

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

Mapping Issues, Dilemmas and Guiding Principles

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Introduction

The process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants plays a critical role in transitions from war to peace. DDR processes have become an integral part of peacekeeping operations and post-conflict reconstruction activities. Their success or failure can affect the long-term peace building prospects for any post-conflict society.

Notwithstanding the importance of and increased experience with DDR over the last decade, program implementation remains problematic. That is why the Stockholm Initiative on SSR (SIDDR) was undertaken, and why the UN developed its Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS). This briefing note addresses some of the problems that practitioners will encounter in dealing with DDR program design and implementation. It provides a concise overview of some of the main lessons learned, as well as some guidance questions.

I. Key Messages

- DDR refers to the process of demilitarizing official and unofficial armed groups by controlling and reducing the possession and use of arms, by disbanding non-state armed groups and rightsizing state security services and by assisting former combatants to reintegrate into civilian life;
- DDR processes can help create an environment in which the overall peace process, political and social reconciliation, social and economic rehabilitation, and longer-term development can take root;
- That said, DDR processes have the capacity to influence only a fairly narrow range of political and security objectives. They cannot substitute for inadequate will on the part of the parties to the conflict or peace enforcement activities. Nor can they prevent conflict from recurring. DDR also cannot produce development, guarantee the successful reintegration of ex-combatants into society, or substitute for longer term programs to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons;
- DDR must be seen as part of the political process of consolidating peace and promoting stability, not as a technical activity. DDR should therefore be tailored to the local political context, the institutional and human capacity of countries undergoing DDR, and reflect the realities of economic life in conflict-affected countries;
- DDR processes should be built on national leadership and responsibility. A national program should guide the activities, and donors should support this;
- It is desirable to embed DDR in a comprehensive framework for enhancing security, peace consolidation and economic recovery;
- DDR processes should ideally take into account both a realistic appraisal of external support for DDR as part of early planning and a realistic assessment of problems and opportunities for implementation on the ground;
- DDR processes have to be very clear about the primary target group (male and female combatants), eligibility criteria and types of benefits to be offered. These must be communicated to all groups affected by a DDR process;
- DDR processes require centralized, integrated funding system; early funding and evidence-based planning; and monitoring and evaluation on results-based outcomes, quantitative outputs, and their political and security impact.

II. Definitions

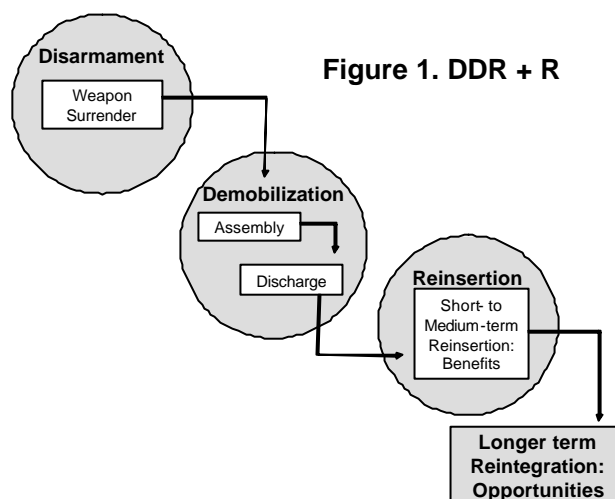
Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is the process of:

- Demilitarizing official and unofficial armed groups by controlling and reducing the possession and use of arms, disbanding non-state armed groups, and reducing the size of state security services, and;
- Assisting former combatants to reintegrate into civilian life.

DDR can be viewed as a five-stage process weapon surrender, assembly, discharge, short- to medium-term reinsertion, and longer-term reintegration (Figure 1). It is important to recognize that these stages may not occur in a linear fashion, depending on the requirements of each peace process.

As part of its Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) process, the UN has adopted the following definitions:

- **Disarmament.** Disarmament is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population. Disarmament also includes the development of responsible arms management programs;
- **Demobilization.** Demobilization is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups. The first stage of demobilization may extend from the processing of individual combatants in temporary centers to the massing of troops in camps designated for this purpose (cantonment sites, encampments, assembly areas or barracks);
- **Reinsertion.** Reinsertion is the assistance offered to ex-combatants during demobilization but prior to the longer-term process of reintegration. Reinsertion is a form of transitional assistance to help cover the basic needs of ex-combatants and their families and can include transitional safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services, short-term education, training, employment and tools. While reintegration is a long-term, continuous social and economic process of development, reinsertion is a short-term material and/or financial assistance to meet immediate needs, and can last up to one year;
- **Reintegration.** Reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income. Reintegration is essentially a social and economic process with an open time frame, primarily taking place in communities at the local level. It is



part of the general development of a country and a national responsibility and often necessitates long-term external assistance.

In the past, the dividing line between reinsertion and reintegration has not been clear. “Reintegration” has commonly been used to cover all activities after demobilization, but ex-combatants have typically received primarily reinsertion benefits. Given the political and security objectives of DDR, it might make more sense to redefine and limit the “R” portion of DDR as “reinsertion” and view reinsertion as the bridge between demobilization and longer-term reintegration as portrayed in figure 1. It is nonetheless essential to identify ways in which longer-term reintegration assistance can be used to support the reintegration of former combatants and their dependents into civilian life without overly privileging them compared to other war-affected populations. For example, assistance may be provided to communities to facilitate their ability to receive ex-combatants.

This approach is also in line with the UN definition, which suggests that longer-term reintegration is not part of the DDR process. The benefit of this approach is that it clearly draws a line between an individual’s status as ex-combatant and his/her status as a civilian. It will be important, however, to ensure the linkage between reinsertion and reintegration, for example by creating a liaison between the national body managing the DDR process and relevant government ministries and commissions, such as the Planning Ministry or a Reintegration Commission.

Security-sector/system reform (SSR) as defined by the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) has three components: 1) developing an institutional framework integrating security and development policy, 2) strengthening security-sector governance and oversight, and 3) building accountable, professional and capable security services. The linkage between DDR and SSR relates to rightsizing security bodies in the context of a post-settlement restructuring. Security personnel who are retrenched as part of this process are likely to require reinsertion and reintegration support. Rightsizing and restructuring can, however, occur without a comprehensive SSR process. Donors might wish to consider linking support for reinsertion and reintegration to a broader SSR process.

III. What DDR Can and Cannot Do

3.1. What DDR Can Do

DDR processes can help create an environment in which the overall peace process, political and social reconciliation, social and economic rehabilitation, and longer-term development can take root. They do this by contributing to a level of security that is sufficient for the peace process to go forward and by promoting confidence-building among former warring parties and between warring parties and non-combatants. Specifically, DDR processes can:

- Provide the mechanism to separate combatants from at least some of their weapons (arms reduction and control rather than total disarmament) and to begin to break up command structures;
- Provide rebel groups with a way of laying down arms without being seen as having surrendered;
- Begin to build trust and confidence among and between former combatants and non-combatants that enables other elements of the peace process such as elections, SSR, reconciliation, and economic recovery to go forward;
- Provide ex-combatants with a much-needed transition period and an opportunity to begin to reintegrate into civilian life;
- Provide a short-term safety net for ex-combatants and their dependents;
- Start a process of changing the habits and identities of ex-combatants.

3.2. What DDR Cannot Do

While DDR is an essential part of a peace process, a DDR process has the capacity to influence only a fairly narrow range of political and security objectives. Additionally, because DDR processes are normally limited in duration, it is important to limit expectations about potential DDR outcomes.

- A DDR process cannot substitute for inadequate will on the part of the parties to the conflict to engage in a political process that will enable them to lay down their weapons and resolve their differences peacefully;
- Nor can it substitute for peace enforcement activities when those are necessary;
- A DDR process can help mitigate conflict; it cannot, by itself, prevent conflict from recurring;
- Similarly, a DDR process cannot produce development. It cannot even guarantee that ex-combatants will successfully reintegrate into civilian society. A DDR process also cannot substitute for longer-term programs to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

IV. Pre-Conditions for DDR

Recent experience demonstrates that while the impediments to DDR may be substantial, practitioners often do not have a choice about whether or how to engage. This is because engagement may be necessary for political reasons. It also reflects the fact that DDR is frequently viewed as *the* major means of improving security after violent conflict. Additionally, DDR has become a routine component of post-conflict assistance packages. In all of these cases, decisions to engage are almost always made without adequate analysis of whether certain key preconditions exist.

Successful DDR programs require both strong technical inputs and an appreciation of the political and security environment in which they will be undertaken. In particular, it is essential to assess carefully whether the necessary pre-conditions are present. Ideally the political and security context should be analyzed to determine whether, when and how to provide DDR assistance before a donor commits itself to supporting DDR. Given the fact that it is often not possible to conduct such an analysis prior to committing, it is still important to conduct this analysis as soon as possible in order to shape the engagement.

In assessing the readiness for beginning DDR, the following three issues stand out:

- Buy-in from parties to conflict: For DDR to succeed, both the leaders involved in the peace negotiations and their field commanders need to be prepared to assume responsibility for implementing the peace agreement, including the DDR process, and to exert the leadership necessary for its implementation;
- Agreement on a policy framework and establishment of an organization to oversee DDR. There needs to be consensus on the broad outlines of a policy framework for DDR, as well as on an organization that will oversee DDR implementation. Where DDR is included in a peace agreement, it is desirable to achieve as much agreement on these points as possible. Where DDR occurs outside the framework of a peace settlement or the details in the peace agreement are limited, it is essential that there is at a minimum agreement that these issues will be dealt with on a priority basis at the outset of the peace implementation process;
- International commitment to the peace process: Successful DDR processes require the support of key international actors in developing mediation mechanisms and exerting coordinated political, economic and security pressure for implementing DDR in the context of the broader peace process. Two mechanisms that are frequently used are: 1) high-level security commissions to support implementation of DDR or broader security provisions of peace agreements and 2) bilateral or multilateral security forces backed by the necessary mandate and political will on the part of the international community to employ them to enforce the peace agreement.

Guidance Questions:

- Has the political will for peace (including that of regional actors) been assessed?;
- Is DDR included in the peace agreement and is there adequate consensus on the broad outlines of a policy framework for DDR?;

- Does the peace agreement provide the basis to establish an organization that will oversee DDR implementation?;
- If this is not the case, how will agreement on these issues be achieved?;
- Are key international actors willing to help develop and support mediation mechanisms and exert coordinated political, economic and security pressure for implementing DDR in the context of the broader peace process? If not, how will these functions be fulfilled?

V. Guiding Principles

The international community has been involved in post-conflict DDR since the late 1980s in places as diverse as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Eritrea, Kosovo, Namibia, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, and Timor Leste. Taken together, these experiences suggest that the way in which DDR is approached is at least as important as the details of designing and implementing DDR activities. The following four guiding principles are offered as a framework within which DDR programming can occur.

- DDR processes should be built on the foundation of national leadership and responsibility. National actors – including national governments, the former armed opposition and members of civil society – should assume the leadership of and responsibility for decisions about objectives, policies, strategies, program design, and implementation modalities. Ideally, this will facilitate the development of an integrated DDR approach, so that disarmament and development are not delinked from reinsertion. While national institutions should preferably manage DDR processes, in practice considerable external support may be required. Such support should promote, not undermine, national leadership and responsibility;
- DDR should be approached as a process, not a program. While DDR processes will consist of a series of programs aimed at addressing the various needs facing ex-combatants, their dependents, and the communities where they settle, it is important to recognize that DDR does *not* consist of distinct, linear activities. Instead, these programs are embedded in a broader dynamic, integrated process. A successful policy process in any sector involves: 1) recognizing the inherently political, subjective and psychological aspects of an issue; 2) prioritizing policy communication, dialogue, and debate; 3) developing adequate human and institutional capacity (which can be acquired in a variety of ways); and 4) undertaking policy analysis to inform programming;
- DDR should be viewed as part of a broader security, stabilization and recovery strategy, rather than a stand-alone intervention. The international community should work with national stakeholders to develop a comprehensive view of what is necessary to support post-settlement military and security transitions, recognizing that DDR may only be one possible element of a broader package of support. To this end, local stakeholders need to develop as early in the peace process as possible a costed strategic plan for security- sector reform and restructuring, in order to reach agreement on priorities in the three key areas identified by the DAC. Similarly, a holistic view of economic recovery in the post-settlement period needs to be elaborated and the place of DDR-related activities in the broader framework identified. For its part, the international community may need to undertake peace enforcement activities to help move the peace process forward. Where UN peacekeeping operations are mandated to support peace processes, Chapter 7 mandates are essential and should be used, not merely bestowed;
- All DDR stakeholders – national, regional and international – should make a serious effort to learn from past experiences. The international community, which provides most of the financing for DDR processes and has a significant impact on their design and implementation, has a special responsibility to assimilate and implement the lessons of past experiences. “Lessons” concerning

all phases of the DDR process are being rediscovered while others have been discarded without understanding the conditions under which the lessons were generated in the first place.

Guidance Questions:

- Have local actors (ideally government, armed opposition and civil society) assumed the responsibility for decisions about objectives, policies, strategies, program design, and implementation modalities?;
- Is the international community acting in support of local actors or is it attempting to drive the DDR process?;
- Is sufficient note taken of DDR being part of broader political and socio-economic processes in society, for example by prioritizing policy dialogue, informing programming by policy analysis, and developing adequate human and institutional capacity?;
- Is DDR embedded in a broad approach to the post-settlement military and security transition (i.e., security-sector reform and structuring) or is it being approached a) without reference to other efforts to improve security?;
- What processes are in place to both identify and assimilate relevant lessons from past experience?

VI. Challenges for Programming

6.1. Context Sensitivity

DDR programs need to be tailored to the context in which they are delivered.

- First, DDR programs should reflect the considerable political complexities and uncertainties prevalent in post-settlement environments. DDR must be seen as part of the political process of consolidating peace and promoting security, and not first and foremost as a technical activity.

Guidance Questions:

- Has the parties' readiness for peace been assessed?;
- Have change agents and spoilers been identified both at the national and regional levels (such as the role of foreign armed groups or armed groups in neighboring countries)?;
- Is the DDR process the result of a military defeat?;
- Is DDR included in a peace agreement or as one of the elements of on-going negotiation? If yes, what goals and outcomes have been articulated?;
- Is there a detailed analysis and understanding of the command and control arrangements within the various armed groups undergoing DDR?.

Second, DDR programs should take into account the institutional and human capacity weaknesses typically found in conflict-affected countries.

Guidance Questions:

- Do local actors (ideally government, armed opposition, and civil society) have the capacity to exercise their responsibilities for making decisions about objectives, policies, strategies, program design and implementation modalities?;
- Do local actors have the capacity to manage the national DDR institution and program?;
- Do local actors have the capacity to implement portions of the DDR program?;
- If support in any of these areas is required, what modalities for providing such support are available within the international community?;

Third, DDR programs should reflect the realities of economic life in conflict-affected countries, which typically include limited formal employment, educational or training opportunities.

Guidance Questions:

- Is there detailed survey work available or planned to assess the needs of communities receiving returning ex-combatants?;
- Is there detailed survey work available or planned to assess the employment and livelihood opportunities available to ex-combatants?;
- Have the local implementing partners been mapped and their capacities assessed?;

- Have the on-going activities consistent with proposed reinsertion or reintegration packages been mapped and their capacity to absorb ex-combatants and/or their dependents been assessed?

Fourth, DDR programs should take into account a realistic appraisal of external support for DDR, both financial and institutional capacity to support specific activities.

Guidance Questions:

- Is there a unified position and willingness within the international community to stand behind the UN, regional organization or a lead bilateral in order to apply political and security pressure as required?;
- Are the members of the international community that are aiding the development and implementation of the DDR process in agreement that they are acting in support of a national strategy and national institutions?;
- Has a division of labor been agreed among the members of the international community and multilateral organizations that will support DDR?;
- Has an assessment been made of the relative competence of the lead international agencies?

Fifth, DDR programs should take into account a regional approach where appropriate. Regional actors can have an important effect on peace processes. It is therefore important that their influence is recognized and strategies are developed for maximizing their positive input and minimizing their negative influence.

Guidance Questions:

- Were/are regional states parties to the conflict, and do they have influence over fighting forces indigenous to the country undergoing DDR?;
- Are these states party to the peace agreement, or can they become party to the peace agreement?;
- Can regional countries and bodies play a role as “friends of the peace process”?;
- Do regional organizations require support from the international community to play a role in peacekeeping?;
- Can a multi-country demobilization and reintegration program such as the one for the Greater Great Lakes region in Africa provide an option for a regional approach?
- 7.2. Program Design and Implementation
- While there are many technical issues relating to the design and implementation of DDR programs, a number of them tend to recur in different countries and are therefore deserving of special attention. This section will discuss good practice and outstanding issues in the following areas: 1) timing, 2) sequencing, and 3) beneficiaries and benefits (primary target group, eligibility criteria, and types of benefits).

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sequencing, and 3) beneficiaries and benefits (primary target group, eligibility criteria, and types of benefits).

6.2.1. Timing

A number of factors related to timing affect DDR processes and their outcomes.

- Planning for a DDR process should begin as early as possible in the course of a peace process. For conflicts that end through negotiated settlements, this is ideally during the negotiation phase. Windows of opportunity for implementing DDR can arise rapidly and it is important to be prepared;
- DDR processes often experience stop-and-go cycles because slowdown, breakdowns and reversals in the peace process are not uncommon. Such interruptions to the DDR process are most often not related to problems associated with the DDR process *per se*, but to the broader political environment;
- Pressures to implement DDR before appropriate conditions are in place can result from the relatively short mandate (two years or less) given to UN peacekeeping missions. In addition, the linkage between the timing of national elections, the disarmament and demobilization of armed combatants, and the establishment of new security bodies can create similar pressures;
- DDR and other elements of a peace process are often dependent on the international community providing financial and technical assistance and troop commitments in a timely fashion. In the past, peacekeeping troops and voluntary funding have arrived with considerable delay. This has at times created significant problems for those attempting to implement DDR programs;
- Pre-committed financial resources are increasingly recognized as essential to successful DDR. However, it is important that donors do not over commit early in the process as this can lead to: a) significant pressure from portions of the international community to begin disbursing money and implementing the DDR process before either the necessary political conditions or institutional framework are in place, and b) attempts to push DDR programs into areas that are not core functions such as restructuring national militaries and police services or longer-term development-type activities.

Guidance Questions

- Are arrangements in place to begin planning for DDR a) during peace negotiations where feasible and relevant or b) in the immediate post-settlement period? This could include technical assistance to the parties during negotiation, an in-country planning cell collaborating with local stakeholders, and joint assessment missions;
- Since there are risks of stop-and-go cycles in the DDR process, are mechanisms and processes in place to nurture the political will of the parties and overcome the political blockages that frequently arise during peace consolidation?;
- How will the pressures for timely implementation of a DDR process (based on UN mandates and the availability of donor financing) be balanced against the internal timeframe of the peace process?

6.2.2. Sequencing

The fact that peace processes often do not proceed in a linear manner produces sequencing problems and affects DDR processes and their outcomes.

- In principle it is desirable to embed DDR in a comprehensive framework for enhancing security (of individuals, communities and the state), peace consolidation, and socio-economic recovery. In reality, this option is rarely discussed during peace negotiations or promoted by the international community. In particular, DDR is most frequently delinked from security sector restructuring and reform and is implemented as a stand-alone activity that occurs as early during peace implementation as possible. This might not, however, be the most appropriate means of ensuring security early in the peace process. Options such as temporarily incorporating the various fighting forces into the national security services are, however, rarely considered. in part because of the fiscal burden they imply;
- In the normal course of events, disarmament and demobilization precedes reinsertion/reintegration. However, in practice disarmament and demobilization may occur at a variable pace geographically within the same country. This means that individuals managing DDR programs should be prepared to implement disarmament, demobilization and reinsertion/reintegration activities simultaneously;
- In principle, reinsertion benefits should not be provided to an individual before he or she has been disarmed and demobilized. However, when fighters disarm spontaneously or are disarmed and discharged prior to the inauguration of a formal DDR process, this rule of thumb has to be modified. Such ex-combatants clearly require some means of sustaining themselves until the DDR program is functional, but it is also important not to prejudice the national program in any way. For example, former fighters might be given priority in stop-gap employment programs but this would not replace benefits provided by a national DDR program;
- Reinsertion benefits have sometimes been provided as ex-combatants leave demobilization centers. In other cases they have been provided when ex-combatants have returned to the communities where they will settle. When demobilization is closely linked to the payment of benefits, the perception is created that weapons have been exchanged for cash. This has created an incentive for any individual with access to a weapon to attempt to enter the DDR program and has in some cases created a significant increase in beneficiaries. It has also helped fuel resentment among the civilian population. As a matter of principle, therefore, the delivery of cash benefits should be geographically and temporally separated from disarmament and demobilization by providing them in the place of settlement;
- Disarmament normally captures only a small proportion of the weapons used in the conflict. It is therefore desirable to complement the “disarmament” component of DDR with community disarmament/weapons management efforts or national small arms control programs. It is probably desirable in most cases to inaugurate such programs after DDR has been completed in an area. It is also important to ensure that weapons that are legally held by the security services are appropriately managed.

Guidance Questions:

- Does the comprehensive framework for enhancing security provide a clear sequence of activities: for example, should DDR precede, accompany or follow security sector restructuring/reform;
- What steps are being taken to ensure that the DDR managers are able to implement disarmament, demobilization and reinsertion/reintegration activities simultaneously if the need arises?;
- If spontaneous disarmament occurs, will it be possible to provide stop-gap programs that will not prejudice the eventual national DDR program?;

- Is the DDR program sufficiently flexible to provide assistance to individuals and to communities as required by local circumstances?;
- To what extent is disarmament achievable in the current context? Will a large number of small arms/ammunition remain in circulation? Are legal weapons managed appropriately?;
- What steps can be taken to remove weapons after the termination of the formal disarmament process?;
- What steps will be taken to provide security to society and former combatants – following DDR, following the removal of small arms and light weapons from communities?

6.2.3. Beneficiaries and Benefits

There are three main issues that need to be addressed with regard to DDR beneficiaries and the benefits that they received. First, what is the primary target group? Second, what are the eligibility criteria for entry into the DDR program? Third, what types of benefits are offered?

Identifying the Primary Target Group

- There has been discussion within the development community about the desirability of expanding the scope of DDR programs to encompass both community rehabilitation and development as the main mechanism for reintegrating ex-combatants, rather than targeting only combatants and their dependents. As the UN definitions cited earlier demonstrate, there is growing agreement, that “combatants” are the object of DDR. These include groups both opposed to and in support of an established government or supporters. If the overall conflict resolution goal is to reduce violence, it is usually important to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate the perpetrators of violence into society. To do this effectively, the combatants need to be understood both as individuals (with their dependents) and as members of a group of combatants. A DDR program should be built upon a multi-faceted understanding of the combatants.
- Until relatively recently, DDR programs tended to assume that all combatants were male and to deny that children were part of the fighting forces. As a result, women and children have tended to receive inadequate benefits or be excluded entirely from DDR programs. Additionally, the special needs of war-disabled ex-combatants are frequently not addressed as part of DDR processes. There is now better understanding that women and children can form part of the main fighting force, but it is often difficult to distinguish between women and children associated with the fighting forces and women and children as combatants. The status of children is regulated by the Cape Town Principles (Box 1). UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on “Women, Peace and Security” is the only international statement on the status of women in conflict but does not provide the same level of guidance as the Cape Town Principles. The international community might wish to develop similar principles for women associated with the fighting forces.

Box 1. Cape Town Principles

The Cape Town Principles are non-binding recommendations to governments and communities in conflict-affected countries. They include:

- All persons under the age of 18 should be demobilized from any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group;
- Where children have participated in armed conflict, peace agreements and related documents should acknowledge this fact;
- Priority should be given to children in any demobilization process;
- The duration of the demobilization process should be as short as possible;
- Family tracing, contacts and reunification should be established as soon as possible;
- Family reunification is the principal factor in effective social reintegration;
- Programmes should be developed with the communities, build on existing resources and take account of the context and community priorities, values and traditions;
- Programmes targeted at former child soldiers should be integrated into programs for the benefit of all war-affected children;
- Psychosocial programmes should assist children in developing and building those capacities that will facilitate reattachment to families and communities;
- In order to be successful, reintegration of the child within the community should be carried out within the framework of efforts toward national reconciliation.

Source: "Cape Town Principles and Best Practices," 1997, <http://www.unicef.org>.

Guidance Questions

- How will relevant information about the combatants be collected to support DDR programming? For example, is it possible to obtain descriptions and profiles of the combatants and the groups to which they belong, their age, gender, education, motivation and so on? Given the dangers of beneficiary inflation, can this information be collected through intelligence, non-governmental groups and the like?;
- Is information available on the impact that particular individuals, groups and vested interests are likely to have on the success or failure of DDR? Have calculations been made of the implications of including or excluding particular individuals, groups or vested interests?;
- What special provisions are in place for female ex-combatants who are officially eligible for DDR benefits based on the criteria established but who do not, for various reasons, enter the DDR program (e.g. lack of information, "held hostage" by their commanders, tendency to self-demobilize, are afraid of negative stigmatization and so on)?;
- How will women and children associated with the fighting forces, but not included in the primary target group, be dealt with? (Recall that the Cape Town principles do not require children to surrender any weapons.) What types of assistance will be available? How will the assistance be delivered?

Eligibility Criteria

- DDR programs require the development of eligibility criteria to regulate who will receive benefits. Eligibility criteria should be tailored to the objectives of the DDR process and the operational environment in which they are implemented. In most of the environments in which DDR currently is undertaken, the line between combatant and non-combatant is very thin, especially as far as the armed opposition is concerned. However, there can also be a lack of clarity with state security bodies, since individuals drafted into service are not always registered. This is a

particular problem with youth. Making hard but politically prudent choices and tradeoffs, setting limits to fit the resource envelope, and keeping focused on the basic goals of the exercise become critical. National stakeholders should make these decisions;

- Different criteria may be advisable in different stages of a peace process. “One person-one gun” is frequently not a useful criterion given the structure of many rebel forces when all armed groups exhibit serious political will to disarm and demobilize. However, when the conditions for large-scale disarmament and demobilization are not present, a more tactical approach may be necessary. Under these circumstances “one *adult*-one gun” may be a useful criterion;
- Group disarmament, which relies on the identification of combatants by commanders, also has problems, since it enables commanders to substitute non-combatants for genuine group members. Women associated with fighting forces (in combatant or support positions) and children are particularly at risk of exclusion. The Cape Town Principles do not require children to turn in a weapon to be eligible for reintegration support, but it can be difficult to identify child combatants or children associated with the fighting forces if their commanders do not cooperate;
- Whatever criteria are ultimately adopted, they should be transparent, unambiguous and easily understood. It is also important that the individuals responsible for accepting combatants into disarmament and demobilization centers understand those criteria and apply them uniformly. Furthermore, these individuals must not misrepresent the benefits that ex-combatants will receive in an effort to entice fighters to disarm and demobilize;
- Ideally a two-pronged communications strategy should be developed. First it is essential to communicate to the combatants exactly what the DDR program consists of, what it does not consist of, and what benefits they are eligible for. Second it is essential to communicate to non-combatants why assistance targeted on combatants is important, what combatants and their dependents will receive and will not receive, and, where applicable, what benefits communities will receive.

Guidance Questions

- Have the eligibility criteria been established by national stakeholders? Do they reflect decisions about the primary target group? Are they subject to easy manipulation?;
- In particular, are key local commanders in agreement about the eligibility criteria and are there mechanisms and incentive to promote their adherence to these criteria?;
- What mechanisms will be put in place to ensure that the eligibility criteria and other aspects of the DDR program are clearly communicated to both potential beneficiaries and the broader community?;
- Who vets potential combatants for inclusion in the DDR program? Are they adequately trained? Do they speak local languages? Will they be able to distinguish combatants from refugees, internally displaced persons, and false beneficiaries?

Type of Benefits

- A wide range of support has been offered to former combatants and their dependents by DDR programs over the last fifteen years or so. A distinction can be made between “benefits,” which are available to all who are accepted into the DDR program, and “opportunities,” for which former combatants must compete with other members of their community. If longer-term reintegration assistance is not considered part of the formal DDR process, it is nonetheless possible for donors to earmark a certain amount of their longer-term recovery and development assistance for former combatants or their dependents.

- Benefits can be delivered by targeting assistance directly on former combatants (and their dependents) or by targeting the communities in which ex-combatants settle. The main reason for targeting communities is that it reduces the perception among non-combatants that the perpetrators of violence are receiving preferential treatment. Experience with community-based benefit programs is, however, in its infancy. Types of benefits that can be targeted on ex-combatants are listed in Box 2.
- *One challenge confronting DDR programs has been ensuring that the needs of combatants' dependents are adequately met if the combatants are undergoing lengthy periods of cantonment.* Although reinsertion packages often take into account an "average" number of dependents, dependents have frequently been left to fend for themselves during cantonment, sometimes with minimal support from humanitarian actors, often without adequate security. Experience strongly suggests that unless required for political purposes, such as building confidence among the parties to the conflict, long periods of cantonment should be avoided. Combatants should be processed through demobilization centers as rapidly as possible. Even under these circumstances, however, it is important to ensure that combatants' dependents receive adequate support.

Box 2. Potential Support to Ex-Combatants Undergoing DDR

Assembly: Food, shelter, clothing, sanitation, medical examinations and care, basic education, leisure activities, pre-discharge orientation (for both combatants and spouses), assistance to child soldiers, census, discharge documents.

Discharge: Short-term food supplies, transport and transport allowances/vouchers, orientation on conditions in districts of residence, first tranche of reinsertion benefits.

Reinsertion: Food supplements, clothing and personal items, housing material, short-term medical care, basic household goods, land, basic agricultural supplies (seeds and tools), severance pay and other cash allowances, short-term education and training, veteran and spouse information and counselling, assistance to child soldiers, rehabilitation for physically and mentally disabled veterans.

Reintegration: Job generation (including public works, community development, micro enterprise schemes, salary supplements to employers, cooperatives), job placement services, training (including apprenticeships, formal vocational training, managerial and administrative training), credit schemes, education, agricultural extension services, veteran and spouse information and counselling, rehabilitation for physically and mentally disabled veterans.

Reinsertion and reintegration support can be monetized, in-kind or in the form of vouchers.

- *A second challenge that DDR programs have faced is to find the appropriate balance between monetized and in-kind support, particularly for reinsertion packages.* Monetized packages have become the norm for several reasons:
 - While it is difficult to deliver cash in some places, it can be even more difficult to deliver in-kind assistance;
 - Furthermore, in-kind assistance may well offer greater opportunities for corruption in the procurement process than properly monitored cash payments;

- Cash payments provide ex-combatants with flexibility to acquire what they want, rather than what DDR planners think they want. The fact that in-kind benefits are often sold suggests that ex-combatants need cash. To mitigate the dangers that cash payments will be squandered, at least a portion of the benefits for male ex-combatants' families can be earmarked and delivered directly to the women in the family;
 - Monetized benefits can help stimulate economic activity in the areas where ex-combatants settle.
- *A third challenge is to link DDR to long-term recovery and development programs in order to provide sustainable reintegration for ex-combatants and their dependents, as well as other community members.* In the past, this linkage has been inadequate due to several factors. One has been the absence of an institutional mechanism to guarantee a close connection between the bodies responsible for short- to medium-term assistance to ex-combatants and their dependents, on the one hand, and longer-term assistance to communities, on the other hand. A second factor is that the international community's limited time horizon often means that most resources are delivered in the first few years of the peace process;
 - *A fourth challenge is to have the flexibility to tailor benefits to the needs of different categories of combatants.* For example, some beneficiaries may be full-time, long-term combatants, who need to be reintegrated into home communities and a new civilian livelihood. Others may be members of informal community-based militias who engage periodically in conflict and maintain some form of non-combat livelihood. It is important that if different benefit packages are offered to different categories of combatants these packages be roughly equivalent in value and are perceived by the beneficiaries as such.

Guidance Questions

- Is longer-term reintegration assistance part of the DDR process or does DDR include only "reinsertion" benefits? If longer-term reintegration assistance is excluded, is it nevertheless desirable to give preference to ex-combatants in community-based rehabilitation programs?;
- Do reinsertion packages for ex-combatants sufficiently take into account the needs of dependents?;
- Do local circumstances argue in favor of primarily targeting communities in which ex-combatants will settle, individual ex-combatants (and their dependents), or some combination of both?;
- Is the beneficiary population primarily full-time, long-term combatants, who must be demobilized from absentee fighter status and reintegrated into home communities and a new civilian livelihood? Alternatively, are beneficiaries largely members of informal militia who are already community based, with some form of livelihood outside their periodic militia status?

7.3. Financing DDR

While DDR processes should be built on a foundation of national ownership, most countries undergoing DDR have a limited amount of the financial and technical resources they need to deploy for DDR to be successful. Technical expertise can always be acquired if financial resources permit. It is therefore not an exaggeration to say that after political will, the most serious constraint on the DDR

process tends to be financing. For this reason, the international community, as the main provider of financing, has a central role to play in supporting DDR processes.

There are four issues relating to financing that should be considered: 1) funding in support of national programs, 2) centralized, integrated financing, 3) early donor engagement, 4) budgeting, and 5) constraints on donor funding.

7.3.1. Funding in Support of National Programs

- Financing decisions are most effective when informed by a strategic operational framework, in the form of a national program, that is developed by relevant national stakeholders in partnership with international experts as required and is clearly linked to other aspects of security sector restructuring and reform. The national program should guide the activities of local actors, funders, and implementing agencies;
- In order to safeguard the integrity of the national program, donors may find it necessary to use the leverage afforded by their financing to ensure that there are no significant deviations from the agreed national program that are not reviewed and accepted by any existing oversight mechanism for either DDR or broader security issues.

Guidance Questions

- Is a national program available to guide donor decisions on how much financing to provide or is one in the process of being developed? If not, what is guiding decisions on financing? Is this process adequate?;
- If there is a national program, does it link DDR to broader efforts to restructure and reform the security sector so that decisions can be made about how best to allocate funding aimed at strengthening the provision of security and reducing violence?;
- If there is no linkage between DDR and other security-related activities, is it possible to use bilateral resources to encourage the development of such linkage?;
- Are all key DDR actors adhering to the national program? If not, can bilateral resources be used to encourage their adherence?

7.3.2. Centralized, Integrated Financing System

- Experience strongly suggests that a centralized financing system, using multilateral funding mechanisms and working through national institutions to the extent possible, will most effectively support the implementation of a national program. At the same time, the multidimensional nature of DDR processes means that no single funding modality is likely to be able to meet all DDR needs. It is important to avoid a proliferation of funding modalities;
- One means of achieving this objective is to develop an integrated financing system to meet the broad range of needs that typically emerge during a DDR process. An integrated financing system should consist of three types of resources: 1) flexible, early money; 2) up-front, pre-committed money, and 3) co-financing, parallel programs (Box 3);
- It is preferable that national institutions manage DDR resources, supported by an agreed external financial monitoring agent. The government-managed, World Bank-administered trust fund employed in Sierra Leone offers a model. A Financial Management and Procurement Unit, administered by Price Waterhouse Cooper, provided financial management, procurement, auditing, and reporting services for the DDR Executive Secretariat, which managed the trust fund resources.

Guidance Questions

- Is DDR financing to be centralized through a multilateral funding mechanism linked to a national program that will be implemented through national institutions or will there be several different funding mechanisms not necessarily linked to a national program? Are the provisions for financial oversight of a nationally managed funding mechanism adequate?;
- If current plans call for a relatively decentralized funding system, what are the factors that have produced this outcome? Is it possible to move to a more centralized financing system?;
- What are the sources of DDR financing available: flexible early money (for preparatory work); UN assessed contributions, up-front voluntary money (through pre-committed MDTFs); co-financing (pledged voluntary money)?;
- Are all categories of activities covered by funding currently committed or pledged? Alternatively, are there critical gaps in this funding?;
- If there are critical gaps, can additional sources of DDR financing be identified to fill them? From members of the international community? From national sources?;

Box 3. Components of an Integrated DDR Financing System

An integrated DDR financing system should operate in support of a national DDR framework that is ideally integrated into a broader security framework, and appropriately sequenced with other security sector restructuring priorities.

- **Flexible, early money**
 - o Multilateral quick-disbursing funds (such as UNDP Trac 1.1.3, UNDP CPTTF, World Bank Post-Conflict Fund)
 - o Bilateral quick-disbursing funds
 - o National government funds
- **Up-front money**
 - o UN mission budget
 - o Multi-donor trust fund based on pre-commitments
- **Co-financing, parallel programs**
 - o Bilateral contributions to MDTFs
 - o Bilateral contributions to UN agencies
 - o Contributions from UN agency/INGO core funds
 - o Projects funded directly by bilateral funds and executed by donor agencies, INGOs, local NGOs, CSOs, consulting firms
 - o National government contributions
 - o World Bank contributions, including Project Preparation Funds
 - o In-kind contributions from all sources

Source: Nicole Ball and Dylan Hendrickson, "Review of International Financing Arrangements for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration," Prepared for Working Group 2, SIDDR, September 26, 2005, p. 44, <http://www.sweden.gov.se>.

- Are donors prioritizing funding the national program (preferred approach)? Alternatively, are they funding their own priorities or those of their implementing partners (not the preferred approach)? If the latter, how can they be encouraged to prioritize financing the national program?;
- Where up-front, pre-committed money is part of the equation, what problems can be foreseen based on the institutional home of these resources? How can these problems be overcome?

7.3.3. Early Donor Engagement

- Engaging potential donors in discussions about DDR financing requirements during peace negotiations or from the outset of the DDR planning process will increase the likelihood of obtaining early money, promote programs that reflect fiscal realities and enhance donor awareness of the complex political issues at play. This should help reduce pressures for premature implementation of DDR process, thereby potentially reducing costs of failed DDR processes;
- By engaging early in the peace process, donors will also be able to determine how best to allocate the resources that they have available for DDR. In order to reduce the funding gap that frequently arises between reinsertion and reintegration, some may choose to prioritize support for demobilization and reinsertion while others may prioritize longer term reintegration activities.

Guidance Questions

- Does a mechanism exist for advising donors of discussions on DDR during peace negotiations and/or early DDR planning and for feeding their reactions back to negotiators/planners?;
- If not, would it be desirable to create such a mechanism and what would be necessary to do so?;
- What role can members of the international community play in fostering early donor engagement;
- What are the most appropriate resources to apply during peace negotiations and at the outset of the planning process?;
- What level of resources is known to be available for DDR? From international sources? From national sources?;
- Have provisions been made to avoid a serious gap between funding for reinsertion and longer term reintegration?

7.3.4. Budgeting Issues

- Whereas cost estimates should ideally be made on the basis of evidence-based planning, it is not always possible either to carry out such assessments and surveys or to obtain all relevant information. In those cases, it will be necessary to develop indicative budgets based on estimated costs. These budgets can then be updated as access to relevant data improves. In either case, budgets should be sufficiently disaggregated to indicate the amount spent on activities of direct benefit to beneficiaries and their dependents, operational costs, and administrative costs for all components of DDR;
- Financial planning and budgeting should always take into account worst-case scenarios and build in sufficient financial flexibility to address contingencies. The use of contingency funds should be identified (for example, transport to and from demobilization sites, demobilization services, and so on) to avoid a situation where the availability of contingency funds allow poor planning and/or poor financial management to go unaddressed;
- One area where considerable caution should be exercised is that of estimating the number of beneficiaries. Where DDR occurs as part of a negotiated peace process, it is important to recall that the parties invariably overstate the number of combatants in their forces as part of their negotiating strategy. Experience indicates that more accurate numbers may arise as mutual trust among the parties increases. Donors can help mediators arrive at more accurate numbers by

indicating when DDR programs configured in a certain way are likely to exceed available financing;

- Experience also suggests that it is important to avoid asking the parties directly for the size of their fighting forces, as this invariably leads to inflated numbers. Rather, intelligence figures, information from mediators and other sources of information should be used for planning purposes;
- It is important to note that reducing the number of false beneficiaries depends to a large degree on the criteria established for inclusion in the DDR program and the capacity of those carrying out beneficiary screening to apply the criteria appropriately.

Guidance Questions

- Is there adequate information on which to begin costing the DDR program?;
- Have various options been costed?;
- If it is necessary to estimate important program elements (such as number of combatants, transport costs), how will these estimates be made? What plans are there to update these estimates as more accurate information becomes available?;
- What mechanisms exist to keep overall program costs within acceptable fiscal limits?;
- Is the information adequate disaggregated to determine overall administrative costs? Per beneficiary cost?;
- If not, how can the international community encourage the development of adequately disaggregated data?

7.3.5. Constraints on Donor Funding

Each bilateral donor has different windows from which it can fund DDR work and different constraints on the programs that each pot of money can support. These can make putting together a flexible and integrated DDR financing package extremely challenging.

- Many bilateral development donors cannot or will not finance combatants until they have been demobilized either because of national legislation or long-standing agency practices. Additional constraints derive from the DAC definition of official development assistance (ODA). ODA excludes expenditures while individuals are considered to still be part of a fighting force. Field staff have in the past sometimes found creative ways around such restrictions. For example, ODA regulations allow infrastructure built to support DDR activities but ultimately used for civilian purposes to be counted as ODA. Additionally, donors can provide additional financing in other areas that allows the government to use some of its own resources for non-ODA eligible DDR activities;
- Additionally, some donors have a strong preference for financing through international implementing agencies, while others have a strong preference for not financing through trust funds, and still others have a strong preference for financing only through trust funds that allow earmarking. This argues in favour of multiple financing mechanisms, but it is important that these operate as part of a centralized, integrated funding system.

Guidance Questions

- Do funding criteria influence the ability of donors to support DDR processes adequately? If so, what methods can be identified of overcoming these constraints?;

- Are the various constraints on donor funding complicating the development of a centralized, integrated funding system? Are there ways of overcoming this?

7.3.6. Monitoring and Evaluation

- Lesson learning should be integral to program design and implementation and provide for ongoing participatory evaluation, public information, reporting and dialogue among relevant stakeholders within a partnership framework;
- Monitoring and evaluation should be linked to an ongoing research program and analytical capacity, which will provide continuous ability to evaluate program strategies and to understand the context and how it is changing (including new developments and the impact of the program itself). It should also be linked to partnership capacity building, rigorous reporting, public information and participatory approaches. It is especially important to understand perceptions of the impact of the program at all levels;
- Monitoring and evaluation should focus on “results-based” outcomes (impact) of the program in addition to quantitative outputs (simple program audit). This means that specific program objectives and associated outcome-based indicators need to be developed for monitoring and evaluation, and initial base-line assessments must be carried out before program activities commence. Additionally, indicators addressing “do no harm” principles should be developed and these should serve as red lines for program activities;
- Monitoring and evaluation should specifically monitor the political and security impact of the program. In this context, monitoring and evaluation should identify and evaluate progress towards both short-term objectives (political, military/technical, security, humanitarian) and longer-term objectives (political, SSR and recovery) and serve as a planning mechanism for revising/developing program strategies. To the extent possible, monitoring and evaluation should be planned and carried out in consultation and collaboration with associated program activities and linkages (such as the resettlement of internally displaced and refugees, promotion of the rule of law and the like).

Guidance Questions:

- Is there a clear monitoring and evaluation framework in place?;
- Is lesson learning an integral part of the program? How will lessons be shared and used as a basis for joint planning with others?;
- Is there sufficient flexibility built into the reporting on project progress as a means of encouraging more substantive feedback mechanisms that are not pro forma and mechanistic?

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