact on women in host communities (HIV/AIDS, employment, violence, and gender roles) and vice versa. Therefore, it should be the responsibility of DRP planners to assess the potential side effects of their program on other groups and to prevent negative impacts by either offering access to some services to affected people or at least by ensuring that other programs deal with it efficiently. Nonetheless, the bureaucratic and institutional complications of such an exercise (when dealing with other actors/organizations) should not be underestimated.

In regard to the multiple interrelations between programs and groups, an integrated approach is recommended. There has long been a tendency to focus on the reintegration of demobilized soldiers, refugees, and IDPs. However, the post-war society is going through changes and adaptation, and the issue of integration is relevant for all members of society. "Newly gained economic freedom and independence, long years of separation and exposure to new social environments and attitudes, new perceptions of the role of the family and its members, and forced migration in search of employment all contribute to the continued dismantling of existing social institutions and the establishment of new ones. Social reintegration, in other words, is not simply about coming home, but about defining new guiding social values and establishing corresponding relationships and institutions."²⁹ In conclusion, while each institution and program has to stick to its mandate, it can still promote an integrated approach for the reconstruction of the social capital of an often divided post-war society.

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6

Implementation Arrangements

Good implementation of DRPs requires planning that takes gender specificity into account.

Recruitment of women

The first issue to consider is the staffing of offices that will implement the DRP. In some cases, positions have to be staffed with females to respect customs and taboos. In several societies, for example, men do not like to see their wives educated by other men. Education and training projects should therefore recruit enough female educators. DRP implementing bodies or partners (international organizations, NGOs) should follow the same guidelines and be sensitized to the recruitment of women. Experience encourages using female ex-combatants for jobs that involve the reintegration of other female ex-combatants. They have a better understanding of the problems, the psychology, and the limitations. And it would improve outreach efforts. Women beneficiaries would also feel less intimidated by female staff, and in some cultures, a man cannot have a discussion with a strange woman. A female staff would not face such a problem.

ACORD in Eritrea set up a Gender Research Unit integrated into the government DRP to research, identify, and address the needs of female ex-combatants. This pool was also used to train female ex-combatants to become part of ACORD staff for their “Barefoot Bankers” program. Unfortunately, this unit was unsuccessful, mainly because of the lack of government support and resources. ACORD ended up doing some of the gender project without the government’s participation.¹ A sensitization of the government might have been useful.

Recruitment of gender specialists

Depending on the structural arrangements of the DRP, and the number of female beneficiaries of the program, one or several gender specialists should be recruited at the national and local levels for DRP offices. Where the number of female beneficiaries is very small, this activity could be outsourced. The gender specialist could be in charge of the gender training of the DRP implementing staff, and would do gender analysis. She would be responsible for contacts with other gender specialists in government, international organizations, or NGOs. She would fight against gender discrimination within the DRP and would be responsible for identifying and addressing female specific needs. She would also be responsible for counseling and communicating with the target groups and women in the communities of settlement. She would follow positive or negative impacts of demobilization on women in host communities and suggest appropriate measures.

Training of gender sensitive staff

The staff involved in the implementation of the DRP should also be trained to become more gender sensitive. The staff should know how to reach the target groups, how to communicate with them, how to identify their specific needs, and how to find solutions to satisfy those needs. The staff should be trained to detect gender-based social and economic differences and constraints, and to develop strategies to overcome them. Some NGOs have a good record for “training trainers”; or, use the gender specialist working for the DRP to do this training.² It is important to train the implementing staff of the DRP at

the beginning of the program, preferably before the socioeconomic profile and targeting are undertaken, because these activities are crucial for the future development of the DRP.

Working with child soldiers can be extremely difficult. Community workers and counselors need training and support to deal with them. Abducted girls have different needs from abducted boys, and counselors must be trained and informed about methods to deal with them.

Gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation tools adapted to the implementation of a DRP

The first tool is built on the LogFrame matrix. The idea is to adapt the LogFrame matrix to the given context by introducing two elements: the first being a tool responsive to the objectives pursued by a DRP; the second being to introduce a gender sensitive approach. Specific objectives should be set up for each group of beneficiaries targeted by the DRP (male ex-combatants, female ex-combatants, abducted girls, abducted boys, ex-combatant's widows, etc.) It is important to identify indicators that measure each intended objective that is sensitive to each target group. Disaggregated data should be collected for each group of beneficiaries—for example, the number of female ex-combatants who received housing allowances, the number of male ex-combatants, widows, etc. The contribution of program activities and inputs for each target group should be included.

The Beneficiary Assessment is another tool regularly used by the World Bank.³ A qualitative tool, it is used to improve the impact of programs by collecting opinions of the beneficiaries and integrating them into the next

phases of a program. This approach intends to provide reliable qualitative in-depth information on the socio-cultural and economic conditions of beneficiaries. The general idea is to include beneficiaries in the project design and implementation, and potentially to increase their participation in program activities. This beneficiary assessment tool could be used for the evaluation of a DRP. It would be necessary to introduce a gender dimension, especially with the assessment of female beneficiaries. A gender component should be introduced for each step of the beneficiary assessment: setting of objectives, selecting institution and field researchers (ensuring a fair female representation), preparing terms of reference, sampling frames (representative samples for each sub-group of female beneficiaries should be selected), preparing interview guides, and performing an institutional assessment.

Financial aspects

Rather than give an exhaustive analysis of financial implications for introducing gender dimensions in DRPs, this section indicates gender-related DRP activities that could be budgeted. These short-term costs are expected to have a large positive impact on a post-war economy.⁴

The costs would be greatly reduced if the gender specialist or organization were recruited within the country. One solution could be to contract an international consultant on gender for several weeks to participate in a first DRP assessment. She would be able to assess the capacity of the country in terms of gender specialists and would make recommendations. If possible, the “local” gender specialist/organization would then take over.

Targeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supervising the gender dimension of the targeting phase and carrying out a gender analysis of the socioeconomic profile of beneficiaries, including an intra-household analysis, identifying gender specific needs, and designing a gender component for the DRP • Gender training of all DRP implementing staff • Verification units to avoid discrimination
Demobilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific material (booklets, etc.) and gender consultants for the pre-discharge orientation of female ex-combatants • Specific logistic needs (separate shelter, etc.) • Transport of families to communities of settlement • Monitoring of gender dimensions • Possible information campaign for women in host communities
Reinsertion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Payment of TSN to family members • Registration and ID cards for family members • Monitoring of gender dimensions
Reintegration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring of gender dimensions • Special interventions like childcare • Special measures for women in host communities if affected by demobilization and if no other program deals with such problem

1 ACORD (1995).

2 ILO/Muhumuza, Robby (1997).

3 The World Bank / Lawrence F. Salmen (1999).

4 The World Bank, Blackden, Mark C. and Bhanu Chitra, 1999.

Annex 1

Gender Sensitive Suggestions for Questionnaires

Questions for a Socio-Economic Profile

TOPIC	QUESTIONS	COMMENTS
Presence of polygamy	How many spouse(s) do you have? How many households?	Traditional, religious or civil wedding should all be taken into account
Number of dependants	How many people depend on you? Of those, how many are female? How many dependants are less than 16 years old? How many of them are girls?	
Household	What is the economic activity of your spouse(s)? Were you able to give some money to your spouse/dependants during the conflict? If yes, was it on a regular basis? Did you see your spouse/partner/parents (if single) during the conflict? Where are your dependants now? Will you join your spouse after demobilization? If not, why? Where will your household be in the future?	Per household if several Classification per household Village, city or province
Wedding during conflict	Did you get married during the conflict? If yes, do you plan to stay with your spouse? If you do not plan to stay together, what is the reason? Does your family know about your marriage? Is your spouse from the same area/tribe as you? Did you follow a customary wedding ceremony?	

Possible Vulnerability Criteria

Number of dependants less than 16 years old
Total income of household
Capital: land, livestock, house
Health problems

Gender Disaggregated Interesting Comparisons

Family status
Rank
Years of service
Age group
% of single head of household
Number of singles not going back to their parents
Region of settlement
Number of vulnerability criteria met
Level of education
Professional experience
Ongoing income activity besides army

Type of intended activity after demobilization
 Health problems
 Type of support needed
 Selected topics for information
 Fears about settling in community

Gender Sensitive Measures for Interviews

Men and women should be interviewed separately
 Interviewers should be of both sexes
 Attention should be paid to men and women's different work
 Schedules and constraints for participation in interviews

Intra-household Analysis

Questions to demobilized soldiers

Who takes decisions about spending money for the family?
 Who takes decisions about spending the income of the spouse/partner?
 Who is responsible for buying food?
 Who is responsible for the health of the family?
 Who is responsible for the education of children?
 Who is responsible for buying clothes?
 Would you accept that part of the settling-in assistance to be provided under the program for you and your family be given directly to your spouse?
 If no, why?
 If yes, why?
 If yes, what percent?
 If yes, under what conditions?

Questions to the spouse/partner

Who should receive the settling-in assistance for the family?
 What do you think your spouse/partner would do with the settling-in assistance?
 What about the other spouses (if polygamy)?
 What has changed or would change with the return of your spouse?
 Would you keep your activity?
 If no, why?
 Would you keep the same responsibilities (inside and outside the household)?
 If no, why?

Annex 2

Summary of Recommendations/ Operational Implications

ISSUES	RECOMMENDATIONS	OPERATIONAL IMPLICATIONS
Targeting female ex-combatants	Give ex-combatant status without gender discrimination	Non-discriminating criteria Gender aware verification committees
Targeting female ex-combatants	For guerilla context, avoid confirmation of grade or ex-combatant status by potentially discriminating officers	Dispatching clear and gender sensitive instructions to confirmation authorities Gender aware verification committees
Targeting of girls	Outreach program to avoid them being sent away without going through demobilization program	Radio campaigns and encouraging of government to acknowledge the existence of child soldiers or abducted girls
Targeting of families	In some contexts give part of benefits directly to families	Intra-household analysis Husband's acceptance evaluation Identification of families Guidelines for polygamy Sensitization of ex-combatant during pre-discharge orientation Sensitization of community to limit misuse of TSN by ex-combatant
Socio-economic profile	Define a profile for each target group	Adapt questionnaire and disaggregate data collection
Targeting mechanism	Measures to avoid gender discrimination	Gender sensitive staff
Encampment	Male and female soldiers in discharge centers	Specific logistic for women: shelter, sanitation, clothes
Encampment	Pre-discharge orientation adapted to female needs	Give clear information about benefits to avoid misuse and inflated expectations General information about income-generating possibilities and skills transfer General information about rights HIV/AIDS and domestic violence separated sessions for men and women and strategies adapted to each group
Encampment	Separate health facilities for women	Non-discriminating medical screening staff Female medical staff Unit for trauma counseling initiation
Transport home	Avoid forcing abducted women to follow partner	Separate interviews Separate transport
Demobilization of abducted girls	Send them to recovery camps or directly to home communities if possible	Organization of recovery camps prepared to deal with girls specific traumas (sexual abuses) and young children or babies Family tracing

ISSUES	RECOMMENDATIONS	OPERATIONAL IMPLICATIONS
Demobilization/preparation of families and women in host communities for the return of ex-combatants	Prepare them to receive the ex-combatant	Information campaign about signed peace agreements and DRP with radio, for example Lists with name and date of arrival of ex-combatants
Initiation of the TSN	Avoid gender discrimination	Do not use criteria for TSN that could result in gender discrimination Introduce a vulnerability criteria if female ex-combatants or families are in a particularly vulnerable situation
Payment modalities	Avoid big threatening cash amounts	If possible use bank accounts or payments in several installments by DRP office
Housing benefits	Consider its importance in some contexts for women as many work in their house	If house construction is part of the package, consider extra assistance for women not able to deal with self-built houses
Temporary medical care	Adapted to women and girls specific needs (reproductive health services, family planning, trauma counseling and STD and HIV/AIDS)	Check availability locally and consider special measures for most serious cases (transport support to bigger hospitals, for example)
Post-discharge information	Ensure that DRP office or equivalent is able to give relevant and useful information to female ex-combatant	Train DRP staff/gender specialist and find relevant information or refer to efficient partner
Economic reintegration activities	Support access to credit and income generating for female ex-combatants	Outreach program to overcome lack of geographic mobility Training for money management and writing of credit proposal Follow-up
Access to land	If government initiate program, ensure that male and female ex-combatants receive equal treatment	Program follow-up Support grassroot organization helping women with legal issues (access to land ownership)
Access to employment	Promote the employment of female ex-combatants, abducted girls and ex-combatants' wives	Sensitization campaigns targeting potential employers Use of ex-combatants network Issuing of skills certificates Incentives to employers to hire female ex-combatants Follow-up
Education and training of females ex-combatants, abducted girls and ex-combatants' wives	Encourage access to vocational training and education	Complementary training for identified useful skills Training adapted to expressed demands and market needs Women friendly time tables (not in conflict with their traditional errands) Follow-up by gender specialist
Childcare facilities	Give female ex-combatants access to childcare facilities	Provide facilities or support self-started childcare initiatives
Education and training of girls	Adapt training and education programs to girls' specific situation	Support their access to apprenticeship, skills training and remedial education

ISSUES	RECOMMENDATIONS	OPERATIONAL IMPLICATIONS
Female ex-combatant rejected by home community and vice versa	Support of female ex-combatants and ex-combatants' wives associations Incentives for community projects involving residents, ex-combatants and families	Train them for better leadership Train them for participation in decision-making Fund to finance participatory projects Follow-up
Abducted girls rejected by home community	Sensitization of families and home communities	Organization of local media and radio campaigns Organization of family counseling
Disabled female ex-combatants	Avoid gender discrimination	Quotas for participation to support programs Outreach and sensitization components of projects Female physicians (or gender sensitive) for examination and disability classification
Trauma, drug abuse, and prostitution	Counseling and communication	Minimal bureaucratic procedures for rape victims Use of women favored communication channels (use of actors women trust) Trauma counseling and encouraging of ritual purification (if context requires) Trauma, drug or prostitution counseling
Unemployment and women in host communities Street violence and domestic violence	Beware of potential negative affects of DRP on civilian women Violence reduction measures	Take support measures or ensure that other programs address the problem (if existing) Sensitization during pre-discharge orientation and with mass media programs Family counseling and conflict solving Discussions encouraging government to fight post-war violence and domestic violence
Reconciliation and peace	Encourage participation of women (female ex-combatants) in peace negotiations	Put pressure on belligerents during discussions
Inter-relations between vulnerable groups and programs	Use of an integrated approach	Assess side effects on other programs, vulnerable groups and identify optimal strategy or compensation system
Implementation arrangements	Gender dimensions of DRP implementation arrangements	Recruitment of women for DRP implementing staff Training in gender issues Recruitment of gender specialist(s) and or subcontracting Use of gender sensitive monitoring and evaluating tools

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