



**Women in the Disarmament, Demobilization
and Reintegration Process:
The case of South Sudan 2005 – 2011**

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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Dedication

To my daughter Michelle;

With hope that one day when you are older, you will read this paper and be inspired!

And to the memory of Dad and Mum –

You never lived long enough to see me grow up to become who I am today, but on your strong foundation I still stand.

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List of Acronyms

AU	African Union
CBO	Community Based Organization
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
IDDRP	Individual Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Project
DIIS	Danish Institute for International Studies
DPKO	Department of Peace Keeping Operations
GNU	Government of National Unity
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
IDDRS	Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
NDDRCC	National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Coordination Council
NDDRSP	National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Strategic Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAGs	Other Armed Groups
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SNG	Special Needs Group
SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Army / Movement
SSAF	South Sudan Armed Forces
SSDDRC	South Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
UN	United Nations
UNDDR	United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Organization.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WAAFGs	Women Associated with Armed Forces Groups
WFP	World Food Programme

Abstract

This study is about the involvement of women in the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) process in South Sudan, in the aftermath of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005. Special focus is on how the CPA and related documents addressing DDR provide for the effective involvement of women in the DDR process. In particular, the study asks how definitions of former combatants relate to women's experiences of war, including the roles they play during war and their eligibility to participate in DDR programmes. Apart from reviewing definitions and eligibility criteria in key DDR-related documents, the study also refers to various reports on progress in the DDR process in general, citing examples from Sierra Leone and Liberia. One key finding is that the DDR policy documents most often do not define women former combatants as those who have been actively involved in fighting. Implicitly, definitions of former combatants are designed with male fighters in mind. Women's role is 'gendered' by being defined as vulnerable, having special needs, or merely associated with armed forces, whereas male former combatants tend to be defined as active militants who carried weapons. Thus the 'blurring' of roles between men and women in wartime is often ignored in the policy literature and guidelines around DDR in South Sudan. The concepts of gender and patriarchy are used to try and explain the perceptions accorded to men and women during and after war.

Relevance to Development Studies

This study revolves around armed conflict, which remains one of the world's biggest challenges to attaining development aspirations. War and conflict are not contemporary phenomena, having occurred for centuries. It is however worth noting that armed conflict in its modern form, is concentrated in the most under-developed and poor parts of the world for example Sub-Saharan Africa.

South Sudan, was engaged in one of the longest civil wars in the world, making the region one of the worst places for human life on earth. War causes death, displacement, suffering, destruction of infrastructure and livelihoods. It reverses development gains and undermines economic activity, education, and social service provision, which indices and are vital to measure human development, and socio-economic progress. So by adding my efforts onto the existing research on wars and conflict, specifically on post-war peace processes like DDR, I am contributing directly or indirectly to the development agenda. Such contribution is even more relevant for a Country like South Sudan which is 'new' in ways than just being the latest independent country. Examining DDR policy for South Sudan helps identify gaps which if addressed, can improve the on-going DDR programmes and the planned ones.

Keywords

Women, Gender, Conflict, war, Peacebuilding, Post war reconstruction, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration.

Map 1: South Sudan



Source; The World Fact Book: Africa – South Sudan.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html>

Image 1: The Hakamas group of Women in South Sudan.



The Hakamas, a group of women who during war time travelled with the troops and sang war songs, perform at UNMIS HQ as part of their “Sing for Peace and DDR in Sudan” programme.

Source: (UN Photo/Johann Hattingsh) <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/docu>

Chapter 1 Introduction

The need to analyse DDR policies with a bias towards women is premised on the following statement from the United Nations (UN) DDR Programme;

...women have often been excluded from DDR processes because of, amongst others, stigma, security concerns, inadequate eligibility criteria or women's poor access to communication sources used to announce the DDR programme. Ensuring women's access to DDR programmes, addressing their specific needs and protecting them from violence is critical to ensure successful reintegration... (UNDDR 2013) cover page, http://www.unddr.org/key-topics/gender/introduction_5.aspx

This statement demonstrates the efforts by the UN to accord importance to gender in DDR, and specifically women, having identified them to have particular challenges. The UN and international community generally agree that peace does not merely mean absence of war and neither does peace automatically manifest when active combat is over. Peace involves steps of removing arms from non-state actors, reducing conflict causal factors, reconciliation, among others. 'Like war, peace must be waged'¹ and it is a product of a combination of steps and components that are often undertaken hand in hand, DDR is amongst those steps. But interesting as these aspirations are, the question remains whether they have been translated into actual policies and implementable programmes that are cognizant of specific needs of men and women in post-conflict societies.

1.1 Problem Statement and aim.

One peculiar feature of war and post-war agendas, including peace negotiations, is the weak acknowledgement of women, regarding their roles during war and their participation in post-war processes. In post-war processes, there is often limited recognition of women, and this might partly be attributed to the design and planning of post-war policies, interventions and programmes. This research focuses on one such process, that is Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). A preliminary review of DDR policies in this study reveals that DDR policies are sometimes based on generic principles about women and gender. Women and gender clauses are sometimes inserted in documents with no solid basis on critical analysis and assessed gender needs. For example the South Sudan DDR policies mention gender and special needs of women, but whether these needs are identified with clear mechanisms to address them is not clear. There is also a problem of categorization, where in some cases it has been observed that programmes only target women as victims, abductees, dependants or as women associated with armed forces, but not as female former soldiers or combatants (Mackenzie 2012: 42). Additional-

¹ Statement from the cover page of the United Nations Peacekeeping website; <https://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/> accessed on 11th September, 2013 at 13.07hrs.

ly, definitions used in policies to explain former combatants are non-committal on whether they refer to both men and women. Such lack of clarity therefore creates potential interpretation challenges. Very often, definitions of terminologies also differ from national and international policy documents. This is understandable given that there is no one-size-fits all DDR approach, hence the need for local adaptability in some cases. And whereas global principles for example in the IDDRS may be universal, actual design and implementation of DDR programmes varies in different countries, and depends on different contexts. But such variations in a way expose the complexities of DDR.

This research therefore aims to analyse how, in the context of South Sudan DDR programme, definition of (ex)combatants, and clauses on gender and women may influence the eligibility of women ex-combatants to participate in DDR. The documents are; The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) 2005-2011, National DDR Strategic Plan (NDDRSP) 2007, Individual DDR Project 2009-2012 (IDDRP) and United Nations Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS). The analysis will pay attention to how gender is defined, and if the (ex)combatant is clearly expressed to represent participation of men and women, as well as an eligibility criteria that enhances the potential for participation of all DDR candidates.

The research is situated in the broader context of DDR as a component of peacebuilding and post-war reconstruction process in societies emerging from war. In these processes, the main concern is how women fare in DDR policies, in relation to the categories of male former combatants and women associated with war. This concern is premised on the acknowledgement of women's involvement in combat, and the roles they play. The study takes a hypothesis that that wars and post-war interventions comprise social processes, which are often reinforcing gender and power hierarchies. Post war processes might therefore seem to foster change but because of embedded structures, issues of inequality might sustain (Cohn 2013: 171). By exploring some of the DDR policies that emerged since 2005 to 2011 in South Sudan, embedded gender and power aspects may surface. By focusing on women's position in the DDR policy documents (at the early stages of the DDR process), the hope is to critique, from a gendered perspective, the efforts of ensuring that DDR policies are gender neutral, non-discriminative and can contribute to sustainable peace, security and stability for women and men alike.

1.2 An introductory note: Women, Gender and DDR

The United Nations (UN) defines DDR as “a process that contributes to security and stability in a post-conflict recovery context, by removing weapons from the hands of combatants, taking the combatants out of military structures and helping them to integrate socially and economically into society by finding civilian livelihoods” (UNDDR.org. 2013: 6). A process that developed around 1990, DDR has evolved to become an integral component of peace keeping operations and post-war reconstruction in different countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Uganda, South Sudan, Nicaragua, Colombia, among others, (see Ahmed 2007, Dzinesa 2007, Brewer 2010, Hanson 2007, Humphreys and Weinstein 2009, Jennings 2009, Kilroy 2009, Kingma 1997, Knight 2004, Guaquetá and Arias 2008, Khokhar 2008). DDR practices continue to evolve, just like other post-conflict operations, as new challenges emerge, and a

second generation DDR is now under development. To see more on the detailed concepts of DD&R and the evolution over the years, see Appendix 1. But along with praise of DDR progress, is criticism on failure to equitably address the needs of women in post-war contexts (Stone 2011, Bouta 2005, Farr 2003), as shall be discussed in later chapters.

According to UNDDR, the objective of the DDR process is “to contribute to security and stability in post-conflict environments so that recovery and development can begin” (UNDDR 2006: 1). DDR became an important aspect of post-war reconstruction arising from the need to restructure lives of ex-combatants from war-based livelihoods to alternative non-war support networks. Part of the goal of DDR is to ensure that state authorities have control over weapons in circulation, by removing them from combatants and civilians, who it is argued that if not properly demobilized and reintegrated, could pose a post-conflict security problem. DDR complements transition from war and armed conflict to peacebuilding and reconstruction, linking with other processes like Security Sector Reform, Transitional justice, and other recovery programmes (ibid.). The need for linkages is based on the conviction that DDR is not a straight forward process and alone is insufficient to resolve conflict or create and ensure sustainable peace and post-conflict development. But at least it lays a vital foundation for these processes to progress. DDR proponents believe that it ‘lays groundwork for safeguarding and sustaining the communities in which ex-combatants return, while building national capacity for long-term peace, security and development’ (UNDDR.org 2013).

Gender, Women in DDR.

Whereas sex refers to biological differences between men and women, gender is a relational term that refers to the socially constructed norms around roles, behaviours and attributes associated with being male and female and the relationships between women, men, girls and boys, as well as within same-sex groups (UNDDR.org. 2013: 9). The IDDRS, which is a key framework on which most post-conflict societies develop their DDR programmes has explicitly factored in gender and women in the DDR process. Gender in IDDRS addresses men and women, but emphasizes the need to include women, in the design, planning and implementation of DDR given their unique challenges as highlighted in the introductory quotation of chapter 1. Module 5 of the standards is dedicated to Women, Gender and DDR, encouraging post-war societies to integrate gender and pay special attention to women’s voices and needs.

1.3 An introductory note: war in South Sudan.

Sudan, was colonised from 1898 to 1955, and was governed under a condominium arrangement between Britain and Egypt, until independence in 1956. During occupation, the British encouraged separate administration arrangements for Northern and Southern parts of Sudan which bred differences between the two regions, which persisted post-independence. These administrative-induced variances coupled with other political, social and economic factors led to recurrent episodes of civil conflict for most of post-independence Sudan. These factors included ideological differences, socio-economic imbalances, natural-resource based conflicts over oil and land, social injustice, cul-

tural, religious and identity differences (see Munive 2013, Young 2011, Babiker and Özerdem 2003, Johnson 2003, Mohammed 1993 for more details on the historical narrative of civil war in Sudan).

This study adopts ideas of Collier and Hoeffler (1998) and Sarkees and Schafer (2000), to define a civil war as a war fought against a current regime of a state with a motive of capturing power to improve conditions and treatment of a presumably marginalized group or even to secede from the larger regime and start own government. Civil wars are however not homogenous. The North-South war is termed as a Secessionist war, which “tends to take place in areas struggling to separate from the centre to form an independent state,...and can also be very protracted” (Murshed 2010: 4). This civil war also had features of an internationalized Internal Conflict (ibid.), since several regional and international governments became involved in support of one of the warring factions. The actual cause of the civil wars in Sudan is not easy to underline but as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the divisive colonial legacy, political bickering and other social, cultural and economic triggers laid fertile grounds for war. What seemed apparent from earlier stages was the desire by Southerners for self-rule.

This research is considering the second civil war which started in 1983 and lasted until 2002, when the two key protagonists were brought to a negotiation brokered by Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). In 2005, a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed between Khartoum government and Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). Even though localised tension and violence still persist in Southern Sudan, the CPA brought to an end the protracted war between the North and South Sudan. Among the several provisions of the CPA was one on security arrangements, that also provided for DDR, see Chapter VI of the CPA document (UNMIS. 2013).

The war inflicted massive damage on the social, economic and political fabric of the South Sudan. Agriculture, the main livelihood activity was hampered (El-Bushra and Sahl 2005), industrial projects became rebel targets and shut down, oil exploration stopped, environmental degradation, destruction of social infrastructure, severed internal and regional political relations. Men, women and children lost lives with an estimated 2 million people dead, 4.4 million internally displaced and 450,000 displaced across borders as refugees (Munive 2013, Babiker and Özerdem 2003, Mohammed 1993). The civil war ranked as one of the most destructive civil wars in the region.

In addition the war resulted in economic tribulations for the already poor South Sudanese, and today, South Sudan still scores dismally in all human development indicators. With an estimated population of 9 million people, the country has a poverty rate of 50.6%, Human Development Index of 0.379, adult literacy rate stands at 27%, and only 16% of females are literate compared to 40% of male, an estimated 92% of women cannot read and write, and slightly more than one quarter of all households are female headed (Bubenzer and Lacey 2013, Maxwell et al. 2012, CIA. 2013, UNDP. 2013). Alteration in gender roles was another outcome as households lost key members to the war both as victims and also as fighters meaning they had to be separated from families for long periods. As Bubenzer and Stern (2011: xiii) noted;

Women’s involvement in the war had a significant impact on traditional gender roles...As men joined the army, women were forced to take full responsibility for

their families and began to hold responsibilities that had previously been in the exclusive domain of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons.

Changes in household roles therefore became a reality for example with women shouldering the entire burden of providing for their families solely without support from their male spouses, most of whom joined armed struggle.

The above is however not to imply that only men joined armed struggle while women shouldered the household burden. As the study will show later in chapter 2, women also joined the civil war and participated in various roles, although a lot of literature tends to elevate mostly the role of men. For example, most history about SPLA shows men as the only founding members, ideologists and commanders. It is common to come across names like John Garang, Kerbino Bol, Dominic Kisiano, Kerbino Kwanjin, Samuel Gai Tout, Joseph Oduhu, Martin Majeir, Mulwal Deng, William Noun, Salfa Keir, among others when reading about the SPLA (Mohammed 1993). All these names are for members of SPLA. Whether females are deliberately omitted, or there is no evidence of their participation in war, or simply because women are not expected to be part of high commands of armed forces, or whether credit of war and fighting is the preserve of the few, is a question worth studying.

1.4 Relevance and justification of the research

This research focuses on the socially constructed norms around women ex-combatants. The discussion revolves around women's roles in armed conflict as combatants and supporters of armed groups, and how in the aftermath of war such women are considered for post-war interventions, especially DDR. Research work from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Researchers, and Institutions has brought to light the active role of women in armed conflict in various ways. The UN also acknowledges women's participation in war and post-war environments including peacebuilding and DDR. Their roles notwithstanding, according to UN DDR, "women are almost never included in the planning or implementation of DDR" (UNDDR.org. 2013: 1). Further still, quite a number of studies have been conducted on DDR in post-war societies, highlighting progress and critical perspectives in different contexts. Research also points out gaps regarding solid analysis of women's weak involvement in peacebuilding and DDR (Bubenzer and Stern 2011, Babiker and Özerdem 2003).

A preliminary review of South Sudan DDR policies reveals acknowledgement of women and gender, mainly in sections on guiding principles, but women's actual inclusion in detailed DDR policy and decision making is still weak. And even though commendable research has been done on South Sudan DDR since 2005, comprehensive analysis of gender issues, with bias towards women is still limited. Gender disaggregated data on DDR is also not easily tenable. Women in South Sudan continue to be excluded in most social, economic and political processes, of which DDR is one. This paper therefore attempts to take note of progress on women in South Sudan DDR while also contributing to efforts of highlighting women's marginalised position in DDR and what needs to change.

Focusing mainly on women by no means insinuates that only women are marginalized in DDR, and all men included. Instead what is under contention

is that men and women both contribute in their various ways to armed conflicts, but normally when DDR programmes are being designed and planned, there seems to be obscurity of women's roles as combatants and providers of essential support roles. This has implications on consequent social, economic and political benefits given to ex-combatants.

The above arguments hence provide a justification to undertake this study. My study findings will contribute to the growing body of literature on women in DDR process and hopefully, provide insights for better planning and development of gender-sensitive DDR policies and programmes in post-war countries. Specifically the analysis outcome may also help to improve the second phase DDR for South Sudan, still under development, to ensure that women ex-combatants are effectively included.

My motivation for this research draws from personal experience in disaster management and humanitarianism over the years, dealing with among others victims of armed conflict in Northern Uganda and Sudan (refugees). I have interfaced with women and men coming out of armed conflict, and witnessed first-hand challenges they face, especially women. Upon return to communities, the status quo of male domination resumes and sometimes women are not given a fair chance to participate in post-war programmes like DDR, with men insisting they can represent their wives. Further still, the gaps in DDR policy make it difficult to remove all small arms from ex-combatants with some ending up in civilian hands. These residual fire arms are used to orchestrate crime and violence in post-war communities, and most especially when DDR fails to guarantee alternative livelihoods to war based livelihoods. As a practitioner therefore, researching DDR opens up avenues of knowledge and information that I will apply in my daily work, and enhances my ability and skills to contribute to conflict resolution and post-conflict mechanisms in my region.

1.5 Research Objective and Question.

The main objective was to explore the meanings attached to terms such as 'ex-combatant' and 'WAAFG's' (Women Associated with Armed Forces and Groups) within DDR policy documents in South Sudan since 2005. By exploring meanings, the intention was to find out how such meanings can facilitate or hinder women's access to DDR programme. This was done by scrutinizing the provisions of the IDDRS, and the South Sudan DDR policy documents from 2005 – 2011 to identify any emerging linguistic obstacles to women as eligible participants and beneficiaries of DDR. Another element was examining how men and women differ in terms of DDR eligibility criteria and possible effects accruing therefrom.

To explore the meanings and examine embedded messages in the DDR policy, the research asked the following questions;

1. How are women former combatants defined in the DDR policy documents for South Sudan?
2. What are the implications of such definitions for women as potential beneficiaries of DDR programs?

1.6 Research approach and Methodology

According to Gough (2002: 5), methodology refers to "...a theory of producing knowledge through research and provides a rationale for the way a researcher proceeds". Methodology goes beyond simply stating specific techniques of doing research but "rather it provides reasons for using such techniques in relation to the kind of knowledge or understanding being sought" (ibid.). This study considers DDR as a social reality that requires social inquiry, and hence a qualitative methodology is adopted to help deconstruct the meaning(s) of such a social phenomenon and its variables. Document analysis and Secondary data analysis are the main research methods used in this study.

Document analysis involves the "collection, review, interrogation, and analysis of various forms of written text as a primary source of research data" (O'Leary 2009: 223). In addition, secondary data analysis involves the "collection, review, interrogation and analysis of existing data sets in order to answer questions not previously or adequately answered"(O'Leary 2009: 226). These methods were preferred because the study recognizes that research has already been done on women in DDR in most post-war contexts, and so it would be useful to utilize insights of other researchers to inform the gap of how women are enabled or disabled by DDR policies. I recognized the issue of subjectivity in the utilising secondary data sources, judging from whether a document was a government document, what ideological interests they represent, affiliations and perspectives of research institutions. I adopted a reflective stance on most of the documents, bearing in mind my own biases, some of which I developed from reading the enormous literature on women's involvement in war and post-war processes, from largely feminist scholars.

A feminist perspective was adopted in selecting and scrutinizing most of the secondary data sources. This was because I mostly agreed with a feminist approach which assumes that most research on war has an entrenched and sometimes unconscious patriarchal bias, which leads to male biased outcomes (O'Leary 2009: 126). A feminist perspective hence argues that a critical lens needs to be used to unveil hidden male biases because research;

is always politically motivated, should be committed to the empowerment of women, should work towards changing social inequality, needs to represent marginalized voices, recognize important differences between men and women, as well as among women themselves, among others (O'Leary 2009: 127).

This is not to suggest that the above considerations are not factored into research when using other qualitative methods, and indeed they are key in most. But as this study shall reveal later, in chapter 2, 3 and 4, a feminist perspective was relevant for this study given the gender dimensions that pertain between men and women in wars.

Key feminist works provided vital sources for this research, namely; Bubenzer and Stern (2011) edited book 'Hope, Pain and Patience: The lives of women in South Sudan', particularly, Chapter 2, titled 'We were all soldiers': Female combatants in South Sudan's civil war' by Lydia Stone. Her article included interview transcriptions from South Sudanese women who participated in the war in various capacities. By carefully studying their words, I was able to obtain opinions of how women experienced the war, considered their positions

and representations during the war. These interviews provided much of the information used in chapter 2 to place women in the war, and provided arguments for the analysis in chapter 4. O’Gorman (2011) ‘Conflict and Development’ offered insights on gender and patriarchy. Scholarly articles mainly on Sierra Leone and Liberia conflicts was also useful for comparative women’s experiences. Other sources of data included Government of South Sudan web-sites.

Document and secondary data analysis was supplemented with selected Discourse Analysis methods, namely; Rhetoric and Textual Analysis, employed mainly in the analysis. These were useful especially to analyse the three selected DDR policy documents in chapter 4, namely; The Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2005, Sudan National DDR Strategic Plan 2007 and the Individual DDR Programme 2009. Reading the works of Gee (2010), Hardy and Phillips (2002), Van Dijk (1997), helped me understand the principles of doing rhetoric and textual analysis.

Hardy and Phillips (2002: 3) describe discourse analysis as “an epistemology that explains how we know the social world, as well as a set of methods for studying it”. Discourse analysis looks at “how language is used in the world to say and do things...and is not only tied closely to the details of language structure, but also deals with meaning in social, cultural and political terms”(Gee 2010: ix). Utilising ideas of Van Dijk (1997), I undertook to locate structures and meanings embedded in policy texts and arguments on gender and women ex-combatants, and interpreted them using literature on gender. Two types of textual analysis were mainly considered, that is Intertextuality (Hansen 2006) and Critical Linguistic analysis (Hardy and Phillips 2002). The research concentrated on analysing secondary intertextual links, supportive texts and critical texts (from academic research). The goal of the analysis was to understand official policy discourse on DDR in relation to women participants in South Sudan. Three sections were selected that were comparable for all DDR policy documents under review. These are; definitions (of gender and (ex)combatants), guiding principles (clauses on gender and women), and DDR eligibility criterion (who qualifies for DDR). The three documents were analysed together because none exhaustively covered the key themes of women, gender, (ex)combatants and eligibility, but instead the documents complemented each other.

1.7 Delimitations.

Reliance on secondary data had advantages and disadvantages. Advantages accrue from savings in time and resources for field data collection, and disadvantage arises in the limitations of data, since it does not allow developing own data (O’Leary 2009). While reviewing the documents, I often needed more information on a particular issue than was available in some articles. This required extra time to search other related documents for additional information. The other limitation is with quality control, so I am inclined to take authors’ quality as it is. To overcome the challenges, I endeavoured to search, select and review documents that have been endorsed and published by reputable research institutions and expertise in DDR and peacebuilding. Government documents were contrasted with other sources in order to come up with more neutral findings. Additionally, some secondary data findings sometimes have

been overtaken by current developments, thus may not depict current situation. To resolve this, I triangulated reports with web-based information from regularly maintained online sources from government, UN Agencies, Journals and other related Sources.

This study concentrated on analysing mainly the DDR policy process (design and planning) and not the implementation, or assessing impact, since DDR in South Sudan is still an on-going process. The findings therefore do not necessarily reflect the progress of DDR success or failure in South Sudan. Difficulty in finding solid statistics of women enlisted in SPLA prior to 2005, made it hard to establish gender imbalances, more so since the policies lacked precise gender disaggregated data.

Additionally, the study focuses on only South Sudan, even though the DDR documents being analysed were formulated under the one country, two systems post-CPA period. So my discussion is bent towards the South Sudan context. Absence of an overarching DDR policy, also made it methodologically challenging to conduct a proper policy analysis. And lastly, even after independence, South Sudan has volatile security, arising from internal and external tensions, and the Political environment is equally still fluid. As such, I was unable to obtain security clearance to conduct field work, since the time I planned to travel to Juba in July, 2013, the President dissolved his cabinet, prompting foreign missions and agencies to implement security levels.

1.8 Structure of the Paper

This paper is organized in five chapters as follows; Chapter 1 introduced the problem, gave a brief background of South Sudan and introduced DDR and gender. It also provided research justification, question and methodological approach. Chapter 2 sets the context of women in the civil war, looking at their motivations, challenges and multiple roles. Chapter 2 is set in feminist narratives on women and war, using concepts of gender and patriarchy. This chapter also lays a basis for answering the first research question. Chapter 3 builds on chapter 2, and positions women in post-war processes, by reviewing literature on women in peacebuilding and DDR. Chapter 4, analyses the core research issue, that is, women in the South Sudan DDR policies, and provides a discussion to help answer the research questions. Chapter five sums up the research by offering general reflections from various chapters, and conclusions.

Chapter 2 Context: Women in the in the South Sudan second civil war (1983 – 2005).

This chapter places women in the war of 1983 to 2005, by reviewing and analyzing narratives on women and wars. The selection of literature was purposive, opting mainly for feminist research that highlights the plight of women as the less recognized and ill-documented participants of war. This literature is contrasted with some general scholarly work on wars that includes men and women. The discussion in this chapter is grounded in gender and patriarchy as theoretical concepts that help explain how women and men are perceived and accepted as combatants. The key argument is that war processes are highly gendered, and tend to recognize men more than women. This chapter utilizes lived experiences of South Sudanese Women from the war, as adapted from interviews by Lydia Stone in her work 'We were all soldiers'. These are supplemented by accounts from other African conflicts and beyond. Stone (2011) is therefore a key source in this chapter.

2.1 Gender and Patriarchy in South Sudan

Patriarchy is useful in analyzing gender relations, and has been used since the Weberian times, where it referred "to a system of government in which men ruled societies through their positions as heads of households" (Weber (1947) cited in Walby 1989: 214). Several discussions have emerged amongst different schools of thought on the definition of patriarchy, with some questioning the notion of man to woman domination which ignores the man to man inequalities. For this research however, I adopt Walby's definition of patriarchy as "a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women." (Walby 1989: 214). Walby clarifies that by usage of social structures, biological determinism of gender roles and the binary relationship of every man as dominant and every woman as subordinate are diluted (ibid.). As this study will show, in the South Sudan civil war, some women disregarded established patriarchal norms regarding gender roles and responsibilities.

South Sudan represents a patriarchal society. Bubenzer and Lacey (2013) note that South Sudan is a highly patriarchal society and Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998) add that, patriarchy is much imbedded in the South Sudanese social fabric and is highly influenced by religion and tradition. Traditionally, women are looked at as possessions of men, who have strong authority in society and households and define women's roles. As prized possessions, women became primary targets during conflict and such violations triggered revenge from afflicted men or communities. It is possibly such scenarios that partly motivated SPLA to protect women from enemies but also to prevent them from armed combat, so they can perform their determined roles.

Stone (2011) adds that the culture of conflict in South Sudan has always labeled men as warriors, encouraged to be on the frontlines while the women are safeguarded from active combat. In fact, a close look at the military ideology of SPLA founding members like Dr. John Garang, reveals that he was al-

ways protective of women and never wanted to involve them in active combat (Bubenzer and Stern 2011). His primary motive was to keep women in communities to perform reproductive roles including bearing children. Garang had foreseen the war to last decades with many casualties and so to maintain the population in future, women needed to be protected from combat fatalities so as to reproduce (Bubenzer and Stern 2011, Stone 2011). This partly reveals elements of gender division of labour that were entrenched in patriarchal practices of sexuality and a culture that determines appropriate roles for men and women. The lack of support for women in the war by men, and the limited recognition and documentation of women's involvement can also partly be attributed to such patriarchal norms.

O'Gorman supplements that patriarchy and militarism tend to go hand in hand. "Militarism and patriarchy as operations of power are seen as mutually reinforcing in the subordination of women and femininity and the valorization of men and masculinity" (O'Gorman 2011: 95). It might however be insufficient to assume that gender and patriarchy alone are responsible for women's marginalization in the civil war. Some researchers have challenged the common use of the term patriarchy, by feminists. Kandiyoti (1988) for example argues that feminist application of the term "evokes an overly monolithic conception of male dominance" (1988: 274-275). He claims that this makes patriarchy appear abstract blocking the real revelations of cultural and established gender differences. Kandiyoti instead submits that women experience patriarchal bargain and their experiences vary according to class, caste and ethnicity, and these bargains influence and shape in a considerable way women's gendered subjectivity and are not static processes (Ibid.). Indeed, literature reveals that South Sudanese society was not so tolerant to women fighting alongside men for reasons that can be fairly termed as cultural gender biases, in a patriarchal society (Bubenzer and Lacey 2013). Women however challenged the structures to train in warfare and sneak their way to frontlines where they would eventually be accepted by men, like Janet's case below.

Janet Bulen Mofatta interviewed by Stone, said she was abducted on her way to work and forcefully recruited in SPLA. Amidst mixed reactions from her family², she joined the war and received training in military skills and use of arms, with several other women amongst many men. Even though the women trainees were not deployed for assault but instead given roles of care and cooking, Janet sneaked and joined male fighters and was part of the fighters that attacked and captured Yei (Stone 2011: 30). Janet's story resonates with stories of some other female fighters like Aluel Ayei Chath who beat through the odds to participate in armed combat in the liberation struggle, and rose to the top army ranks in the end. Janet's example is therefore one of several that demonstrate patriarchal bargains.

To augment the discussion on bargaining, Tønnessen (2010) observes that "although gender is shaped and works within a patriarchal society and state, it is continuously bargained with...this might not involve the eradication of patriarchy, but it is an ongoing process in which women are active participants" (2010: 3-4). In South Sudan therefore, women can be seen to have bargained

² Janet was released briefly to go inform her family. Her Uncle objected to her joining the rebels but her parents agreed to let her go.

with patriarchy and even though from a weaker position, some managed to overcome patriarchal barriers to actively fight in the war. Their bold move would probably affect their social status, but this could be a positive or negative outcome, as shall be shown later. This further reveals that women were also aware of their unequal positions in society and some were hence motivated to join the war to fight for their equality and freedom from male dominance and oppression (Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998). Women in some cases therefore chose to resist patriarchy and opted to exercise their agency and fight for their rights.

Women were thus motivated by more than just the need for protection, although their weak documentation might lead to evasion of important information regarding their roles (Bubenzer and Stern 2011). For example, in 1984, SPLA formed an all-female battalion called the Kateeba-Banaat, although it was short lived, upon disbandment after losing its first battle (Stone 2011: 27). Most Kateeba-Banaat members originally joined SPLA seeking protection, but ended up playing other essential roles. Elizabeth, one member in her interview with Stone, hinted on hers and other young girls' motivation to join the war; saying "girls who never joined the first civil war suffered torture and rape from the Arabs, so this time they preferred to join and suffer with SPLA instead of Arabs" (Stone 2011: 28). This can be construed that these girls joined the war because they needed protection and felt SPLA would offer it.

Unlike the policy of SPLA which discouraged women fighters, Other Armed Groups (OAGs) had more women in frontline roles. For instance Nyakal Kuech Duop, a female fighter in an SPLA break-away faction, felt obligated to join the liberation struggle to fight against the oppression and injustice from the Northern Arabs who used to 'call them dogs and treated them as dogs' (Stone 2011: 32). Duop persevered bush hardships yet when her faction was integrated with SPLA after the Juba declaration; women like her were involuntarily relieved of military duty, and deployed in other sectors like police and prisons. Such decisions displeased several women combatants, because they felt forced out of military duty (ibid.). This further affirms the embedded gender preferences for men staying in the military while women are demobilized even against their will.

As shown above, even though women left their communities to join the rebels, they still experienced various culturally engraved gender biases. These biases also extended to women's physiology, for instance, it is culturally believed that women are weaker than men, even though some women are clearly as strong as men, and perform duties daily that do not challenge their physiology (Stone 2011). Gender bias further reflects through emotional codes, where it is more tolerated when a man is killed in battle than a woman, saying this affects fighters' morale. Most interviewees of Stone reverberated that "it is one thing if a man dies. If a woman dies, we may cry all day" (Stone 2011: 29). These biases attest to the role of culture in influencing gender preferences.

Women therefore joined and participated in the war, and had more or less the same reasons and motivations as men. Just like men, women suffered grievances arising from societal and state sponsored injustice, socio-economic marginalization, lack of security, need for independence, etc. In addition women were more prone to marginalization and oppression arising from gender inequality, patriarchy, and deprived rights. With lack of alternative mechanisms, women join war, some voluntarily, others through forced abductions (Harsch

2005). Women join war for “a combination of reasons including protection, revenge or political ideology” (Mazurana 2013: 148). An SPLA woman commander interviewed by Mazurana had the following to say;

one reason people go to war is because of social difficulties in the patriarchal systems. The SPLA movement talked of justice for all and that joining them in their fight was a way to abolish unequal systems...Women fighting for justice. This is where women felt they could get their rights. (Mazurana 2013: 149).

Whether women achieved such goals as above is subject to debate, but what is clear is they had solid motivations. Bubenzer and Stern (2011) sum up South Sudanese women’s involvement, observing that women abandoned their daily comforts to fight for freedom, democracy, equality and dignity for themselves, their families and communities (2011: xii). Unfortunately, some of these difficulties still pertain in post-war era for instance patriarchy still features strongly in South Sudanese society. Patriarchy manifests through its relatively strong opposition to women’s empowerment and liberation and unequal power relations at household and community levels (Walby 1989, Beechey 1979). Women still suffer vulnerability to gender-based violence, which is further enhanced by poverty and unstable livelihoods, which tend to undermine men’s esteem and increasing their likelihood to become violent (Bubenzer and Lacey 2013). Women therefore are still deficient of promises of justice, equality and liberation from gender-based inequality and patriarchal-based oppression.

More related but general examples of women’s involvement in combat, their motivations and challenges can be found in narratives on Sri Lanka (Cohn 2013) Colombia (Mazurana 2013, Muggah 2008), Sierra Leone (Mackenzie 2012, Muggah 2008, Peters and Richards 1998) and Liberia (Richards 2005). For example, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the 1980s had female recruits who had common, as well as unique motivations for enlisting (Mazurana cited in Cohn 2013). At one point women were nearly one third of total LTTE cadres (Bouta 2005). In Colombia, The Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) had a considerable number of female combatants and in the 2000s, females in FARC ranks had risen to 40-50% of ranks (Brittain 2010 cited in Mazurana 2013). These examples maybe from Sri Lanka and Colombia but they do resonate with women combatants in other countries.

In conclusion, gender and patriarchy are therefore useful tools of analysis because of the ability to highlight the differences between what is socially biological and what is socially or culturally constructed. Two key observations emerge from this section; firstly, that warfare and armed combat activities are masculinized and mostly this arises from social and cultural constructions of men as aggressive, warriors and perpetrators of violence. These perceptions are even more established in patriarchal societies. Secondly, that women are naturally and ideal peace makers, life givers, weak, and victims of male orchestrated war-violence, playing mainly support roles during war. Feminist researchers and gender analysts have come out to challenge the above notions as inaccurate, discriminative and gendered, with far reaching implications to both men and women.

To the men, such constructions mean they take all the blame for war crimes and violence, but also take all the praise for victorious liberation struggles. For the women, such social constructions work to de-securitize their roles in the war, victimize them uniformly and portray all women as non-violent.

These social perceptions shadow women's contributions generally and gradually contribute to the limited acknowledgement women receive for their roles when war ends. Societies have therefore continuously recreated social identities of men as warriors and women as non-combatants and peace makers, although evidence is there to show that these constructions instead work to downplay the conciliatory men and the combative women (Elshtain 1987: 4, Mackenzie 2012: 45). Such constructions can later translate into unequal distribution of peace dividends and representation of women in post-war programmes like DDR. This however does not indicate that all men uniformly experience post-war privileges and peace dividends. Some men can find themselves on the sidelines of post-war programmes due to several reasons, some common to women's. In the same way, not all women are vulnerable victims of war, since some women play pivotal roles in armed conflict and obtain senior ranks.

2.2 Women Combatants' Multiple roles during war.

Acknowledging women's motivations, this section highlights ways in which women participate in combat, as summarized below that;

in modern forms of war, especially wars of liberation, women also are combatants; women resist and fight back; they take sides, spy and fight among themselves; and even when they don't see active service, they often support war efforts in multiple ways, willingly or unwillingly (Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998: 1)

Despite the common gender stereotypes still reflected in some policies of post-war nations, evidence shows that women participate in wars as active combatants, and where they do not hold guns, they play roles that enable those with guns to execute their strategies, and achieve warring goals. These essential roles include provision of intelligence information, smuggling ammunitions and medical supplies and supplying food. Without such services, it might be difficult to sustain rebellion. This section cites a couple of examples largely from South Sudan and supplemented by, Sierra Leone and Uganda, to support the claim of women's multiple roles and active engagement in combat.

Joice Moyeta Monday, a former combatant from Central Equatoria, South Sudan had this to say;

...your father, brother and husband have gone to the war, so if you remain at home looking after the family you are also fighting... You dig the garden and take some to the war and some for the children. Some of us were really soldiers fighting and some of us were looking after the vulnerable, but we are all soldiers, we are all fighting (Bubenzer and Stern 2011: xii).

Such are views that were echoed by women in Stone's interviews, trying to elaborate on the various roles through which they supported the civil war. Some women trained and qualified as fighters but the majority never participated at the frontlines (Stone 2011). Women were instead given supporting roles ranging from administration, logistics, care³, transportation, and collecting intelligence information among other roles. But even in their support roles,

³ Care work here includes caring for and looking after wounded fighters, frontline soldiers, the children, orphans and disabled, among other vulnerable groups.

women considered themselves combatants. Brigadier Aluel Ayei for example explained that “three quarters of women did support roles while one quarter was active soldiers. But everybody was a soldier, because even when not trained, women knew how to manoeuvre their way in the war. They were civilians but they were also soldiers” (Stone 2011: 33).

To add credibility to the above assertions, some women were actually given ranks normally conferred upon soldiers, even though they never held a fire arm at the frontline. For instance, Victoria Adhar Arop rose through the ranks of SPLA even though she was never an armed combatant. Victoria had received warfare training, skills and the will but was never deployed. She however used her skills as a nurse to care for and protect young unaccompanied boys put under her care in an Ethiopian refugee camp. Her non-frontline contribution was recognized, and she rose through ranks from Sergeant to Captain and Brigadier by 2005 (Stone 2011: 36 -39). The frontline in the civil war was therefore different ‘fronts’.

More examples of women performing multiple roles during war are from Uganda and Sierra Leone. During the Ugandan liberation struggle of 1981 to 1986, Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998: 2) highlight the non-armed roles of women like Getrude Njuba, who was vital in mobilization, intelligence collection, recruitment, and transportation of arms among others. Some women also fought as soldiers in the Ugandan liberation war. In the 1991 to 2002 Sierra Leone conflict, women constituted considerable percentages of rebel forces, were victims but also played vital roles (Mackenzie 2012). Media publicity and official documents seemed to portray women as mere victims of sexual abuse by male soldiers and not much mentioned about their roles in killing, use of weapons, commanding armed groups, spying, looting, raping and burning houses (Mackenzie 2012: 41). Women were therefore victims of war brutalities, but some got empowered by their involvement, and some women commanders became popular for their ferociousness. Women associated with war in Sierra Leone also defined themselves as soldiers according to Mackenzie’s interviews. Over 75% interviewees indicated having participated in various roles, knew their memberships, received military training, earned ranks and some orchestrated violence and committed atrocities (Mackenzie 2012: 51). For more details on women’s roles in the Sierra Leone conflict, (see, Coulter 2008, Richards 2005).

The above examples of women’s roles withstanding, a lot of gendered assumptions characterize warfare, women’s abilities as ideal combatants are undermined, and men’s contribution is accorded more importance (Bubenzer and Stern 2011, O’Gorman 2011, Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998), Feminist analysis links these assumptions to patriarchal tendencies which designate the military as a men’s preserve based on notions of masculinity. These constructions are not based on biological behaviour of men but on “cultural constructions of manliness and the social institutionalization of the military” (Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998: 5). Women in militaries, are therefore mostly relegated to support roles as seen above, some coerced into sex work, and a few occupy high ranking combat positions (Harsch 2005). As Elshtain asserts, women participating in war for example army nurses are perceived to be “just doing women’s work in an unusual situation – that is, being sources of comfort and succour behind the lines”(Elshtain 1987: 22). But the reality is the so-called usual behind-the-lines support work of women is very crucial to armed strug-

gle and once critically investigated, it is possible to see that women play more than simple innocent victims of wars and peace-making endeavours (Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998, Enloe 1983).

One of the key outcomes of women's involvement in combat in South Sudan was alteration and further complication of already complex gender roles. Household roles changed and women took on traditionally considered men's roles, but also maintained their 'feminine' roles. As Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998: 96) state;

a change of the man's role from a breadwinner to a combatant entitled him to more rights..., the change of the woman's role from a housewife and mother to a combatant caused a further decline in her status...women are reminded that whatever additional roles they are entrusted with, their original role as providers of sex comes first.

Women therefore endured effects on their social status by their involvement in war, and registered a double work burden as they took on men's roles. Some men especially after the war also suffered setbacks in providing for their families due to lack of access to resources like land and animals which were key to sustaining their roles (El-Bushra and Sahl 2005).

Conclusion.

This chapter analysed key motivations and challenges of women in wars, using mainly feminist narratives. One key finding is that during the South Sudan civil war, majority of women participated away from the frontlines, as non-armed combatants, from where they provided many of the essential roles to the struggle. A small fraction of women, participated as armed combatants. Women earned army ranks on and away from the frontlines. Despite contestation of their roles and limited documentation of their contributions, South Sudanese women are content within themselves that they contributed to the liberation war, and derive pride from seeing texts referring to South Sudan's 'Heroes and Heroines'. Owing to their contributions, the women consider themselves combatants. Limited recognition of women, the review shows is a result of several factors like inadequate information and documentation of women's roles, military and political ideologies that deliberately downplay women's abilities or merely protective policies to keep women in the reproductive sphere. Some of these factors the analysis shows are influenced by gender biases, patriarchal and cultural norms.

Chapter 3 Women, Peacebuilding and DDR Policies

Hegemonic masculinity still prevails in international decision making spheres, including peace processes. Even though changes in gender relations have occurred overtime and indeed more recognition of women in all spheres is visible, the challenges still pertain. Women are still subjects of subordination in a world that idealizes the prominence of men. Invisibility of women in international politics, where in my view peacebuilding rests, still poses a credible puzzle. Cynthia Enloe's profound question 'where are the women' (Willett 2010: 145) still deserves attention. This chapter therefore embarks on unpacking these claims and questions, by reviewing literature to establish progress or bottle necks facing women in peacebuilding and DDR, especially at policy level. The chapter will build on reflections from chapter two.

Recognizing women's war-time roles, critics have challenged the inadequate involvement of women in post-war planning processes. The UN's Security Council resolution 1325 (SC 1325) is one such mechanism that was developed to emphasize women's recognition in peace and security. SC 1325 was partly a product of feminist outcries regarding the inadequacy of UN instruments on women like the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (Willett 2010). Feminists felt these instruments did not fully address issues of women in peace and conflict and still addressed women as victims with no agency to seek own solutions to their threats (ibid.). SC 1325 therefore; advocates for gender mainstreaming in peace processes, greater participation of women in all aspects of peacebuilding including decision making, considers women as agents of peace and post-war reconstruction and encourages governments and planners to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and those of their dependents, while designing and planning DDR (Stone 2011, O'Gorman 2011, Willett 2010, Cohn et al. 2004).

Studies that emerged to inform the implementation of SC 1325 revealed challenges facing women in post-conflict countries for example "lack of focus in reconstruction programmes, and the virtual absence of women from peace negotiations around the world" (O'Gorman 2011: 105). As such, several approaches were suggested that can be used to implement SC 1325, including integrating women and gender issues into policies, and for this matter, DDR policy. Integrating gender in the South Sudan DDR policy documents can be interpreted as one way of implementing SC 1325. There is however need to unpack the gender clauses to explore the meanings therein and the extent to which the policies lay foundation for equitable DDR participation. This shall however be handled in detail in chapter 4.

3.1 Situating Women in Post-war reconstruction (peacebuilding and DDR)

Who participates in peace talks, how peace agreements are drafted, what is contained in them, and how they are adhered to and implemented is largely dependent on social, historical, political ,economic and cultural contexts, which are

themselves already gendered. Thus peace processes can offer a crucial space within which gender relations in post-conflict societies can be restructured, or they can become spaces within which women could lose some of the gains they have made during wartime or what they fought for in the war. (Alwis et al. 2013: 170).

This statement enhances the gender discussion in chapter 2, and argues that peace processes play a crucial role in improving or worsening gender relations. Willett (2010) adds that peace processes continue to idealize women from a weak position and undervalue their importance, and they are not always well represented in peace processes. Later prevailing social and political forces equally do not empower them to rectify whatever omissions ensuing from peace negotiations. Voices of women and their post-war advocates are often ignored in decision making forums and as “instead voices of government officials and warlords are listened to” (Zarkov, as cited in O’Gorman 2011: 93). In South Sudan, women had “limited access to peace negotiation processes” (Bubenzer and Lacey 2013: 1-2). Other examples of weak representation of women, or where women struggled to get a slot in negotiation rooms are in Somalia and Northern Ireland. In these countries, women engaged in political protests and lobbying to make their plea heard (Alwis et al. 2013).

War can sometimes present women with an opportunity to overcome gender based discrimination at household and community levels (MacKenzie 2009, Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998). When war ends, women might retain some of these gains and achievements if post-war policies are enabling. On the other hand, women may find themselves again relegated back into the domestic and reproductive sphere, under the guise of restoring stability. Instead the private and public divide is reinforced, dimming any socio-political changes that women had tried to register during the war regarding gender relations (O’Gorman 2011: 100). In south Sudan, after the war most gains by women were taken away as men returned to assume their traditional roles and force women back into subservient positions (Bubenzer and Lacey 2013). Similarly, in Sierra Leone, Mackenzie points out that most post-war programmes “worked towards securitizing women so they can blend into society, and forget about war-time gains and opportunities to reshape gender stereotypes and hierarchies in society” (MacKenzie 2009: 73 - 74). This was through strict gender biased integration choices.

Peace processes therefore present one of the avenues within which women can consolidate their war gains in empowerment and decision making. But as shown above, sometimes the post-conflict conjugal⁴ order as it was in Sierra Leone can subject women to societal conditions aimed at ‘normalizing’⁵ them once again as women, reinstating the gendered stereotypes about women in

⁴ Conjugal order “refers to the laws and social norms that serve to regulate sexuality, (re)construct the family, and send messages about acceptable and legitimate social relationships”(Mackenzie 2012: 4)

⁵ To return to normal for women in this case “entailed conforming to, and participating in a distinct form of conjugal order, and also involved processes of denying or hiding any activities, desires, or plans that did not conform to perceptions of conjugal order”(MacKenzie 2009: 74)

society (MacKenzie 2009: 74). This idea is further attested to by Sylvester cited in O'Gorman (2011: 95 - 96) that;

women fighters receive attention as subversives who transform the expectations of male-female gender relations...the woman warrior identity being one that can be mobilised to anti-patriarchal ends as it overturns existing gender divisions of labour and social power relations. But such changes are mere suspensions of ingrained 'normality'; revolutionaries become statesmen and women find themselves back in the private domain of the household.

This discloses the opposition women face from patriarchal structures, and these result into unfair distribution of post-war gains and programmes like DDR. It also alludes to indications that DDR planners tend to favour disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of women first and encourage the men to join state armies. This tendency further reinforces the 'militarised masculinity' notion. As O'Gorman wrote, "the increased militarisation of the state as it absorbs the male fighters and the political leaders serves to further marginalize and threaten women in the post-war setting" (O'Gorman 2011: 101). This frustrates women's hopes of gender transformation in the post-conflict period, especially those who crossed the gender divides to participate in wars as warriors.

Women therefore face challenges in their quest to enrol for DDR. Some challenges are general to DDR programmes, while others are exceptional to women. These include; inadequate funding, lack of accurate information and reliable statistics about ex-female combatants, inadequate training and limited DDR options, strict DDR requirement e.g. handing in fire arms, insecurity and violence at DDR sites, contested memberships of women by some armed groups, lack of detailed research and mapping of women's needs, limited acknowledgement of women who self-demobilize outside official DDR processes. Others include; stigma and fear of repercussions from communities hence tendency to shy away from DDR calls, fear of social exclusion or embarrassment, some ex-combatants are unwilling to be confronted with their combat past, and going back to camps, obligations to children or family especially when not comfortable taking children with them to demobilization camps, poor logistics and timeframe, and exclusion from lists, etc (Small Arms Survey 2013, Mackenzie 2012, Humphreys and Weinstein 2009, Specht 2006, McKay 2004). These challenges bring out experiences of ex-female combatants in Liberia, Sierra Leone and South Sudan, that have been compiled through research.

In addition, DDR programmes also face structural bottlenecks which may gradually impact on women's involvement. For instance in South Sudan, the main military party SPLA lacked full faith in the peace processes, and did not buy into the DDR programme for quite some time. Protracted flare-ups of conflicts even after signing the CPA also make it difficult to achieve DDR. It is therefore sometimes difficult to identify a precise post-conflict period, which thus necessitates flexible sequencing arrangements (Salih 2009: 139-140). In choosing which form of sequencing to adopt, one should be mindful of the tacit knowledge that 'peace' and 'post-conflict' mean different things for different actors (ibid.). Whereas the CPA in 2005 officially ended hostilities between North and South, several internal inter-ethnic conflicts still persist, and armed violence from disgruntled rebel factions that feel side-lined from the new order. North – South tensions also still prevail especially over unresolved border

issues, and Civilians possess arms in this post-war nation. All these factors combined, make peace in South Sudan an unstable reality, that impacts implementation of DDR.

DDR programmes therefore have registered several loopholes as mentioned above, and some of these have manifested in the non-gender responsive nature of DDR programmes, especially relating to women's needs. By way of summarising the challenges, it can be stated that "women are marginalised in the peacebuilding processes that are very often tied to peace agreements brokered with militias, warlords and others who must be appeased with power and roles in the new order like it was in DDR programmes for women in Liberia" (O'Gorman 2011: 101). Yet, it is worth noting that Liberia's conflict is one example that brought to the limelight the aggressive woman soldier but who still maintains her 'feminine' poise, as opposed to the popular binary perceptions of the peaceful woman and the aggressive warring man. In their fashionable allures, the Liberian women commanders and their 'sisters' were as fierce and brutal as their male counterparts, and became role models for some younger females (Utas 2005).

Like they struggle to earn crucial ranks during combat, women again struggle to get representation and participation when peace processes begin. These obstacles are faced in peace negotiations, and later DDR programs, and as Mazurana notes "when cease-fires and peace accords are reached, women and girls associated with armed groups are repeatedly excluded from official state DDR programs" (Mazurana 2013: 151) or given different eligibility criterion from male counterparts, which sometimes is not gender sensitive, preventing women from participating in DDR. Much as the challenges above are general to women in most post-war societies, it is also important "to be cognizant of the specific social, historical, political, economic and cultural contexts within which women seeking greater representation and participation in peace processes and thereafter are situated so as to get a better sense of the challenges and obstacles they face" (Alwis et al. 2013:169-170). Peace processes should include more gender dimensions, right from negotiation stages, and integrate the voices and needs of women. This is vital because peace agreements determine frameworks within which DDR will be planned and implemented, and consequently, the extent to which the beneficiaries experience its intended outcomes and the reality of peace.

Conclusion.

Chapter three has looked at women's engagement in peace processes and DDR. A fleeting review of some DDR case studies discovered that women still face a lot of challenges that impact their ability to fully participate and benefit from DDR. These challenges accrue from gender insensitive negotiations established through underrepresentation of women. In essence, peace is a constructed process that depends on a multitude of factors and in-puts, and the language used in conceptualizing and defining the policy processes will have a bearing on the comprehension, meanings, implementation and outcomes. As Cohn (2013) asserts, by understanding the messages attached to particular key terms and clauses in peace agreements and DDR policies, we may be able to influence the peace outcomes and consequently social reality in that context, specifically for women ex-combatants. The manner in which DDR policies are

designed is influenced by peace agreements and frameworks, which are often non-gender responsive. This results in inequality between male and female ex-combatants seeking to enter DDR. So whereas some women have indeed participated and benefited from DDR, a good score of them still miss out due to various obstacles as has been mentioned.

Chapter 4 Women in the South Sudan DDR policy 2005 – 2011

This chapter contains the main analysis and a discussion to expound on the findings from chapter 2 and 3, to see whether DDR policies reflect women's experiences of war. The discussion will also consider how DDR policies have integrated gender issues and the implied meanings. This will enable identification of any existing labels attached to former combatants, and what this means for DDR candidates. By way of approach, I will first identify and analyse segments where gender and women are mentioned in the policy documents. Secondly, I will focus on two key themes, that is; definition of (ex)combatants, and DDR beneficiaries' eligibility criteria. This is to help determine if the policies are sufficiently enabling women's participation in DDR. I focused on these two themes because most times these are the entry points for anyone participating in DDR programmes, and hence if not well crafted become the main points of weakness for an equitable DDR programme. The two issues also relate in that definitions influence eligibility for DDR. The discussion provides answers to the research questions, and a basis for final conclusions. For recap, below are the three policy documents;

- The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) - 2005
- The National DDR Strategic Plan (NDDRSP) - 2007
- The Individual DDR Programme (IDDRP) – 2009

For more detail on these documents, see appendix 4,5,6.

4.1 Gender and women clauses in the DDR policies.

All three policy documents have clauses on gender and some go further to include specific provisions on women.

The CPA provides the main framework on which all other DDR policies were developed. Part III of Annexure I elaborates DDR under the CPA period 2005-2011. The CPA provided the main objective of DDR, provided guiding principles and institutional arrangements among others (see appendix 4 for detail). Gender is highlighted under guiding principle 24.8 as follows;

'DDR programme shall be gender sensitive and shall encourage the participation of the communities and the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) with the view to strengthening their capacities to play their role in improving and sustaining the social and economic reintegration of former combatants'(Government of Sudan. 2013: 118 - 119).

Closely related is guiding principle 24.5 which highlights; *'Fairness, transparency, equitability and consistency for determining the eligibility of ex-combatants targeted for assistance'* (Government of Sudan. 2013: 118).

The two principles above are an indicator that efforts were made to integrate gender in the CPA. This is consistent with the provisions of the IDDRS and other global DDR related guidelines like the UN SC 1325. Nonetheless, the CPA lacked exhaustive guidelines on how the gender sensitivity clause would be implemented. Moreover the CPA glossary offers no definition of gender, making it difficult to determine in what context the concept was used.

Furthermore, no explicit interpretation is done for gender, for DDR purposes, for example stating benchmarks that would constitute a gender sensitive approach. Being the main post-war framework, it would have been essential to include clear guidelines on gender and women inclusiveness in the CPA. This would circumvent the common perceptions where gender is still largely translated as only women, a situation prevalent in most power structures (O’Gorman 2011, Willett 2010). Continuous approval of such misconceptions has implications on how policies are generated, interpreted and implemented including in peace and security sectors.

After the CPA, the NDDRSP was developed next in 2007 to provide a road map for DDR programming, and utilises the CPA as a main framework (see detail in appendix 5). The NDDRSP equally has a gender clause. Paragraph four of the introduction, states that the plan would “deal with gender...a reality that does not exist in the North, but is already there in the South” (South Sudan DDR Commission. 2013: 2). The reference to gender in this paragraph somewhat reaffirms what was stated above that in power structures, gender translates as women (O’Gorman 2011, Willett 2010). The statement could equally imply that North Sudan never used women in fighting during the war, but South Sudan involved women fighters in the war.

The NDDRSP, like the CPA does not define gender, even though it contains a list of other DDR related concepts. Omitting gender from the other definitions could be interpreted that the plan assumes gender is well understood in the context of Sudan peace process and hence not worth defining. The discussion will further analyse such embedded assumption in later sections.

The NDDRSP also has two specific guiding principles relating to gender and equity. Guiding principle 4-8 states as follows;

consideration of Gender: The program considers women special status in all stages of planning and implementation. It will be gender sensitive and satisfy the special treatment that is demanded for women in planning and implementation (South Sudan DDR Commission. 2013: 4)

Considering the special status of women in all stages is deemed a positive step, but this principle equates gender sensitivity to satisfying the ‘special treatment that is demanded for women’. In a sense, gender is again translated to women according to the plan. This persistent translation of gender as women in the policy documents can be attributed to two points. One being the lack of a clear definition of gender, which would ideally include women as men. Secondly, even though the gender concept had a different interpretation in Sudan context, it would have been useful to provide such a clarification, but that was not the case. It is therefore difficult to assess how gender sensitive the NDDRSP is, when gender concept is implicitly referring to only women.

Guiding principle 4-3 talks about Justice and Equity as below;

Justice and Equity: The principle of equity among ex-combatants all over Sudan shall apply throughout the process. No discrimination on the bases of religious, ethnic, allocation, or military group shall take place (South Sudan DDR Commission. 2013: 4)

Again, it is interesting that issues of justice and equity are deemed important, but notably, the NDDRSP considers non-discrimination on other bases besides gender and sex. This can be interpreted that the planners either did

not foresee discrimination on basis of gender and sex, or they were just blind to these two variables. This becomes an area of concern for both men and women, but mostly women especially in a patriarchal society like South Sudan.

The third Policy document is the IDDRP, also using the CPA as the main legal framework, and was part of CPA implementation mechanisms. IDDRP was formulated basing on the weaknesses and lessons learnt from the NDDRSP (see detail in appendix 6). Gender and equity are also included in the guiding principles as below;

Balancing Equity...; All DDR candidates will be treated fairly and equally irrespective of past or present political or military affiliation. The principle of non-discrimination will be upheld regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, cultural, religious and tribal identity (United Nations Development Programme Sudan 2009: 11).

The key observation is that this principle in the IDDRP is closely related to principle 4-3 in the NDDRSP. This might not be surprising since the IDDRP was developed to help implementation of the NDDRSP. Worth noting also is that the DDRIP was a product of combined effort between the Government and UNDP. This principle was improved to include non-discrimination regardless of gender, an element that was missing in the NDDRSP. It is therefore possible to conclude that this change was a result of the realisation of the gender gap in the guiding principles of the NDDRSP. But also due to the fact that the UNDP is obliged to adhere to other UN DDR related instruments like the IDDRS, and hence it was easy for this joint policy document to be more gender aware.

Additionally, the IDDRP has a better crafted principle of gender compared to the predecessor policies. The principle on 'Promotion of Gender Equality' states that: *"This will include equitable involvement of women and men at all levels of the planning and implementation process"* (United Nations Development Programme Sudan 2009: 12). Emphasis is further put on having a UN Gender-balanced team, including gender advisors, which confirms my feeling above that the IDDRP was more gender sensitive because it was partly developed by the UNDP. This principle further mentions that capacity building will be done for South Sudanese authorities to meet targeted demands of women and men, and hopefully this capacity includes ability to collect gender and sex-disaggregated data to inform DDR programming. The language in the IDDRP was therefore clearer in terms of gender integration compared to the CPA and NDDRSP. Its shortfall however arose from lack of a clear gender definition, as well as absence of well-articulated special needs of men and women. And similarly, no guidelines on measuring gender equity are provided.

To wrap up, three key findings emerge from the above analysis. Firstly, the inclusion of gender, equity, justice and non-discrimination in the text of all three policies, is an indicator that the planners were aware of the need to integrate gender in DDR policy. Factoring these clauses in mainly introductory statements and guiding principle sections, with no further elaboration in consequent sections, also reveals something. That the planners and policy makers probably lacked awareness on the modalities of integrating gender in DDR policy is one. Or maybe the language used to reflect gender and equity was just adopted from other regional or international documents, and just included to meet the requirement of mainstreaming gender in post-war processes, as required under UN guidelines.

Secondly, the weak elaboration of gender could be a product of information gaps. For a gender sensitive policy, it is pertinent to have well developed gender checklists based on local context, to guide DDR processes in ensuring that the short and long term DDR practical needs of men and women are well catered for (Farr 2005, Bouta 2005). If no gender-based needs assessments are undertaken, there is an increased likelihood of inserting generic gender clauses in DDR policies. In essence, the weaknesses in mainstreaming gender in the South Sudan DDR policy may not have been much of lack of commitment, but rather lack of gender sensitization for policy making. As has been shown, gender in this case may simply be translated to mean women, hence ignoring the vulnerable men former combatants. But equally to the women, mere emphasis on recognition of women's special status, without clarity on women's special needs or guidelines, might prove difficult for the implementers to adhere to the principle of gender equity. The lack of gender definition and inconsistency in presentation of some principles, could also easily undermine the ability of stakeholders to comprehend, interpret and implement the DDR policies in a gender responsive manner.

4.2 Analysis: Women as combatants or not?

This section utilizes the observations and findings from chapter 2, to explore any differences reflected in meanings attached to men and women (ex)combatants in the policies. In South Sudan, there is still an on-going debate amongst scholars, the SPLA, policy makers and the former combatants, regarding the involvement of women in the civil war. The question of "whether South Sudanese women fought on the frontline in the 1983-2005 civil war is still a contested one, with men denying women's role in fighting while the women say they fought" (Stone 2011: 27). So did women participate as combatants or they were just associated with the combatants? By critically reflecting on the 'official' definition of combatant as provided in the IDDRS, and comparing it with the women's experiences, this research can hopefully add to the quest for an answer or add to the debate. The United Nations IDDRS define a combatant as follows;

Figure 1: UN IDDRS definition of Combatant.

<p>Combatant</p>	<p>Based on an analogy with the definition set out in the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War in relation to persons engaged in international armed conflicts, a combatant is a person who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ is a member of a national army or an irregular military organization; or ■ is actively participating in military activities and hostilities; or ■ is involved in recruiting or training military personnel; or ■ holds a command or decision-making position within a national army or an armed organization; or ■ arrived in a host country carrying arms or in military uniform or as part of a military structure; or ■ having arrived in a host country as an ordinary civilian, thereafter assumes, or shows determination to assume, any of the above attributes.
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Source: (UNDDDR.org. 2013: 4)

According to Stone (more in chapter 2), all the women she interviewed mostly considered themselves combatants, whether they were involved on or off the frontline. In my view, women believed that their so called support roles were also part of fighting because such roles ensured that those on the frontlines continue fighting. In fact, some men who agreed with this “expanded definition of combatants by women, agree that as fighters, they could not have survived without the contribution of women because their roles were essential to the war” (Stone 2011: 34).

Going back to the IDDRS definition, I argue that the roles and features of South Sudanese women as highlighted in chapter 2 fit into most components of the IDDRS definition. For example, women had membership in armies like SPLA, and some participated in military activities and hostilities. Majority women, supported recruitment, smuggled arms to fighters, transported and carried arms and played several other roles that supported the SPLA’s military strategy (see details section 2.1, 2.2). Some were trained and given intelligence gathering tasks (Stone 2011: 34). As Joyce, interviewed by Stone asserts, She “did not fight with a gun but was fighting with her mouth” (ibid.: 35), because she was gathering intelligence information between Khartoum and the South, and feeding that information to SPLA fighters to guide their tactics. To Joyce, combatants were not only those who fought on the frontline. Most women may not have been seen as combatants (soldiers) for they did not hold ranks or guns but they largely fit into the given definition of combatant. Unfortunately all the DDR policy documents developed between 2005 and 2011 did not come out with a clear definition of a combatant, one that would either align with or contest the IDDRS definition, even though these documents refer a lot to the IDDRS.

One key finding out of women’s multiple engagements in the war was that women’s roles in war and peacetime are sometimes blurred. Women roles seemed to be contested because some saw them as part of their ‘usual’ chores, and not necessarily unique to combat, since combat has been masculinized to mean guns and soldiering. The support roles that women play during war-time

are not much different from those they play during peacetime, but they also added on new ones. For example, like in peacetime, during war women cook, care, nurture and nurse among others. Women were abductees, dependents, played support roles but also were involved in strategy, planning and executing warfare (Stone 2011, Mazurana et al. 2004). In South Sudan, roles are still divided along gender lines with roles like cooking, caring and nursing being seen as feminine roles while the ‘macho’ roles like fighting are primarily considered masculine roles. Stone hence reveals that;

women’s daily routines during the war mirrored those of peacetime...However in addition, they also carried food, ammunition and medication to the frontlines, and would return with wounded combatants who they cared for, or had to bury if they did not survive (Stone 2011: 34).

Therefore besides their traditional roles, women added extra supportive roles to sustain the war. This blurriness was however not exclusive to women. Men who joined the war by default left their roles as household heads, and women took charge. On the frontline, it was not obvious that all men had to assume leadership roles, so it is possible that some even found themselves being led by women. The blurriness in roles during war shifts from being a women’s issue to a gender issue. All in all, this fuzziness in men and women’s roles can create likely tension over who did what and who qualifies or not as a combatant or ex-combatant for that matter.

The IDDRS also provides a definition of ex-combatant that post-war countries can adopt, refer to, or refine for their DDR policies. Again, the three South Sudan DDR policy documents do not have an explicit definition of ex-combatant, so I will use IDDRS definition, to contrast the implied meanings of ex-combatant in South Sudan context. The IDDRS defines ex-Combatant as below;

Figure 2: UN IDDRS definition of Ex-combatant

Ex-combatant	A person who has assumed any of the responsibilities or carried out any of the activities mentioned in the definition of ‘combatant’, and has laid down or surrendered his/her arms with a view to entering a DDR process. Former combatant status may be certified through a demobilisation process by a recognised authority. Spontaneously auto-demobilised individuals, such as deserters, may also be considered ex-combatants if proof of non-combatant status over a period of time can be given.
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Source: (UNDDR.org. 2013: 7)

This UN definition of ex-combatant is the most commonly used, although it has been criticised by some as narrow. Bouta (2005) argues that it seems to target only people, in this case women who carried a weapon, by emphasizing that ‘*a person should have laid down or surrendered his/her arms...*’, and sometimes even these have to obtain confirmation regarding their membership and status as former combatants from their commanders, (see ‘*former combatant status may be certified through a demobilization process by a recognized authority*’). This definition’s narrow criteria, might render many South Sudanese women ineligible for DDR, since they were mostly involved in non-combat roles, and had no guns to hand in (Stone 2011). In effect, DDR programmes may be rendered “less

efficient and run the risk of reinforcing existing gender inequalities in local communities and exacerbating economic hardship for women formerly involved in the war” (Bouta 2005: 25).

Additionally, the embedded patriarchal norms in the South Sudanese society also make it difficult for women to solicit support from male local leaders and commanders, who may not consider them viable combatants (Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998, Bubenzer and Lacey 2013). This narrow context can be even more limiting to women who self-demobilized and entered communities before enrolling for official DDR, as was the case with many women in Liberia and Sierra Leone (MacKenzie 2009, Utas 2005, Mazurana et al. 2004). Women therefore have to deal with post-war hardships on their own, if they miss on DDR benefits, on top of the existing effects from the war which in most cases they have received no help on how to cope with.

Whereas the DDR policies in South Sudan do not define combatant and ex-combatant, they have other terms used in reference to men and women from the war. DDR candidates are; “certified adult beneficiaries, who are soldiers, combatants, WAAFGs, disabled and or elderly who have not been redeployed or integrated into other state agencies” (South Sudan DDR Commission. 2013, NDDRSP: 10). Worth noting is that soldiers are mentioned separately from combatants and WAAFGs. And since the policies lack a precise definition of a combatant, it becomes challenging to deduct the differences implied in the different categories. In effect, these categories can create room for all participants, but at the same time can create confusion especially for candidates who are not sure of their specific category. For women, one may argue that at least they may fall in any of the three categories of soldier, combatant and WAAFGs, which means the risk of exclusion is minimized. But again such a conclusion would be overly simplistic unless each category is delved into in more detail. The following discussion on eligibility criteria provides more insight on the different categories, and their implications.

4.3 Eligibility criteria for DDR participants in South Sudan policies.

The preamble of Annexure 1, Chapter VI (Security Arrangements) of the CPA, page 93, paragraph 7 states that the Parties are;

“aware of the fact that DDR of ex-combatants are crucial components for a secure and peaceful Sudan and commit themselves to credible, transparent and effective DDR processes which will support the ex-combatants’ transition to a productive civilian life”.

On this basis, National DDR Commission (NDDRCC) in close cooperation with South Sudan DDR Commission (SSDDRC) was mandated to design, implement and manage DDR process. This involved developing eligibility criteria for DDR, and hence this formed one of the highlights of the NDDRSP 2007.

Section 2-6 of the NDDRSP 2007, page 3 accordingly states that;

“eligibility criteria is required to determine which targeted groups qualify to benefit from the DDR program. It is a national agreed set of criteria including women and children associated with armed force groups that shall be included in the DDR program. The cri-

teria will become the guiding principle during identification, registration, verification and monitoring, processing and authorization of financial expenditure.”

Below is the extract of the criteria from the NDDRSP;

Figure 3: Eligibility criteria for DDR beneficiaries in South Sudan

All the following minimum criteria must be applied to determine eligibility for each adult candidate in the presence of the JMTs during the demobilization process:

- The name of each candidate must be reflected on the pre-registered certified name list of the SAF or SPLA.
- To be officially considered as a member of the SAF or SPLA, each candidate to be demobilized shall be certified in writing by his/her commanding officers who attest that the member belongs to units of the SAF or SPLA and having been recruited before the date of the signature of the CPA.
- Each candidate must be in possession of a certificate from SAF or SPLA certifying that he/she has been discharged and is no longer part of reserve lists of the military.
- The adult candidate must be a Sudanese national.
- The candidate must be 18 years or above.

Additional eligibility criteria must be considered for WAAFG's. Such criteria will be elaborated to stop the reasonable number of eligible beneficiaries to the DDR process that can be financially supported by the GNU, GOSS and international donor community, measured against the number necessary to enhance the security environment for peace process to take hold. If the answer is positive to the following questions, such beneficiaries may be eligible for entry into the program:

- Has candidate been providing essential support services for the military, but is now completely discharged and disassociated from the military?
- Was candidate residing in or around military barracks or camps?
- Is candidate 18 years or older?
- Has candidate been moving around with the military on duty and thus lived away from her community?
- Is candidate living in war zones? Is she verified by a Community leader?
- Is candidate not a dependant or widow of a soldier?

(South Sudan DDR Commission. 2013, NDDRSP 2007: 11)

The criterion above warrants a few observations, and for purposes of analysis, I will consider the criteria in two parts; one being the general adult criteria and the second one being the WAAFGs. I will then attempt to synthesize the two parts.

First observation is that the criteria establish categories; the first category is that of ex-combatants who must prove attachment through membership to either SAF or SPLA. The proof has to be certified and supported by a commander. A challenge crops up with this categorisation for former combatants who may not have been formally recruited into the forces. Whereas the point of proof is crucial for control purposes, there is a risk that if a combatant is denied proof, such persons are likely to reintegrate into communities without proper demobilization and counselling and could become potential insurgents. It is thus vital to conduct thorough verifications to ensure all eligible combatants even if outside recognized armies have been brought on board.

Secondly is the uniform criterion of pre-registration on certified lists. The NDDRSP (pg. 10–11) emphasizes that eligible adult beneficiaries shall be certified and pre-registered by the SAF or SPLA, and anyone excluded from these lists shall not be eligible at later stages. Whereas the need for strict criteria is appreciated to avoid fraudulent and exaggerated DDR lists, gender concerns emerge from the this requirement. Women for example are faced with specific challenges concerning their ability to timely enrol for DDR. these include lack of information on DDR programmes and locations, security concerns, stigma, fear of rebuke and reprisal, inadequate awareness on eligibility, limited access to commanders for certification, reluctance to go into demobilization camps with their children, self-demobilization and quiet reintegration by some wom-

en which makes it difficult to get testimonials to prove they were combatants, etc (UNDDR. 2013, Stone 2011, Specht 2006, Utas 2005, Bouta 2005, Tschirgi 2004). Whereas some men also find themselves faced with similar challenges that may limit their eligibility, the likelihood of women candidates is greater and hence the need for their special consideration when developing such uniform criteria.

The second category is that of people associated with armed forces notably women and children. This study considers only women who are referred to as WAAFGs. From the criteria in figure 3, an even more rigid criterion is given for WAAFGs compared to other ex-combatants. Reason given was to control the number of eligible DDR beneficiaries. From the detailed criteria, WAAFGs was a concept used to refer to women who were non-combatants, but were providing essential support roles. WAAFGs also excludes women who might have been providing essential support roles but then got married to male soldiers, whether voluntarily or forced. Yet as was seen in chapter 2, many women were involved in multiple roles, a fact that is not considered in DDR criteria. For DDR women are considered either as dependants of men or individual entities, which is likely to disqualify many women who are married but performed distinct roles in the war.

WAAFGs criteria also highlights war zones, which is equally tricky in a conflict like South Sudan where there was no defined war zone. Men and women were strategizing and getting involved from their communities (Bubbenzer and Stern 2011). In addition, so many people were displaced internally but even in displacement camps, they supported the war. This therefore problematizes the issue of verification by local leaders, especially for women who supported the war from outside their places of origin. Furthermore, the criteria for WAAFGs becomes challenging for some women, since it may be difficult to measure or determine the level at which they provided essential services to the military. It might also be hard for women to justify whether the essential roles they played were exclusively in support of war, since some were overlapping with their normal chores. More so since these essential services are not clearly defined in the criteria. This compounded with the patriarchal characteristics of the South Sudan communities may make women restrained from seeking endorsement from the male community leaders who would attest to their involvement in the war, and hence some women may opt to stay away and miss out on DDR programs (Bubbenzer and Stern 2011, Aldehaib 2010). Moreover, by categorising women as WAAFGs, who performed non-combatant roles, and instead terming them as 'essential roles' the program is already insinuating that the essential roles were not as important as the combatant roles.

WAAFGs therefore are categorized as women who played supportive roles, and whose lives were dependent and almost integrated with the armed forces. Ideally these are women who participated in non-combatant roles. But as earlier seen in chapter 2 and 3, the situation in South Sudan presented a new definition of combatants as opposed to the official definitions. Women whether willingly or unwillingly, participated in the war and executed essential duties that were crucial to the war. And this is probably why a special criteria was developed for them. But because the women are fully aware of their roles and have acknowledgement from some male colleagues, they call themselves ex-combatants. Esther Waters of UNDP in an interview with Stone said; "The WAAFGs will always refer to themselves as female combatants, and I think

they should be allowed to do that. There were female ex-combatants who never fought and WAAFGs who did fight, so there are no clear distinctions” (Stone 2011: 45). But one possible challenge in the South Sudan case then emerges, and this would be about the numbers of DDR beneficiaries if women’s criteria were refined. From their accounts, many women eagerly supported the liberation struggle amidst the enormous challenges, and hence are ideally eligible for DDR but what implications does this have for the DDR programme? Could it be that the planners were already aware that so many women actually would qualify if the eligibility criteria was made a little flexible and thus the strict criteria? These are questions that demand more detailed interrogation of the DDR process to get close to any definitive answers.

In addition to the above, another dilemma in distinguishing ‘adult DDR candidates’ from WAAFGs arises out of the fact that SPLA allowed some women to train in military and warfare skills and qualified them as fighters. But they were never deployed to the frontline in the end, instead given other non-fighting tasks. According to the UN’s official definition of ex-combatant (see figure 2) these women actually qualify to be ex-combatants and not WAAFGs. But if the eligibility criteria set out in the South Sudan DDR policies is followed religiously, then these women become WAAFGs because they did not deploy to frontline, neither did they have any duties that require redeployment. Complaints amassed from several DDR stakeholders requiring clarification of this bottleneck and in 2010, an addendum was added (Stone 2011), (see appendix 8). A critical look at the addendum however does not reveal any big difference. It feels like the same criteria was just re-worded for further clarification, but is still as limiting to women as was originally.

Another key observation emerging out of categories, is the implicit reference of soldiers and combatants as men, and women as mainly WAAFGs. This points to a suggestion that SPLA preferred women to be identified with a non-combat category so as to safeguard its ideology. SPLA had always considered itself a professional army with strict moral code on female recruitment and use of civilians. By admitting that they had many women combatants, they feared to be compared to other disreputable African rebel groups that were famous for abductions and abuse of women (Stone 2011: 46). It is therefore possible that SPLA’s preference for WAAFGs instead of women ex-combatants was to create an impression that women were never forcefully recruited into the war. Instead that they joined as dependants or in support roles which in most cases women tend to do voluntarily.

Additionally, the emphasis on WAAFGs instead of women ex-combatants to me has might have more entrenched implications, and it is possible that the planners were conscious of their decisions. For instance, considering WAAFGs instead of Women ex-combatants in a way reduces the cost of implementing DDR. This is because the entitlements of ex-combatants and WAAFGs are different with ex-combatants having a bigger package and more privileges, which have financial implications on the government and DDR donors. SPLA for example adopted a policy where its former combatants would remain on the payroll for a period of one year after entering DDR (Munive 2013, Nichols 2011, Small Arms Survey 2011). On the other hand, WAAFGs are considered for reintegration activities which are based on partnerships with implementing agencies who also contribute to the packages directly or indirectly (Munive 2013).

One more finding is the un-stated assumption that all men were either combatants or civilians, and no men were simply associated with armed force groups. As shown above, the policies seem to highlight WAAFGs and clearly differentiate them from other adult candidates. There is however no mention of men who were involved in the war but not as frontline or combat soldiers. On one part this upholds a gendered assumption as was stated in chapter 2 that all men are ideal soldiers no matter what roles they perform in war. MacKenzie (2012: 53) denotes that;

“when men act as porters, cleaners, domestic help, or messengers during war, there is little debate about the extent to which they deserve the soldier title... While great effort is made by post-conflict policy makers to name women something other than soldiers, ‘men involved with the military in support functions are defined as soldiers, and not as ‘men involved in armed groups of forces,’ or as men directly associated with the war;’ or as dependants of male or female combatants”.

Men in DDR process therefore seem to have been considered as either soldiers or civilians, with no consideration of men that could be husbands, dependants of female soldiers or just men who were playing support roles. Just like the way DDR programmes treat male combatants with their wives and dependants, the same should be applied to women who have husbands and dependants. Since it has been realised that women do fight as soldiers and some of these are also wives, mothers and benefactors. So the fact that policies are silent on this category is double pronged, and is therefore an area that calls for further study.

Lastly, the reference of women and WAAFGs for this matter as part of Special Needs Groups (SNGs) exudes a vulnerability stereotype. The DDR policies kept referring to women as having special needs that demand special attention. But since it is not clear whether in-depth gender analysis and needs assessments were done to inform such policy positions, it is possible to conclude that women are generally assumed vulnerable and hence have to be lumped with people with disabilities and the elderly. While the men remain in active service. And as shown in chapter 2, some women were even discharged from the military against their will (see Nyakal Kuech’s account in 2.1), but possibly because they are assumed vulnerable, they qualified to be part of phase 1 DDR. Such generalizations and stereotypes have been criticised by researchers and practitioners alike. For example Harsch observes that, women participate in wars in various roles “yet when a peace settlement opens the way for demobilization, they tend to be categorized among ‘vulnerable groups’, a broad label that includes wounded or disabled male combatants and all women and children who accompany warring factions” (Harsch 2005: 17). Yet, special needs only seem to apply to WAAFGs but omitting women soldiers, which brings up a different argument on vulnerability as below.

Women in combat and generally wars tend to adopt similar lives as men (Bouta 2005), and even receive similar training, even though planners and policy makers are quick to categorize them as vulnerable, with special needs after the war. However, this categorisation has been defended by some scholars arguing that even though some men become victims of similar war brutalities as women e.g. sexual violence, the risks of women are still greater. There are more women victims of rape, sex slavery, gender-specific violence, abuse and oppression during wars than there are men (McKay and Mazurana 2004). This

said, there is no evidence that WAAFGs vulnerability label is correlated with the risk of violence they face during the war. It can therefore still be argued that women are considered vulnerable due to gender stereotypes which dictate that during 'peace time' women should assume as much of their 'normal' social status as possible, hence the idea of according them priority in DDR. The vulnerability label therefore needs further clarity in the DDR policy to enable precise interpretation.

Conclusion;

Chapter 4 has mainly been a discussion of the three DDR policies developed in South Sudan since 2005. On a strong note, the analysis observations and findings, show that the DDR process had intentions of being gender sensitive from initiation. This is construed from the several clauses in the three policies, as mentioned in section 4.1, even though concentrated mainly in the introduction and guiding principles sections. On a weaker note, key definitions were not clearly stated, and even where they were inferred, various interpretations were eminent, which may result in misinterpretations all together. For example it was seen that the policies were designed with women as mainly non-combatants, and a special category of WAAFGs had to be created to emphasize this. On the contrary, the policies are designed with the idea of men as soldiers (combatants) or civilians, and as shown in the discussion, this also makes some men prone to exclusion.

To answer the two research questions, this study submits that women in the South Sudan DDR process are defined mainly as WAAFGs and not as former combatants. Reasons supporting this position have been elaborated in this chapter. This policy definition disregards women's own definition as equally former combatants, owing to the roles they played and contributions to the civil war. Women's own definition is in some way reinforced by the IDDRS definitions. And defining women as WAAFGs not former combatants has implications on women's ability to qualify for DDR. The eligibility criterion for example was different for adult candidates and WAAFGs. From the women's experiences of the war in chapter 2, it is possible that many women were involved as combatants but the technical definitions relegate them to WAAFGs. So in this case they cannot access DDR programmes as former combatants but as WAAFGs, bearing in mind that the packages are different for the two categories. Even then, the conditions for the WAAFGs criteria are not necessarily fair to the women; hence several women are likely to become ineligible on technical grounds. But this said, it is not entirely fair to conclude that these difficulties were only pertaining to women, since the analysis revealed a category of men who would not qualify as adult candidates and yet there is no provision for men associated with war.

Chapter 5 Reflections and Conclusions

This research had the objective of examining meanings attached to women from the war, within the context of DDR and how such meanings can affect women's ability to access DDR benefits. The research questions were designed to help probe into the definitions of combatant and ex-combatant, and scrutinizing the eligibility criterion for DDR. A literature review enabled an insight of women's motivations and experiences of the civil war, and the multiple roles they engaged in. A condensed effort was also made in chapter 3, to locate women in post-war processes especially peacebuilding and DDR. Gender and patriarchy were useful concepts to theorize women in the South Sudan society, and this study recognizes that indeed the two concepts still influence the post-war policy processes and decision making. In this final chapter, I reflect on some of the key observations and findings from the paper, especially chapters 2,3 and 4, and concluding remarks.

The study reveals that women provided essential services and played key support roles during the war, some of which were overlapping with peacetime roles. Even though their contribution has been and still is contested by some factions, women were active participants in the successful liberation struggle of South Sudan. On this note, I concur with Mackenzie's observation that female soldiers are often constructed and reconstructed as weak, peace makers, wives, mothers, war supporters in order to desecuritize them, silence them, distinguish them from securitized male soldiers, and justify policies that either disregarded them or encourage them to return to a highly gendered order, Mackenzie (2012: 46). Such inadequate constructions dismiss women as having no role-play in the decisions that shape post-conflict societies. And such perceptions are likely to be further carried in the peace order where women end up not receiving the same amount of recognition in terms of rewards and representations in political offices and other positions of influence.

Important to note is that, South Sudanese women overcame gender and patriarchal barriers, to support the war with strong convictions and values. Much as they sought protection from armed groups, women also felt it noble to join SPLA and other armed groups in a common struggle against what they perceived as injustice and oppression from the Arab domination. Some joined willingly while others were forcefully conscripted. But in the end, even those forcefully recruited, never harboured ill sentiments against soldiers for long, for they felt sympathetic to the fighting cause and quickly convinced themselves that they were fighting for a good and common cause. Women participated both on and away from the frontlines. Those who stayed home cared for children, wounded and vulnerable and took charge of families in absence of male household heads. Some women received military training and were eager to fight but were denied an opportunity, due to what I call gender stereotypes of men as ideal warriors and women as pacifiers.

This study has noted the existence of global instruments like UN SC 1325 that advocate for increased women's involvement in post-war processes. The study however recognises that even with such global initiatives, women's voices still continue to receive inadequate attention in peace processes and policies, their conflict experiences are largely ignored, and participation in peace pro-

cesses is still insufficient. Furthermore, implementation of instruments like SC 1325 is still deficient. This in effect impacts on the way women experience peace, stability and recovery in the aftermath of violent conflicts. Whereas it is easy to continue ignoring women's challenges using excuses like lack of information and inadequate research, the bitter truth remains that women self-reintegrate into post-war communities with unhealed emotional and psychological wounds, they have to live in same communities sometimes with their war-time tormentors or sexual offenders but keep silent for sake of fitting in. It is therefore unlikely that such women can become active players in the political, economic and social reconstruction and development of their communities. This hence defeats the aspirations of DDR programmes.

Additionally, this study has acknowledged the inclusion of gender and women in DDR policies as a positive step towards gender mainstreaming. Some gaps were however identified including; lack of clear or detailed guidelines on gender integration in DDR implementation, lack of adequate disaggregate gender data for example showing how many men and women have been pre-registered, or comprise the targeted DDR population, and lastly, the impression that gender translates to only women. This is evident in the way gender was used interchangeably with women in the policies, thus ignoring the specific yet not so obvious needs of men, as a result of war. Yet, any attempts at peacebuilding should be gender neutral, considering that "women's gendered roles in conflict and its aftermath are incomplete without the consideration of the gendered roles of the men with whom they share and must rebuild their societies" (Ramsbotham, et. al. cited in Dahlström 2013: 19). The language used in DDR policies relating to gender therefore needs to be used basing on assessed needs of men and women, and be mindful of the alterations in traditional social set-ups and gender roles that occur in post-conflict periods.

One more key finding was that the policies introduced categories with women mainly referred to as WAAFGs. This is fine to attract attention to women in post-war processes. This categorization however tended to generalize women as mostly non-combatants, and reduced their roles to only support roles. This in turn limits women's potential benefits and choices in DDR, packages differ between ex-combatants and WAAFGs. WAAFGs reintegration choices consist mainly of activities that encourage women to return to 'normal' society, where men are valued as heads and leaders, and women as subservient. As this paper has shown, women's roles in war cannot be disputed and so is there legitimacy to enrol for DDR programmes. Planners need to provide for comprehensive needs assessments of women and men and reflect these needs in policies, instead of developing generic programmes that are assumed to apply uniformly to everyone.

Adding to the above, the categories further proved to be inconclusive by failing to highlight women combatants as well as men associated with armed forces. The policies hence uphold an assumption that all men regardless of their roles are soldiers during conflict or are civilians. This is complicated by the lack of precise definition of combatant and ex-combatant, and even where it is inferred, it implicitly refers to the male combatant, as has been discussed in chapter 4. It is therefore important that the SSDDRC either harmonizes the definition of ex-combatant to fit in the IDDRS definition or if adapted to local context, the unique position of women and the multiple roles they played be given due consideration.

Relatedly, a uniform eligibility criteria for adult DDR candidates (both men and women) also goes against a feminist approach to DDR, which calls for special consideration of the unique positions of men and women during conflict. The DDR policies do mention the need to consider women's special needs but lack clear framework within which to identify these needs and incorporate them in the DDR programme. This likely makes implementation of the DDR programme in a gender responsive manner rather difficult. Gender clauses in policies therefore need revising.

The gaps identified in the DDR policies can be partly attributed to the overall framework provided by the CPA. The NDDRSP and DDRIP were developed to operationalize the CPA, and are consistent with the CPA provisions. As an enabling framework, the CPA could have been designed in a more gender sensitive manner which would have positively impacted on the subsequent policies. The hope of this research is that some of the gender gaps identified can improved on in the upcoming South Sudan DDR Policy currently under development⁶. The policy criteria attached to women as WAAFGs and part of SNGs, leaves a lot of doubt whether women combatants therefore gained adequate recognition as viable participants in DDR. This study therefore concludes that the definitions provided in the DDR policy documents did not sufficiently provide clear meanings on gender and later women ex-combatants. Instead the meanings enhance differences between men and women, with each gender impacted by these differences in a distinct way. The differences created by lack of clarity on gender as adopted in the policies could affect women's ability to fully participate in DDR.

Finally, the observations highlighted in this research, exposed how women still occupy marginalized positions in post-war bargains. This has been largely attributed to unequal gender relations that pertain in political, power and social structures and influence DDR processes. I am however aware, that my research being based on secondary sources, is subject to biases accruing from specific positions of researchers, institutions and myself as a woman. So as I conclude, I take note of the danger of subconsciously accepting all the positions of various researchers on women from war as solid facts. Like Foucault cautions, "we need to consider the complex and lengthy process of editing and exclusion which information goes through before it is known" (Mills 2003 cited in Hosein 2011: 36). Through the various stages of producing knowledge, facts and information may undergo distortion. But this said, I have reviewed several DDR and peacebuilding literature as seen in Chapter 2 and 3 and various authors seem to echo similar sentiments regarding women's marginal position in peacebuilding. I am therefore implored to state that women's involvement in South Sudan's DDR process after 2005 has to a larger extent not been gender responsive. The DDR policies did not explicitly assess and factor in women's unique experiences and this limits women's potential to benefit equitably from DDR programmes.

⁶ South Sudan DDR Policy ready for Cabinet endorsement http://www.radiomiraya.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=artic...

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Appendices.

Appendix 1: DDR in detail

The UN Secretary General in his note to the General Assembly (A/C.5/59/31) in 2005, presented the three terms of DDR as follows:

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 programmes.

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

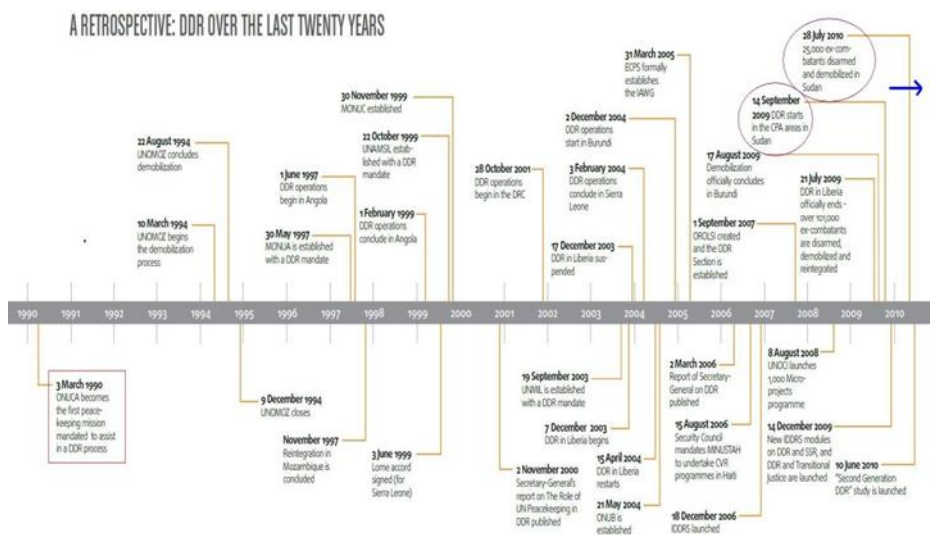
centres to the massing of troops in camps designated for this purpose (cantonment sites, encampments, assembly areas or barracks). The second stage of demobilization encompasses the support package provided to the demobilized, which is called reinsertion.

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.

Source: UN DDR Resource Centre. http://unddr.org/what-is-ddr/introduction_1.aspx

The figure below shows a graphical representation of how DDR has evolved over the years including some of the commendable milestones along the way;

DDR evolution over the years.



Source; United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations, 2010 (Unger and Wils 2007)

In his forward to the IDDRS⁷, the former Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan mentioned the importance of DDR for post-conflict stability and recovery and emphasized the need for 'national leadership and political commitment of warring parties to disarm and demobilize' but highlighted the role of and ability of UN system to 'plan, manage and implement a coherent and

⁷ Web link to the United Nations Integrated DDR Standards <http://www.unddr.org/iddrs.aspx> (see 'Introduction' icon for the SG's foreword, and 'Framework' icon for the IDDRS Modules)

effective DDR strategy⁸. Annan’s remarks hence echo the role of the UN in providing policy guidance to post-conflict societies like South Sudan on DDR and indeed the national DDR instruments for South Sudan refer a lot to the IDDRS.

Appendix 2: Institutional Arrangements for DDR in South Sudan

The CPA stipulates the mandate of DDR and provides guidance on the establishment, composition and responsibilities of national DDR Institutions. During the CPA period, a National DDR Coordinating Council (NDDRCC) was established by a Presidential decree and was mandated with establishment and endorsing of national DDR and related reintegration policies. It also provided oversight and overall guidance to DDR Commissions of North and South. For South Sudan, the SSDDRC was responsible for designing, implementation and management of the DDR process at all levels, providing technical leadership and coordination for DDR and ensuring compliance with other related policies (Government of Sudan. 2013). The SSDDRC works closely with other government ministries, agencies and departments, United Nations Agencies, NGOs, CBOs, Private Sector and Communities. Below is a table summarising the roles of different stakeholders in DDR.

Table 1: Institutional Roles for DDR in South Sudan.

Institution	Role
Presidency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy direction on DDR in RSS and holds accountable all line ministries for their involvement and performance in delivering DDR as appropriate. • Personal support from the President and Commander –in-Chief of SSAF
Ministry of Defence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing DDR eligibility criteria for SPLA/SSAF, • Selection of DDR candidates and clearing all master lists from SPLA/SSAF • Oversight of and accountability for DD of SPLA/SSAF according to DDR policy
Ministry of Internal Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing DDR eligibility criteria for other organised forces • Selection of DDR candidates and clearing the master lists from other organised services • Oversight of and accountability for DD of other organised forces according to DDR policy.
SSDDR Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical leadership in developing and implementing policy, strategy and programme

⁸ Opening paragraph of the UNDDRS Foreword. <http://unddr.org/uploads/documents/IDDRS%20Foreword%20and%20Acknowledgements.pdf> accessed on September, 16th, 2013.

RSS Line Ministries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead in providing direct reintegration support to ex-combatants, in respective technical sectors.
Public-Private Partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritising ex-combatants in public works/projects.
Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting the acceptance and reintegration of ex-combatants, CAAFG, ex-combatants with physical disabilities, ex-combatants with psychosocial disabilities and WAAF.
International Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UN Department of Peace-Keeping Operations (DPKO), World Bank, UNDP, UNICEF and other UN bodies are foreseen to be actively involved in providing expertise, independent verification, logistics and project management support.
International and National NGOs/CBOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support livelihoods and community-based reintegration

Source: SSDDRC <http://www.goss-online.org/magnoliaPublic/en/Independant-Commissions-and-Chambers/Demobilization--Disarmament-and-Reintegration.html>

Appendix 3: DDR in South Sudan 2005 - 2011

DDR in South Sudan shall be considered for the period after the 1983-2005 civil war. Several actors were involved in attempts to bring about peace between the Sudan government, the SPLA and Other Armed Groups (OAGs)⁹. These actors included International and Regional Governments, Regional Organizations and the United Nations. In 2002, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and African Union (AU) brought the two major warring parties to a negotiation in Machakos, Kenya, resulting in the signing the Machakos Protocol on July 20th 2002. This protocol would later pave way for an eventual negotiation and signing of the CPA in January 2005, which officially ended the war. Among the CPA contents were arrangements for security, provided for under chapter VI (GoS CPA doc). At this point, the need to disarm and demobilize the big number of combatants and help them and their dependents reintegrate into civilian life was already of concern (Babiker and Özerdem 2003, Arenas-García 2010).

The CPA therefore comprised a number of ‘protocols, agreements and modalities’ and DDR¹⁰ was one of them. Under the DDR component, the main armies, that is, the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLA were to demobilise and reintegrate part of their forces some of whom would join other state agencies like Police and Prisons or assume civilian lives. According to the CPA document, page 118, the overarching objective of DDR is to “contribute

⁹ OAGs in most cases had affiliations to either Sudan Armed Forces or SPLA, although there were a few that were existing as independent entities, but during the CPA they were requested to join one of the two recognized armies.

¹⁰ CPA document, Annexure 1; Ceasefire arrangements, Part III, Pages 118 – 121.

to creating an enabling environment to human security and to support post-peace agreement social stabilization across the Sudan, particularly war affected areas” (UNMIS. 2013, Munive 2013). Below is a summary of the DDR process for South Sudan.

DDR Timeline in South Sudan.

Year	Activity	Notes
2002	DDR Preparatory Support project	Supported by UN DDR to provide information on DDR
2005	CPA signed	Included protocols and chapter on security arrangements. DDR included in Annexure I of CPA document CPA also provided the main policy framework for DDR.
2006	Launch of the Interim DDR Programme (IDDRP)	Failed to take off due to numerous challenges
2005	UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) receives DDR mandate for Sudan through UN SC Resolution 1590	An integrated UN DDR Unit is formed (UNMIS, UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, WFP)
	National DDR Council established (NDDRC)	Established by presidential decree to provide oversight to South and North DDR Commissions.
	National DDR Commissions established in North and South Sudan	Overseeing DDR planning and implementation.
	DDR Experts Committee for	To provide technical advice and guidance to DDR Commissions on programme development and implementation.
2007	National DDR Strategic Plan launched (NDDRSP)	This was to become the main basis for consequent DDR programmes
2009	Government of National Unity (GNU) and Government of South Sudan (GoSS) sign a Multi-year DDR programme with the UN (MDDRP)	MDDRP succeeded the IDDRP
2009	Individual DDR Programme launched	Supported by UNDP, and was built on experiences and lessons from the initial

		DDR programmes.
2011	New Republic of South Sudan is created.	CPA provided for a referendum. South Sudanese voted for secession.
2011	UN Mission receives a new mandate to support South Sudan in DDR through UN SC Resolution 1996.	UN was to support GoSS to generate DDR strategy, policy, build capacity for SSDDRC and support DDR programme. UN mandate was to pay particular attention to special needs of women and child combatants.
April 2011	A total of 12,525 former combatants demobilized ending Phase 1 DDR.	Phase 2 was to start in 2012 targeting 150,000 forces.

Source: Table compiled by the Author, using information from various sources like (Gebrehiwot 2009), UNMIS website; <http://unmiss.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=4055&language=en-US>.

The DDR timeline above is to illustrate how complex DDR can be. Even though the necessity for DDR was identified by 2002 and plans developed year after year, tangible work on DDR did not start until 2009. Phase one was to start in 2005 and end in 2011 and targeted 90,000 people, SAF and SPLA each having an equal quota (South Sudan DDR Commission. 2013, NDDRSP: 6) but this did not happen. IDDRP did not meet its targets but provided key lessons that were used to improve successive programmes¹¹ (GNU and GoSS 2008:11-12 cited in Gebrehiwot 2009:41). For any effective DDR programme, policies must be in place, and detailed needs assessments and candidate profiling should be undertaken. In addition, it requires political support and commitment. Policy makers in South Sudan supported DDR with one key premise that “such programmes are believed to reduce the risk of a return to conflict by reducing the incentives for ex-combatants to take up arms in future (Muggah 2009: 49). This view is shared by the UN, which acknowledges the essential role of DDR for post-conflict peace consolidation¹². Committing to establishing the NDDRC and the two DDR Commissions was a political step forward but that alone is not sufficient. The political leaders also have to show willingness to down-size armies, commit financial resources and integrate gender concerns as required by international guidelines.

¹¹ Lessons included; need to focus on individual reintegration instead of community approaches which were causing resource diversion, improvements in beneficiary criteria, responsibility for the programme and ownership were to be given DDR Commissions with UNDP only providing financial support and capacity building.

¹² <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/ddr.shtml>

Appendix 4: The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) 2005

The CPA can be considered as one of the key highlights that saw the birth of a new Republic of South Sudan. It was the agreement that was signed between the two long-running Sudan adversaries to end decades of war that had booked the Sudan a slot on the list of Africa's worst humanitarian crises of the 20th and 21st centuries. The CPA was signed after a deliberate and lengthy negotiation that started seriously in 2002 leading to the signing of the Machakos Protocol which paved way for negotiation and signing of the CPA on 9th January 2005. The negotiations were spearheaded by the African Union and IGAD and supported by several regional governments and donors. The CPA were henceforth witnessed by heads of States of Kenya, Uganda, and Representatives of Governments of Egypt, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, United States of America, United Nations Secretary General Special Representative, Heads of the African Union, The League of Arab States and the IGAD.

The CPA consisted of six key components that would be fundamental to the peace in Sudan and these were the Machakos Protocol, Power Sharing, Wealth Sharing, The Resolution of the Abyei Conflict, The Resolution of the Conflict in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, and Security Arrangements. The CPA also included annexures on permanent ceasefire and security implementation modalities. DDR was specifically highlighted in Chapter VI which details security arrangements for the CPA, and later elaborated on further in Annexure 1, part I and part III. The overarching objective of the DDR process is "to contribute to creating an enabling environment to human security and to support post-peace agreement social stabilization across the Sudan, particularly war affected areas" (CPA document: 118)

The full CPA document can be accessed on <http://www.ssddrc.org/informing-communities/publications/other-documents.html> (see lower part of the web page 'quick links' then 'publications' and in here the icon of 'Key documents').

Appendix 5: National DDR Strategic Plan (NDDRSP) 2007

The SNDDRSP was as a product of an Experts Committee that was established in accordance with the Ministerial Act issued by the Chairman of the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Coordination Council (NDDRCC) under resolution No. (26) on 3rd February, 2007. Upon completion, the SNDDRSP document was deliberated upon and endorsed by the NDDRCC as the official DDR plan for Sudan, and its implementation ensued in 2008. This strategic plan was also developed and implemented under the auspices of the CPA interim period, meaning that it was a plan for the whole Country but would be implemented under the one country, two systems procedure as laid out in the CPA. The complete NDDRSP can be accessed on <http://www.ssddrc.org/informing-communities/publications/other-documents.html> (see lower part of the web page 'quick links' then 'publications' and in here the icon of 'Key documents')

Appendix 6: Individual DDR Reintegration Programme (IDDRP) 2009

The IDDRP was a joint programme between the Government of South Sudan and the UN Agencies supporting the DDR process in South Sudan. It was developed building on and incorporating lessons and experiences from earlier DDR programmes since the CPA. The programme was targeting a total of 180,000 ex-combatants from both the SAF and SPLA, and most of these were already identified for phase one DDR during the NDDRSP, whose targets were not met. Also worth noting is that the IDDRP was changing the DDR approach from a community based approach which was criticised to have entailed many loopholes, and instead would adopt an individual reintegration approach. To see more about the IDDRP, see the link below for the full programme document;

Web link to the DDRIP document
<http://www.sd.undp.org/doc/prodocs/cp4%20DDR%20Project.pdf>

Appendix 7: United Nations Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS)

For a complete detail of the UN DDR Standards including the Foreword, Operational Guide to the Integrated DDR Standards and Briefing Note to Senior Managers on the Integrated DDR Standards, please refer to the UNDDR webpage on <http://unddr.org/iddrs.aspx>

Appendix 8: Addendum to the WAAFGs criteria in 2010

The inconsistency in the WAAFGs criteria was noted during the initial DDR in 2009 after complaints were raised from different stakeholders leading to an addendum on the WAAFGs criteria in 2010 (Stone 2011: 45). A WAAFGs is one that;

- Must not be on the military payroll.
- Must not be married or cohabiting or supported by her husband at this time
- If widowed, must not be cohabiting and supported by deceased husband's family
- Must be over 18 years old
- Must have been providing essential support services for the military
- Must have been living in the barracks or within the immediate vicinity of the military
- Must have been moving around with the military, and not residing with her community

A critical look at the addendum however does not reveal any big difference. It feels like the same criteria was just re-worded for further clarification, but is still as limiting to women as was originally. It is therefore important that the SSDDRC either harmonizes the definition of ex-combatant to fit in the IDDRS definition or if adapted to local context, the unique position of women and the multiple roles they played be given due consideration.