An Investigation of Gender Mainstreaming in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes: The case of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo

By

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree Master of Security Studies at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at the University of Pretoria or any other tertiary institution.

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ABSTRACT

Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes aim to contribute to sustainable peace of a country after a violent conflict. In the early 1990s, DDR programmes were predominantly aimed at male combatants who were members of armed forces. Women in armed movements were generally viewed as non-combatants serving the needs of their male counterparts. Their agency – the ability to make choices and to transform these choices into desirable outcomes – was overlooked. In 1997, the United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council recognised that women, like men, should participate in peace processes as equal partners and beneficiaries. This recognition paved the way for gender mainstreaming within UN peace operations, which meant that all planned actions, legislations, policies, and programmes should be assessed for their implications for men and women. The commitment to gender mainstreaming within the UN was reaffirmed with the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) in October 2000. The aim of this research is to investigate gender mainstreaming in official regional and national DDR programmes since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, focusing on the case of eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This research identified that gender mainstreaming has been incorporated, to an extent, within DDR programmes in the DRC. Women, however, are still viewed as passive victims by international and national agencies. Women's agency within DDR programmes is primarily denied. When comparing the overall findings of the investigation and the objectives of UNSCR 1325, one can agree that gendered initiatives and attempts within the DRC have not ensured effective peace support operations, have not focused on gender equality, have not dealt with men and women in the same manner, and women were primary not given opportunities to play an equal part in economic, political, or social development within the DRC as active agents. The investigation of gender mainstreaming within the DRC has furthermore provided knowledge in that, although governments commit to UNSCR 1325, without political will, gender mainstreaming will not be enforced.

KEY TERMS: Gender, Gender mainstreaming, DDR, Agency, the Democratic Republic of the Congo

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I am immensely thankful towards my Father for the strength, capability, and the opportunities He gave me in order to complete this dissertation. I thank Him for the future He plans for me – the best is yet to come. "For I know the plans I have for you," declares the Lord, "plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future" – Jeremiah 29:11

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And finally, I am dedicating this dissertation to the strongest woman I know, a woman who was no victim, but a conqueror, my extraordinary mother: my strength and inspiration. Without her unconditional love, support, and sacrifices I would never have been able to complete my degree, let alone my master's degree. Thank you for dreaming with me, for believing in me, for celebrating my achievements, for being an impeccable role model and my pillar of strength.

"A core aspect of politics is that women are acted upon in various ways – as women, but denied the right to re-act – as women" – Maud L. Eduards (1994: 181)

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Table 1.1. *Official DDR programmes in the DRC (International and national level) (Source: Compiled by author)*

	FIRST PHASE		SECONDE PHASE		THIRD PHASE	
	International/ Regional	National	International/ Regional	National	International/ Regional	National
DDR Programme Name	MDRP (EDRP)	PNDDR	TDRP (2010)	PNDDR	TDRP	Global National Plan for DDR III
Timeframe	2002-2010	2004-2006	2010-present	2008-2009	2010-present	2015-present
Peace Agreements	Lusaka Accord	Global and Inclusive Agreement of Transition	/	Goma Peace Accords	/	
Implementation Actor/Committee	World Bank and Partners	CONADER (2003)/ UEPN-DDR (2007)	World Bank and Partners	UEPN-DDR	World Bank and Partners	UEPN-DDR
Funding	World Bank	World Bank	World Bank/ African Development Bank (2011)			World Bank/ African Development Bank

Table 1.2. Resolutions adopted after UNSCR 1325 positioning women and their security on the international security agenda *(Source: WILPF 2017, SIDA 2015: 2)*

RESOLUTION	DATE OF ADOPTION	Overview	Key words
UNSCR 1325	31 October 2000	This resolution stresses the importance of women participating, on an equal basis, in peace and security processes	-Participation -Peace and security
UNSCR 1820	19 June 2008	This resolution focuses on sexual violence and the usage of this violence as a tactic of war	-Sexual Violence
UNSCR 1888	30 September 2009	This resolution aims to operationalise the implementation of UNSCR 1820	-Sexual Violence
UNSCR 1889	5 October 2009	This resolution calls upon the Secretary-General to draft indicators that should be used to monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the requirements of states National Action Plans (NAP). It also calls for women to participate in all peace processes.	-NAP -Participation -Peace process
UNSCR 1960	16 December 2010	This resolution deals with sexual violence against women	-Sexual violence
UNSCR 2106	24 June 2013	This resolution recognises that men and boys can too be victims of sexual violence	-Sexual violence -Men and boys
UNSCR 2122	18 October 2013	This resolution not only mentioned CRSV but also advocates that women should also participate in peace and security initiatives	-Sexual violence -Participation -Peace and security
UNSCR 2242	13 October 2015	This resolution addressed all four pillars of gender mainstreaming and to strengthen gender sensitivity, called for the appointment of women in all levels of senior decision-making of peace and security, call for civil society engagement to increase gender sensitivity, reaffirmed that men, like women, should play a part in promoting gender mainstreaming and the prevention of CRSV	-Gender mainstreaming -Gender sensitivity -Participation -Peace and security -Sexual violence

Table 1.3. *Gender-related development index (GDI)/Gender Inequality Index (GII) 1998-2016 (Source: UNDP Reports 2000-2015)*

YEAR	GDI RANKING	Ranking in relation to total countries (1 Being lowest)	GII Ranking	Ranking in relation to total countries (1 Being lowest)
1998	125[1][2]	18	-	-
1999	128[3][4]	18	-	-
2000	131[5]	15	-	-
2001	136[6]	8	-	-
2002	136[7]	8	-	-
2003	131[8]	9	-	-
2004	130[9]	6	-	-
2005	148[10]	9	-	-
2006/2007	150[11]	5	-	-
2008			137[12][13][14]	1
2009			142[15]	3
2010/2011			142[16]	3
2012			144[17][18]	4
2013	137[19][20][21]	11	147[22]	2

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[1] Dimensions used: Life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, combined primary/secondary/tertiary gross enrolment, and GDP per capita (UNDP 2000: 161)

[2] Out of 143 Countries (UNDP 2000: 141, 154)

[3] Dimensions used (different to footnote 2): Life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, combined primary/secondary/tertiary gross enrolment, and estimated earned income (UNDP 2001: 161)

[4] Out of 146 Countries (UNDP 2001: 212)

[5] Out of 146 Countries (UNDP 2002: 225)

[6] Out of 144 Countries (UNDP 2003: 313)

[7] Out of 144 Countries (UNDP 2004: 220)

[8] Out of 140 Countries (UNDP 2005: 302)

[9] Out of 136 Countries (UNDP 2006: 366)

[10] Out of 157 Countries (UNDP 2008: 329)

[11] Out of 155 Countries (UNDP 2009: 183, 185)

[12] GDI incorporated GII in 2008 (UNDP 2010: 156)

[13] Dimensions used: maternal mortality ratio, adolescent fertility, seats in parliament, population with at least secondary education, labour force participation, contraceptive prevalence rate, antenatal coverage of at least one visit, births attended by skilled health personnel (UNDP 2010: 156)

[14] Out of 138 countries (UNDP 2010: 86)

[15] Out of 145 Countries (UNDP 2011: 7, 142)

[16] Out of 145 Countries (UNDP 2011: 7, 142)

[17] Dimensions: Maternal mortality ratio, adolescent fertility rate, seats in parliament, population with at least secondary education, labour force participation (UNDP 2013: 15)

[18] Out of 148 Countries (UNDP 2013: 31, 159)

[19] GDI reintroduced in 2013 (UNDP 2014: 179)

Year				
2014	5[23]	-	149[24]	10
2015	5[25]		153[26]	6

Table 1.4. *A MONUC/MONUSCO yearly breakdown of the number of male and female uniformed personnel (2006-2016) (Source: UNd 2017).*

Year	Unit	Male	Female	Percentage (female participation)
2006	Military Observers	540	10	1,82
	Staff Officers	181	3	1,64
	Troops	16284	203	1,23
2007	Military Observers	705	28	3,81
	Staff Officers	0	0	0
	Troops	16309	305	1,84
2008	Military Observers	550	20	3,51
	Staff Officers	167	2	1,18
	Troops	16358	246	1,48
2009	Military Experts	676	29	4,11
	Troops	18273	373	2
	Individual Police	256	16	5,88
	Formed Police Units	870	16	1,8
2010	Military Experts	683	31	4,34

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[20] Dimensions used: life expectancy at birth, means of schooling, expected years of schooling and estimated gross national income between men and women (UNDP 2014: 179)
[21] Out of 148 Countries (UNDP 2014: 39, 179)
[22] Out of 149 Countries (UNDP 2014: 39, 175)
[23] Group 5- group ranking indicating that the DRC was grouped in the lowest group with low gender equality in the Human Development Index achievements (UNDPa 2015: 222, 223)
[24] Out of 149 countries (UNDPa 2015: 203, 226)
[25] Group 5 (UNDPa 2015: 212, 213)
[26] Out of 159 Countries (UNDPa 2015: 216)

	Troops	16817	312	1,82
	Individual Police	331	36	9,81
	Formed Police Units	889	6	0,67
2011	Military Experts	680	23	3,27
	Troops	16480	374	2,22
	Individual Police	280	43	13,31
	Formed Police Units	968	80	7,63
2012	Military Experts	653	22	3,26
	Troops	16736	354	2,07
	Individual Police	312	45	12,61
	Formed Police Units	957	87	8,33
2013	Military Experts	509	17	3,23
	Troops	19023	350	1,81
	Individual Police	306	64	17,3
	Formed Police Units	841	88	9,47
2014	Military Experts	477	13	2,65
	Troops	18972	491	2,52
	Individual Police	242	60	19,87
	Formed Police Units	689	92	11,78
2015	Military Experts	461	18	3,76
	Troops	16526	522	3,06
	Individual Police	285	57	16,67
	Formed Police Units	755	103	12,0

2016	Military Experts	421	25	5,61
	Troops	16428	529	3,12
	Individual Police	231	69	23
	Formed Police Units	946	104	9,9

ABBREVIATIONS/ ACRONYMS

ADF-NALU   The National Army for the Liberation of Uganda

ADF   Allied Democratic Forces

AfDB   African Development Bank

AFDL   Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo

CNDP   National Congress for the Defence of the People

CONADER   National Commission for Demobilization and Reinsertion

CRSV   Conflict related sexual violence

DAW   Division for the Advancement of Women

DDR   Disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration

DDRIII   Global National Plan for DDR III

DPI   Democratic Progress Institute

DRC   Democratic Republic of the Congo

ECOSOC   Economic and Social Council

EDRP   Emergency Demobilisation and Reintegration Program

FAR   Members of the former Rwandan Armed Forces

FARDC   Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

FDLR   Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

FDP   Democratic and Patriotic Forces

FNI   Nationalist and Integrationist Front

FNL   National Forces of Liberation

FRPI   Patriotic Resistance Front of Ituri

GBV   Gender Based Violence

GDI   Gender-related Development Index

GII   Gender Inequality Index

GLR   Great Lakes Region

HDI   Human Development Index

IAWG	Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IR	International Relations
ISSSS	International Security and Stabilization Support Strategy
LEAP	Learning for Equality, Access and Peace
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
M23	March 23 Movement
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Program
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of the Congo
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Stabilisation Mission in the Congo
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OC	Orientation Centres
PARSEC	Post-Conflict Socioeconomic Reintegration Support Project
PNC	Congolese National Police
PNDDR	National Program of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
PSCF	Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SG	Secretary-General
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-based Violence
SGBVP	Sexual and Gender-based Violence and Women's Health Project
SMI	Military Structure Integration
SRSG-SVC	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SSD	Security Sector Development
SVC	Sexual violence in conflict
RCD	Rally for Congolese Democracy

RCD-K/ML   RCD-Goma led by Kin-Kiey Mulumba

RPF   Rwandan Patriotic Front

TDRP   Transitional Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme

UEPN-DDR   Project Implementation Unit – Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reinsertion

UN   United Nations

UNDDR   UN Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA   United Nations Population Fund

UNJHRO   United Nations Joint Human Rights Office

UNSC   United Nations Security Council

UNSCR 1325 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

UPC   Union of Congolese Patriots

US   United States

USAID   U.S. Agency for International Development

WPS   Women, peace and security

1. <u>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</u>

1.1. <u>Identification of the research theme</u>

Disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) programmes aim to contribute to the security and the stability of a country after a violent conflict by: removing weapons from combatants, removing these combatants from active fighting, and reintegrating these combatants, socially and economically, into the community (Houngbedji, Grace, and Brooks 2015: 2). In the early 1990s, DDR programmes were predominantly aimed at male combatants who were members of armed forces (International Committee of the Red Cross 2017). Women in armed movements were generally viewed as non-combatants serving the needs of their male counterparts: victims, prostitutes, girlfriends, wives, and campfollowers also known as supporters (Coulter 2005: 4). Their agency – the ability to make choices and to transform these choices into desirable outcomes – was overlooked. To paraphrase Maud L. Eduards (1994: 181), women in conflict situations are assumed to be acted upon, but denied the right to re-act as women. Traditionally, women in post-conflict situations were not viewed as being a security threat to the peace process and were therefore excluded from DDR programmes even though they participated in armed groups as combatants or in a non-combatant capacity (World Bank 2012: 150, MacKenzie 2009: 243).

In 1997, the United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) recognised that women, like men, should participate in peace processes as equal partners and beneficiaries (Schroeder 2005: 4). This recognition paved the way for gender mainstreaming within UN peace operations, which meant that all planned actions, legislations, policies, and programmes should be assessed in terms of its implications for men and women (Schroeder 2005: 4-5). The commitment to gender mainstreaming within the UN was reaffirmed with the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on "*Women, Peace and Security*" in October 2000. UNSCR 1325

called for peacekeeping operations to include women and for gender perspectives to be incorporated in peace processes (UN Women 2014).

The aim of this research is to investigate gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, focusing on the case of the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This research is rooted in most second wave feminist theories, except lesbian feminism and queer theory. Liberal and men's feminism were used to argue that gender differences cannot be explained by sex, whereas Marxist feminism and development feminism was used to better understand how capitalism and patriarchy influence the understanding of gender. Psychoanalytic, standpoint, multi-ethnic, social construction, and postmodern feminism were drawn upon to understand how culture, a child's upbringing, and societal construction affect gender within a society.

This research is significant for the reason that it contributes to two increasingly important areas of literature in security studies: gender mainstreaming in security policy and the inclusion of women in DDR programmes. This investigation seeks to identify possible gaps within DDR programmes with regards to gender mainstreaming. DDR programmes aim to achieve stability within a warring country and to assist in the long-term development of this country and its people. This research has policy relevance because it evaluates gender mainstreaming in an actual case of DDR programmes in the DRC. This research argues that by overlooking women's agency, the implementation of gender mainstreaming within DDR programmes is undermined.

This chapter will set the scene for this investigation by firstly discussing literature on DDR programmes, followed by discussing security studies literature on women and literature on the conflict in the eastern DRC and the DDR programmes within this area. This section will be followed by the formulation and demarcation of the research

problem that provoked this research. This chapter will be concluded by the outline of this research.

1.2.   <u>Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes</u>

DDR is a peace process implemented to address combatants of an armed conflict (Schirch 2015: 183). DDR programmes aim to collect, register, and destroy all weapons; to demobilise all combatants; and to reintegrate these combatants into the community. The reintegration process usually includes monetary and material assistance to ex-combatants (IAWG 2012). DDR programmes, peace negotiations and peacebuilding form part of the whole peace process (UNa 2017). The DDR process is a recovery strategy that involves economic development, security sector reform, justice, and reconciliation (Schroeder 2005: 3). DDR programmes are the first step taken to move a country from war into peace (Cahn 2006: 346). DDR programmes consist of political, military, security, humanitarian, and socio-economic dimensions (UNDDR 2014: 24).

The UNSC provides a mandate for DDR programmes, after a peace agreement was signed, through the adoption of resolutions related to the conflict (DPKOb 2010: 5, Hanson 2007). The UN provides, directly or through partner organisations such as the World Bank, support to national governments who are mandated to take local ownership of DDR programmes in various capacities. The UN provides political and strategic support through providing an assessment of the conflict and its dynamics. The UN also provides technical assistance as well as training, and capacity development programmes to national governments. Legal frameworks, financial support, training material, and logical support such as equipment, transportation, information technologies, etc. are also offered to assist national governments (UNDDR 2014: 84). The UN, its members, and various non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are involved in initiating reintegration projects within a post-conflict country during the DDR programme (Hanson 2007).

Traditional DDR programmes, also known as first wave DDR, prior to the 1980s and up to the late 1980s, focused on the disarmament and demobilisation of military structures and were done through bilateral partnerships. These programmes focused only on military personnel and involved projects that aimed to deconstruct the structures of militaries and included projects that focused on providing soldiers alternative employment opportunities and veteran pension schemes (DPKOb 2010: 9, Muggah and O'Donnell 2015: 2). These DDR programmes were also executed in a sequence - first disarmament, then demobilisation, followed by reintegration (Hanson 2007).

DDR programmes, however, had to adapt to suit the ever-changing global peace, security, and development agenda. DDR programmes underwent what is known as second generation DDR during the late 1990s (Muggah and O'Donnell 2015: 3). The aim of these DDR programmes were to not only achieve negative peace, the absence of violence, but to also achieve positive peace, the absence of structural violence or social injustices (Galtung 1969: 190, Muggah and O'Donnell 2015: 3). Second wave DDR programmes therefore included not only the demobilisation of military combatants, but also included reconciliation between soldiers and the community, and the rebuilding of societal institutions to focus on economic reintegration of not only combatants but their families and their communities (Muggah and O'Donnell 2015: 3). Second wave DDR programmes also include rule of law, security sector reform, and economic recovery (DPKOb 2010: 9).

Second wave DDR programmes also initially excluded women and children due to the "one man, one gun" eligibility criteria (Hanson 2007). According to Hanson (2007), female- and child combatants usually do not have a gun, therefore they were unable to form part of DDR programmes. However, newer DDR programmes make provisions for women and children as combatants or who were associated with armed groups. According to UN Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (UNDDR) (2014: 46),

members of armed forces, abductees, dependents, civilian returnees, and members of the community should be taken into consideration when planning and implementing DDR programmes (DPKOb 2010: 9).

DDR, as the name identifies, consists of three phases, each being interconnected (Cahn 2006: 346). The disarmament phase entails the collection, documentation, control and disposal of all weapons and weaponry ammunition collected from combatants (Schirch 2015: 183). This process aims to separate combatants with their weapons and is done through the exchange of goods. In order for combatants to gain access to these goods, they are bargained with via their weapons and the surrender thereof (Schroeder 2005: 4).

The demobilisation phase aims to transform combatants into civilians after surrendering their weapons (Payson Conflict Study Group 2001: 22). The first stage of the demobilisation process entails processing all individual combatants followed by providing support packages to each combatant (UN 2006: 6). These support packages include: skills training, job opportunities, housing, and psychological support (Miller 2001: 30). During this phase "reinsertion" will take place. The reinsertion component offers assistance to ex-combatants while they wait to form part of the reintegration phase. This type of assistance usually includes cash payments and the provision of goods and services (Hanson 2007). The demobilisation phase has several aspects to its design. A timeframe needs to be established and a draft on the eligibility criteria needs to be provided in order to start the screening and registering of those participating in the DDR programme. This eligibility criteria draft needs to take into consideration the needs of all those involved and affected by the armed conflict. A document that deals with the amnesty of crimes also needs to be drafted and the socio-economic needs of the participants should be identified. Moreover, information and counselling services that are easily accessible should be set up and the resettlement and transportation aspects of all participants should also be considered (UNDDR 2014: 75).

DDR programmes also aim to reintegrate all combatants back into the community. This part of the DDR programme is a long-term process. The aim of this process is to assist former combatants in becoming civilians within their communities (Schroeder 2005: 4). The reintegration of former combatants can be classified into three groups: political, economic, and social. Political reintegration consists of reintegrating former combatants in such a manner that they will abide by the rule of law and participate in governance at a local and national level (Schirch 2015: 187). Economic reintegration focuses on providing former combatants with training, education, financial assistance, and opportunities for employment in order to provide for themselves and their families (Schirch 2015: 188). Social reintegration focuses on social cohesion and ensuring that former combatants will be able to reintegrate and reconcile with members of the community (Schirch 2015: 188). During the design of the reintegration phase, the following should be considered: the community's willingness to accept reintegration, participants' needs, locations for training sessions, projects that will involve both participants and the community, and putting in place mechanisms to monitor and evaluate reintegration (UNDDR 2014: 75).

DDR programmes within certain countries such as the DRC also have additional phases and include repatriation and the resettlement of foreign armed groups (MONUSCOa 2017). DDR programmes, for those designing the programmes, also entail two additional phases: information and sensitisation, and capacity development. The design of information and sensitisation will involve the following: mechanisms for public information sharing and communication regarding DDR programmes, informing the community of the benefits of the DDR programme, and establishing means of informing the community of non-violent alternatives (UNDDR 2014: 75). The capacity development phase is aimed towards the state. This phase design needs to consider the following: promoting national ownership of the DDR programme, drafting a document that outlines the requirements for transparency and effectiveness, means of encouraging the whole nation to support the DDR programme, and outlining the priority

areas that need to be addressed during the DDR programme through activities and training (UNDDR 2014: 76).

Generally speaking, DDR programme designs do not mention gender. Literature on women and DDR programmes revealed that women are typically underrepresented or excluded from DDR programmes because they are not viewed as combatants (Farr 2004; Bleie 2012). In cases where women were viewed as combatants, DDR programmes failed to recognise the needs and challenges these women faced, such as the stigma that is associated with female rebels by the community, such as being unfit for marriage, being a prostitute, or having loose morals (White 2006). Women who are part of the reintegration process are also mostly forced to resume the traditional roles which some of them tried to escape (Coulter 2005: 8). Reintegration programmes for ex-female combatants usually entail skills training such as embroidery, knitting, and hairdressing, to name a few, thus, traditional female roles (Douma, Van Laar, and Klem 2008: 41). DDR programmes usually also only include a small amount of female facilitators. This underrepresentation indicates that women are excluded from key peace decision-making processes (Bastick 2008). Women are also more often than not excluded in the DDR programmes because of its eligibility criteria. A combatant qualifies for a DDR programme if he/she hands in a weapon but several female combatants usually do not carry a weapon, or share a weapon (Houngbedji, Grace, and Brooks 2012: 7).

In the same way women are excluded from DDR programmes and the literature thereof, they are also excluded from academic literature on armed conflict. Security Studies has been a traditional male-centric discipline prior to the end of the Cold War.

1.3. Security studies literature on women in armed conflict

Security was traditionally viewed from a state-centric lens which favoured masculinity and men's position within the state (SIPRI 2016: 326). According to Lahai (2010: 1), most studies dealing with armed conflict view women as being campfollowers, also known as supporters, and not combatants during these movements. According to Sigsworth and Kumalo (2016: 2), "women and girls experience human insecurity differently to men: their subordinate societal status renders them 'less able to articulate and act upon their security needs', which exacerbates their insecurity". However, Lahai (2010: 10) stresses that women, like men, join armed movements voluntarily to benefit from resources, to escape poverty, for revenge, or to protect themselves from violence. Hence, being active agents able to act upon their security needs (DPI 2016).

The discourse on women and war primarily views women as being more peaceful than men and being less prone to war. Traditional political theory rests on the assumption that women cannot be part of armed conflicts because they are generally not aggressive in nature or that women only have female agency through being caring (Eduards 1994: 182). These assumptions deny women their agency in that they are not given an opportunity to change their conditions (Eduards 1994: 182). Eduards (1994: 181) argues that, given an opportunity, all human beings will attempt to influence their environments. Women, who are part of armed conflict and fighting forces, that take up arms, challenge gender norms regarding women as peacemakers (Kaufman 2013: 1).

In Sri Lanka, women made up one third of combatants during the Sri Lankan Civil War in the 1980s, and in Nicaragua women made up 30% of the combatants of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in the 1960s (Bouta 2005: 5). Mazurana (2004: 34) also noted that women have served different roles in past armed movements: in Aceh, Burundi, Ecuador, the Philippines, and South Sudan women served as commanders of battalions or just as combatants; in Burundi, El Salvador, and the Philippines women served as negotiators or spokespersons for the movement; in El Salvador, Iran, Iraq,

Nagaland, and Turkey women occupied high ranking political positions of the movement, thus affirming women's agency during armed movements.

Literature on women serving as combatants is primarily dominated by the idea that women, if they do serve as combatants, usually assume these roles because of revenge, for example because their spouses were killed in the movement. These discourses also suggest that women join, not out of their own choice, but because circumstances force them to assume these roles (Kaufman 2013: 2). Mazurana (2004: 24) argues that at times women do join armed movements for revenge, but he argues that there are several other factors that also drive women to join armed movements. Mazurana (2004: 25) writes that women join for protection, for transformation, for monetary benefits, for the cause, or because they were forced to join. Wood (2017: 32) argues that an armed group's ideology determines whether women will form part of the group despite cultural norms. Armed groups that challenge traditional social hierarchies are more likely to allow women to fight alongside men (Wood 2017: 34).

The UNDDR Resource Centre contends that women assume three different roles during armed conflicts: as combatants, as women associated with armed forces, or as dependants. Female combatants are viewed as "women who participated in armed conflicts as active combatants using arms" (UNDDR Resource Centre 2006: 8). Female supporters or women associated with an armed conflict are defined as women who participate in an armed conflict by assuming supporting roles such as cooking, cleaning, translating, spying, medical assistance, camp leader, or sex slave. These women are dependent on the armed movement and have either joined voluntarily or were coerced to join the movement. Female dependants are viewed as the women who are the wives, mothers, children, or female siblings of the combatants. They are dependent on the combatants, socially and financially (UNDDR Resource Centre 2006: 8).

Women's agency is of utmost importance for this study in that it is overlooked during the planning of DDR programmes. This leads to women who participated in armed conflicts being overlooked and affects the mainstreaming of gender within DDR programmes. This hypothesis will be tested by centring women as active agents and investigating whether women were included in the design and implementation of the DDR programmes initiated within the eastern DRC and, if so, to what extent.

1.4.   <u>The eastern DRC and DDR programmes</u>

The eastern DRC has experienced conflict since 1996 when the First Congo War broke out and which continues despite post-conflict reconstruction programmes (Douma, Van Laar, and Klem 2008: 11). Peace within this region has been a difficult task in that several armed groups are involved, including the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC), members of the former Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR), the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (ADF-NALU), the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), National Forces of Liberation (FNL), Front for Patriotic Resistance in Ituri (FRPI), and Mai Mai militias (Rufanges and Aspa 2016: 8-13).

The Lusaka Accord of 1999 set the framework for the implementation of official DDR programmes within the DRC, notably in the east (Wanki 2011: 118). In 2002 the World Bank, in partnership with more than 30 donor countries and UN partners, launched the Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Program (MDRP) in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) which lasted until 2009 in an attempt to respond to the conflict in the DRC that has pulled in eleven other countries (Muggah, Maughan, and Bugnion 2003: 13). The Emergency Demobilisation and Reintegration Program (EDRP) was a DRC-specific DDR component of the MDRP. In 2010 the MDRP changed into the Transitional Demobilisation and Reintegration Program (TDRP) (Alusala 2011: 1). TDRP aimed to support the transition from demobilisation and reintegration into development programmes (Alusala 2011: 15). The DRC government also took local ownership to

bring peace to the DRC by initiating its own National Plan in 2004, the National Plan for DDR (PNDDR), of which the first phase lasted until 2006. The National Commission for Demobilization and Reinsertion (CONADER) was established to oversee PNDDR (Wanki 2011: 118). The Military structure Integration (SMI) was established in 2004 and was tasked to identify and classify ex-combatants who chose to become part of the national army (Lamb, Alusala, Mthembu-Salter, and Gasana 2012: 4). The first phase of the PNDDR ended in December 2006 due to funding, corruption, and a lack of political will (World Bank 2009: 4).

The second phase of the PNDDR was initiated after the signing of the Goma Peace Accords in 2008 and CONADER was replaced by Project Implementation Unit – Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reinsertion (UEPN-DDR) (World Bank 2009, Actors 2013: 6). PNDDR was replaced by the Global National Plan for DDR III (DDRIII) in 2013, and implemented in 2015 (Vogel and Musamba 2016: 1).

1.5. <u>Formulation and demarcation of the research problem</u>

The research question that follows from the identification of the research theme and literature review is: "To what extent has gender mainstreaming been incorporated into the official DDR programmes in the DRC since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000?" In order to answer this question, the research will have to answer two subsidiary questions: "What is gender and why is it important?" and "What is the social position of women in DRC society?"

This investigation will be constructed on the case study of the official DDR programmes within the eastern DRC: the MDRP that took place between 2002 and 2009, the TDRP that took over from the MDRP in 2010, the PNDDR that took place between 2004 and 2009, and the Global National Plan for DDR III that was launched in 2013 and

implemented in 2015. This research will therefore be carried out within the timeframe of 2002 to 2015. It will use the official DDR programmes initiated at the regional and national level within the eastern DRC as a level of analysis and will not look at other post-conflict programmes initiated within the eastern DRC. This research will also not examine the specific experiences of particular actors, such as particular women, even though it will refer to specific experiences throughout the investigation. Important to mention, this research will not investigate the results of DDRIII in that this programme is not completed but will only look at the programme design.

The UNSCR 1325 rests on four pillars: participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery which will be used as a lens in an attempt to investigate gender mainstreaming and the DDR programmes initiated within the eastern DRC. These pillars will be used to demarcate the investigation in order to argue that gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes in the DRC has been limited because women's agency has been overlooked due to a narrow and essentialist view of the concept of gender.

1.6. Research methodology

This research will apply a qualitative research approach to explore how women's agency is being overlooked in the study of armed movements and the implications thereof. Qualitative research is primarily exploratory research and is used to gain an understanding and insight into the reasons behind a certain phenomenon in order to develop a hypothesis (Kumar 2011: 103-104). A critical literature review, using primary and secondary sources, will be employed to collect data and to study the unit of analysis. The phenomenon being studied is the extent to which women's agency is being overlooked in DDR programmes and the unit of analysis is gender mainstreaming. This research will investigate the research question through a feminist paradigm that focuses on women being excluded in DDR programmes. Literature by

various scholars on women and DDR programmes will be used to systematically build up to a gendered investigation in an attempt to bring about findings on whether gender mainstreaming is incorporated within DDR programmes. A single case study, the eastern DRC, will also be used to collect data. The case study method will assist this investigation to answer "To what extent has gender mainstreaming been incorporated into DDR programmes in the DRC since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (Yin 2011: 1).

The armed conflict and official DDR programmes within the eastern DRC will be used as a case study for this investigation. This case study is deemed important in that three official DDR phases have taken place within the DRC. The first two DDR phases were predominantly male-centric while the third phase, DDRIII, is viewed as being more gender mainstreamed in that DDRIII aims to focus on the needs of women who were associated with armed groups within the eastern DRC (Shepherd 2010: 152).

Important to note, this investigation recognises the complexity of female agency and moves beyond an essentialist approach that focuses on the traditional roles of men and women. It adopts a gendered approach that sees women as wives, mothers, daughters, and victims, but recognises that women can also be combatants, perpetrators, and key role players within armed conflicts (Shepherd 2010: 152).

1.7. <u>Structure of research</u>

This research will be divided into five chapters. Chapter one, serving as an introductory chapter, will deal with the research theme, the literature overview, the research problem, the research methodology, and the structure of the research. This chapter will discuss literature on DDR programmes, will provide a brief literature overview of official DDR programmes within the DRC as well as a literature overview on women, their

agency, and armed conflicts. This section will demarcate the research and will provide the methodology as well as the research problem that is intended to be investigated.

Chapter two will serve as a conceptual framework. Within this chapter gender will be defined and prominent feminist theories that provided the basis of this study will be discussed. Thereafter gender mainstreaming will be discussed, including UNSCR 1325. This section will be followed by the literature discussion on the critiques of gender mainstreaming and the link between gender mainstreaming and DDR programmes.

Chapter three will deal with the case study, the eastern DRC. A background of the conflict will be provided in order to provide a clear understanding of the complexity of the conflict and to make clear that this research by no means makes a hypothesis that gender mainstreaming will resolve the conflict in the DRC. This research rather suggests that women should have an equal stake in the peace and security processes. The women of the DRC will be discussed in an attempt to understand where their power lies and how gender is viewed within the DRC, by both women and men. This chapter will be concluded by the discussion of the official regional DDR programmes, MDRP and TDRP, as well as the national DDR programme, the PNDDR and DDRIII.

Chapter four will serve as the investigative chapter. Gender mainstreaming and the DDR programmes launched within the eastern DRC will be discussed using participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery as lenses in an attempt to establish whether gender mainstreaming has been implemented in these DDR programmes, and if so, to what extent. The participation section will investigate women and gender within peacekeeping forces, the FARDC, the NAP national legal frameworks, and the design of DDRIII. Women's occupation in parliamentarian and judiciary positions also formed part of the investigation. Within the prevention section peacekeeping initiatives to incorporate the prevention criteria, MDRP programmes with regards to the concept of gender, gender based violence statistics and findings, DDRIII

project design, and the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework (PSCF) was used to investigate whether DDR programmes within the DRC are meeting the requirements for gender mainstreaming with regards to prevention. The protection section will investigate whether there are mechanisms in place to investigate and prosecute sexual violence perpetrators. The relief and recovery pillar will be investigated through using the initiatives by United Nations Stabilisation Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO) to assist and incorporate gender within the reintegration phase of DDR. Reintegration statistics and packages will also be looked at in both phase 1 and 2 of official DDR programmes and whether gender was mainstreamed. Gender mainstreaming within the design of DDRIII was also worth mentioning.

This research will be concluded with chapter five, the recommendations and concluding remarks chapter. It will lend itself to future policy research through the identification of gaps within gender mainstreaming, the implementation thereof, and the understanding of the concept of gender. This chapter makes concluding remarks with regards to the research question and women, their agency, and gender mainstreaming within DDR programmes in the DRC.

2. CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

Conceptual frameworks assist in shaping a researcher's worldview with regards to a phenomenon and guide a researcher's study of this phenomenon (Green 2014: 35-36). The framework of the concepts discussed in this chapter will provide the lens for the investigation of gender mainstreaming and DDR in the DRC. Key concepts for this investigation will be clarified through literature overviews of gender, gender inequality, gender mainstreaming, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes. This chapter will centre women as active agents in the armed conflict within the DRC through literature overviews. This chapter will firstly define gender, followed by discussing key feminist theories that will ground this research. Thereafter gender mainstreaming and UNSCR 1325 will be discussed followed by the critiques of gender mainstreaming. This chapter will be concluded by a literature overview on gender mainstreaming and DDR programmes.

2.2. Defining gender

The concept of sex and gender was used synonymously until the late 1960s due to the dominance of male essentialist thought (Miller 2001: 83). Ann Oakley produced the first work on the concept of gender in her book, "*Sex, Gender and Society*", published in 1972. To Oakley, sex is the biological differences between male and female, their genitalia, whereas gender refers to a culture that classifies people into categories of femininity and masculinity (Delphy 1993: 2). Scholars such as Oakley argued that differences in sex do not lead to different behaviours and that these behaviours, namely masculinity and femininity, were shaped and prescribed within different cultures and historical settings (Turner 2006: 228).

Work done during the second wave of feminism in the early 1960s argued that gender as a concept was influenced by traditional essentialist explanations of sex differences – that certain attributes contribute to identities (Turner 2006: 228). Women's underrepresentation in key sectors, lower salaries, the sexual objectification of women, and violence against women formed the basis of understanding the concept of gender in an attempt to transform gender and its consequences (New 2005: 54).

The distinction between sex and gender was important in that it allowed the study of women and their repression to move beyond biology to social constructions (Sydie 2007: 248). International Relations (IR) feminists argued that gender should not be viewed as a classification tool, but as a power relation between men and women (Kaufman 2013: 8). These power relations derive from patriarchy, which prevents the "oppressed", i.e. women, from challenging these relations because it is reinforced in all institutions and reinforces gender inequality (Eduards 1994: 183).

Understanding the concept of gender is of importance in that it serves as an analysis tool to understand how women and men are viewed and what is expected of them in context given societal environment. A gender sensitive analysis, thus taking into consideration gender norms, roles, and access to resources, reveals that women are generally subordinates and unequal to their male counterparts and reveals how their given society has constructed this subordination and inequality (UNDDR Resource Centre 2006: 23).

A male dominant essentialist position holds that the concept of sex and gender are synonymous (Miller 2001: 83). Until the 1960s the term sex was used to differentiate and explain being classified as female or male. The concept of gender was only used as a means to differentiate between feminine and masculine words such as "*le* and *la*" in languages such as French (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2016). The idea that different sexes have different roles was developed in the 1940s by scholars such as

Mirra Kamarovsky and Vida Klein who argued that sex roles derive from a sex's status within a given society (Delphy 1993: 1). The concept of gender was only used separate from sex in the 1970s (Delphy 1993: 2). In 1968 a psychologist, Robert Stoller, also began using sex and gender separately in an attempt to explain why some people feel trapped in their female or male bodies. Stoller defined sex as explaining biological traits while gender explained the amount of femininity or masculinity a person identified with. The separation of these terms allowed Stoller to explain transsexuality (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2016).

In simplistic terms, gender means classification. The concept of gender derives from "*genus*", a Latin noun, which means "kind" or "group" (Ajodo-Adebanjoko 2013: 3). Liberal thought within political theory argues that gender is an individual characteristic which is based on biological categories of female or male. It also argues that sex-role socialisation leads to individual differences in the attitudes and behaviours that exist between men and women which leads to gender inequality (Ely and Meyerson 2000: 105). A constructivist perspective argues that gender roles have less to do with biological orientation and more to do with being feminine of masculine. Boys and men are prepared for functions related to becoming warriors while girls are taught how to be nurses and to assume caring roles (Melander 2005: 698). Constructivists also argue that male domination derives from the notion that all men should be strong and brave and should embody a warrior-like image, and if a man does not embody this, they are downgraded to a feminine status (Melander 2005: 698). These traditional gender roles ultimately enforce male violence in that they encourage domination (Melander 2005: 698).

Various scholars and organisations confirm that gender is an identity that is shaped by a given society. According to Christodoulou and Zobnina (2009: 1), the term gender refers to "social attributes that are learned or acquired during socialisation as a member of a given community". Therefore, gender is seen as an identity given by being part of a certain community. This gender identity is used as a classification tool that differentiates

between being female or male, according to a given society (Mazurana 2013: 3). The gendered identity is used as a means to prescribe certain roles, behaviours, power, and resources that are available to sexes (Miller and King 2005: 36, Mazurana 2013: 3). To illustrate, women being able to bear children is based on sex whereas men being expected to provide for their families is based on gender, as determined by a society (IAWG 2012: 8). This identity also determines what it means to be feminine or masculine within a society (Christodoulou and Zobnin 2009: 1). Gendered identities ultimately influence interactions and behaviours of and between men and women in any given environment (UNa 2006). Kaufman (2013: 7) argues that these identities have their roots in the development of the modern state during the 18th and 19th century where women had limited or no participation in the public sphere and were expected to stay at home.

Not much has changed since the development of the modern state. Gendered identities still influence participation in various spheres. The military played a critical role in bringing the modern state into existence, which lead to the gender norm that men are the warriors and protectors of society. According to traditional political theory, women are closer to nature and thus have inborn caring qualities, therefore their identities are of a peaceful nature (Eduard 1994: 182). This brought about the perspective within IR that men should protect women (Kaufman 2013: 7). Sjoberg and Peet (2011: 168) argue that since women were "promised" protection by men, it caused the subordination between being female or male.

Discourses about women and war primarily view women as being more peaceful than men and less prone to war. These discourses are based on essentialism that women have childbearing qualities and are naturally peaceful and should be protected by men (Kaufman 2013: 6). This essentialist discourse creates a stereotype that genders the state and citizenship (Kaufman 2013: 7). These ideas and prescriptions of men being the protectors and women needing protection lead to gendered systems. These gendered systems are driven by power, which is affirmed by political, social, economic,

legal, educational, and cultural institutions (Mazurana 2013: 3). These institutions are able to either create gender equality or gender inequality (Mazurana 2013: 3). These views also enable women who are perpetrators to execute their objectives because they are not viewed in such roles. Their agency is denied due to essentialist prescriptions of being female.

For this research the UN definition of gender will be adopted. The UN defines gender as:

> "The roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society at a given time considers appropriate for men and women. In addition to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, gender also refers to the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/ time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context" (The UN Women Training Centre 2017).

This definition caters to the prerequisites of this research, that gender characteristics are based on femininity or masculinity. This will allow for the identification of what the given position of women in the eastern DRC is based on the society. This adoption is also appropriate in that this research rests on the UNSCR 1325, a UN resolution, therefore this research needs to take into consideration the UN understanding of key concepts such as gender. Gender is an important tool for analysis for this investigation because it will allow to the research to establish the power relations in any given society and to analyse security issues from a gender sensitive perspective (Kaufman 2013: 8-9).

Majority of second wave feminist theories deal with the issue of gender and the understanding thereof. These theories will be discussed in an attempt to ground this research and the concept of gender.

2.3. __Feminist theory__

For most of the first wave feminist theories, power and the mobilisation thereof became an important unit of analysis. The radical thought argued that women should, as a unity, refuse to cooperate with any patriarchal system (New 2005: 54). Liberal feminists argued that women should gain power through using the state to alter legislations, and Marxist and socialist feminists argued that women should unite with men in an attempt to alter the state and its practices. This unity was argued to also incorporate the interests of the working class (New 2005: 54). This call for unity was, however, critiqued by second wave feminists who argued that the call for unity dismisses the fact that women not only differ from men but from each other, too. It was also argued that the call for unity would consist primarily out of white Western women which will lead to other groups of women remaining oppressed (New 2005: 54).

Prominent feminist theories that have dominated and challenged the concept of gender are rooted in the second wave of feminism that rose during the 1960s. They can be divided into three perspectives: gender reform feminism, gender resistant feminism, and gender revolution feminism, also known as radical feminism. Gender reform feminism includes liberal, Marxist, and development feminism. Gender resistant feminism includes lesbian, psychoanalytic, and standpoint feminism. And finally, gender revolution feminism includes multi-ethnic, men's, social construction, and postmodern feminism, and queer theory as well (Lorber 1997: 3).

A Liberal feminist perspective argues that gender differences are not based on biology therefore men and women are not so different despite popular belief (Annandale and

Clark 1996: 28). Marxist feminism rests on the analysis by Marx that the structure of capitalism shapes peoples identities in that capitalism causes exploitation, especially of women (Lorber 1997: 10-11). Development feminism focuses on gender construction within developing countries that were colonised. Development feminism argues that gender is influenced by labour division that derives from colonialism and that a gender status derives from economic resources (Lorber 1997: 13-14).

Lesbian feminism focuses on the relationship between women and the identity and culture these relationships create (Lorber 1997: 16, 19). Psychoanalytic feminism argues that gender derives from boys separating from their mothers and then looking up to their fathers for what is expected of men, whereas girls mostly learn what is feminine from their mothers (Newman 2003). Standpoint feminism argues that gender derives from knowledge and culture and therefore women's perspectives should be central in understanding knowledge and culture. Standpoint feminism also argues that the voices of genders are different (Lorber 1997: 21).

Multi-ethnic feminism argues that values, identities, and the consciousness of self derives from social statuses and that not only men and women are affected by these statuses but also different ethnic groups and religions (Lorber 1997: 25). Men's feminism calls upon feminist thought to treat men and women as a gender because not all gendered identities are based on sex and that masculine identities differ in societies (Lorber 1997: 27). Social construction feminism views gender as a social institution that is based on social organisations. Power, wealth, and privileges are allocated in accordance with these institutions. Gendered norms and experiences, based on these institutions, are prescribed to genders and an alternative way of acting is viewed as unthinkable (Lorber 1997: 29). Postmodern feminism argues that societies justify their traditional gender identities through ideological discourses that are rooted in cultural representations – for example, a conservative society will prescribe conservative roles to genders (Lorber 1997: 33). And finally, queer theory argues that gender is created by individuals through the way they act or interact and talk (Lorber 1997: 34).

IR feminists argue that in order to comprehend subordination among genders, one must view gender as a power relation and not only as a classification tool prescribed by society (Kaufman 2013: 8). Gender inequality occurs when women and men are not equally visible, empowered or not allowed to participate in all spheres of life on an equal basis (Council of Europe 2004: 7). Despite popular belief that gender equality is only focused on women and their positions, it essentially refers to men and women enjoying equal opportunities regardless of their gender. Therefore, gender equality is only achieved when the term gender is viewed equally. Gender equality recognises that men and women are not the same, however, their enjoyment of rights and access to opportunities must not be limited because of their gender (Inter-agency Standing Committee 2006: 1). Reformist feminists argue that the reform of gender and security must take place within the UN through changing and reaffirming legislation dedicated to remove gender unequal barriers. Radical feminists argue that gender inequality will not only be reformed through means of legislation but that patriarchal world systems, especially male-dominated military systems, must be addressed in order to achieve gender equality (SIPRI 2016: 327).

This research will be grounded in most second wave feminist theories, except lesbian feminism and queer theory. Liberal and men's feminism is used to better understand that gender differences cannot be explained by sex. Marxist feminism and development feminism will be used to better understand how capitalism and patriarchy influence the understanding of gender. Psychoanalytic, standpoint, multi-ethnic, social construction, and postmodern feminism will be drawn upon to understand how culture, a child's upbringing, and social construction affect gender within a society. These theories will assist in understanding the societal position of the women in the eastern DRC.

The debate on gender and gender inequality did not only take place in academia but also became a topic during various conventions dealing with women and gender

mainstreaming. These debates and conventions will be discussed in order to better understand gender mainstreaming.

2.4.   Gender mainstreaming and UNSCR 1325

The debate regarding gender equality also took place within the UN arena and was affirmed by the promotion of gender mainstreaming (UNDDR Resource Centre 2006: 23). The concept of gender mainstreaming dates back to the early 1970s when feminists argued that the state ignored the interests of women, especially during policy formulation (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 10). To confirm the importance of gender mainstreaming, the *UN Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* was adopted in 1979 followed by the *UN Third World Conference on Women* that took place in 1985 and dealt with the status of women and their role towards development (Schirch 2015: 257, Council of Europe 2004: 12). However, gender mainstreaming was only placed on the peace and security agenda during the fourth UN World Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing, the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (Council of Europe 2004: 13). During this conference it was argued that when dealing with women and armed conflict, a gender-sensitive discourse had to be used during conflict resolution (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 11). The *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* also noted that peace is linked to equality between men and women and that this equality is linked to the development of society. A call was made that equality between men and women had to be re-evaluated (SIPRI 2016: 324). Allowing women to become part of power structures and to participate and form part of policies and programmes, on an equal basis as men, is essential to promote peace and security (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 11).

In 1997, the UN ECOSOC agreed that gender mainstreaming would be defined as a process that assesses the implications of certain actions or policies on men and women. It was also agreed that the process of gender mainstreaming should incorporate the concerns and experiences of men and women, on an equal basis, in

any given program or policy in order to achieve gender equality (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 11). The Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) then organised a workshop on gender mainstreaming in Geneva in September 1997. The aim of this workshop was to allow various international actors to share their experiences with regards to gender mainstreaming and development in an attempt to increase gender equality (Rai 2003: 3).

Despite gender mainstreaming being on the peace and security agenda after the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, there was a lack of coordination within the UN on gender mainstreaming and the implementation thereof (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 11). This flaw within the UN led to several developments in an attempt to make the term a practice. In May 2000, during a UN review known as the *Windhoek Declaration*, it was recognised that women's role within peacekeeping efforts have been overlooked and that women should participate in the peace process (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 12). The *Windhoek Declaration* reaffirmed that:

> "To ensure the effectiveness of peace support operations, the principles of gender equality must permeate the entire mission, at all levels, thus ensuring the participation of women and men as equal partners and beneficiaries in all aspects of the peace process – from peacekeeping, reconciliation, and peace-building, towards a situation of political stability in which women and men play an equal part in the political, economic, and social development of their country" (United Nations Transitional Assistance Group 2000: 1).

The *Namibia Plan of Action of Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations* followed the *Windhoek Declaration* in 2000 and focused on recommendations on how to implement gender perspectives during peace operations (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 12). The *Namibia Plan of Action of Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations* stressed that women, like men, should have equal access to all aspects of the peace process, thus, women should also

participate in peacekeeping, reconciliation, and peacebuilding (SIPRI 2016: 324). These developments placed pressure on the UNSC to adopt a resolution that specifically addressed women and their position in armed conflicts and in peace operations (SIPRI 2016: 325).

In October 2000 the UNSC adopted UNSCR 1325 that aimed to place gender at the centre of the international peace and security agenda (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 12). UNSCR 1325 reaffirms:

> "The important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution" (S/Res/1325/2000: 1).

UNSCR 1325 also recognises:

> "The urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the *Windhoek Declaration* and the *Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations"* and recognises "an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security" (S/Res/1325/2000: 2).

UNSCR 1325 also calls for peacekeeping operations to incorporate a gender perspective by analysing the impact of gender on opportunities, roles, and interactions and all members are encouraged to increase their funding for gender-sensitive training efforts (UN Women Training Centre 2017). The adoption of this resolution was

significant because for the first time, the UN linked women and their experiences to conflict and placed their experiences on the security agenda (Brewoo 2013: 1).

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the UN and its member states have adopted other resolutions in an attempt to strengthen the commitment towards achieving gender equality, including resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), and 2242 (2015) (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 12, SIPRI 2016: 329-331). These resolutions, explained in table 1.2, page v, affirm that the gender mainstreaming process should not only address gender inequalities but that all policy processes should be reorganised, improved, developed, and evaluated in order to achieve gender equality and can only be achieved if women participate in the peace process and are not only seen as the referent objects (Council of Europe 2004: 15). These resolutions also affirm that gender mainstreaming moved beyond only focusing on gendering policies but also focus on gender perspectives: focusing on the differences between men and women within the state, their power, and their needs (Bell 2015: 7).

This research will be grounded in UNSCR 1325. This resolution is based on four pillars which will be used to answer "To what extent has gender mainstreaming been incorporated into DDR programmes in the DRC since the adoption of UNSCR 1325?" UNSCR 1325 is based on participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery (UN 2011: 1). The participation pillar deals with women and their equal participation in peace and security decision-making processes. Participation as a pillar is rooted in UNSCR 1325 which stresses:

> "The importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution" (UN 2011: 1, S/Res/1325/2000: 1).

With regards to the protection pillar, the UNSCR 1325:

> "requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training". UNSCR 1325 also "calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary" (S/Res/1325/2000: 3).

UNSCR 1325 also emphasises that conflict and all forms of violence against women should be prevented,

> "the Security Council urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict" (UN 2011: 1, S/Res/1325/2000: 3).

And finally, the Security Council

> "calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction" and "encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants" (S/Res/1325/2000: 3).

2.5.   Critiques of gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming has not been without critique. Brewoo (2013: 2) argues that the gender mainstreaming resolutions adopted by the UNSC have primarily focused on addressing sexual violence against women during conflict, but does not mention other matters relating to women and peace and security such as leadership roles during mediation. This causes a stereotype of women being victims and not as agents of change, which contradicts the purpose of the resolutions to strengthen women's engagement during peace and security processes (Brewoo 2013: 2).

Tickner (1992: 3) notes that characteristics which are not traditionally feminine characteristics, such as being a combatant, are primarily ignored because it is viewed as a liability when dealing with international politics. Shepherd (2010: 152) writes that the resolutions adopted by the UNSC with regard to gender mainstreaming assume that biological sex determines political interests. In other words, they assume that female representatives in peace processes will focus on the interests of all women. Kaufman (2013: 7) also argues that security studies associate women with a traditional gendered understanding. Thus, women are viewed through a traditional essentialist lens as victims, peacemakers, and pacifists during the analysis of security issues. Sachs, Sa'ar, and Aharoni (2007: 604) assert that using gender as a description during any analysis could lead to an analysis that is guided by culture or essentialist explanations instead of the fact that women can act out of their natural prescribed roles given to them by society.

Despite an agreed definition of gender mainstreaming, there is also not much consensus on what actions gender mainstreaming requires and how to implement it (Council of Europe 2004: 14). The concept of gender mainstreaming is also at times misunderstood as being a replacement for current gender equality policies, which are

based on a narrow definition of the term equality in that it is understood as antidiscrimination. In reality, these policies must be improved in order to strengthen gender mainstreaming (Council of Europe 2004: 18). Potter (2008: 55) argues that this narrow understanding is primarily due to gendered issues being driven by women alone who have limited influence in policy-making sectors. The gender mainstreaming process is also hindered by the inability of gender policies to recognise the relations between men and women and the fact that traditional perspectives continue to be incorporated into these policies in the sense that women have certain roles and should behave in certain ways (Council of Europe 2004: 18). Gender mainstreaming and the incorporation thereof in all legislation and policies are also affected by a lack of political will of national governments (Council of Europe 2004: 19).

Despite a lack of consensus on the practice of gender mainstreaming and the implementation thereof, gender mainstreaming is important in achieving gender equality in all peace and security sectors. Gender mainstreaming must be strengthened and applied to focus on the goal of achieving gender equality, that a gender perspective must become the focus, and that women should participate in decision making such as policy-making (Council of Europe 2004: 14).

Gender mainstreaming aims to be responsive to the needs of all stakeholders during peace and security interventions and must address all gender inequalities (Abiola and Alghali 2013: 14). Gender mainstreaming should not be a zero-sum game in that either men or women will benefit at the expense the other, as noted by Shepherd (2010: 154). In order to achieve gender mainstreaming, all approaches towards policy making and organisational cultures must be changed to include a gender perspective that not only sees women as victims but also as agents of change, especially during armed conflicts and DDR programmes (Council of Europe 2004: 18).

2.6. <u>Gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes</u>

UNSCR 1325 "encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants" (S/Res/1325/2000: 3).

Gender mainstreaming was reaffirmed and formalised by the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 in 2000 (UN Women Training Centre 2017). The women, peace and security (WPS) agenda was further reaffirmed and extended by the adoption of seven other resolutions which aimed to address the importance of equal participation of women in peace processes and the protection of women during these processes (SIPRI 2016: 323). UNSCR 1820 was adopted in 2008 and discussed sexual violence and the usage of this violence as a tactic of war (SIDA 2015: 2). This resolution calls for a no tolerance approach in addressing sexual violence during conflict and post-conflict settings and reaffirms that sexual violence is considered as a war crime (SIPRI 2016: 329, UNb 2017). With the adoption of this resolution came also the appointment of a UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SG) on sexual violence in conflict (SRSG-SVC) (SIPRI 2016: 329). UNSCR 1888, adopted in 2009, aimed to outline the implementation of UNSCR 1820 (SIDA 2015: 2).

UNSCR 1889 was adopted in 2009 and called upon the Secretary-General (SG) to draft indicators that should be used to monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the requirements of states' National Action Plans (NAP) (SIDA 2015: 2, SIPRI 2016: 329). UNSCR 1960 was adopted in 2010 and deals with sexual violence against women and discusses sanctions against states not fighting sexual violence (SIDA 2015: 2). UNSCR 2106 was adopted 2013 and recognises that men and boys can also be victims of sexual violence (SIDA 2015: 2). Both UNSCR 1960 and 2106 called for accountability with regards to conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) (SIPRI 2016: 329). Important to

note, UNSCR 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, and 2106 primarily focused on CRSV, protection against CRSV, and the prevention thereof. In 2013, UNSCR 2122 was adopted. This resolution not only mentioned CRSV but also advocated that women should also participate in peace and security initiatives (SIPRI 2016: 331). In October 2015, UNSCR 2242 was adopted. This resolution addressed all four pillars of gender mainstreaming and aimed to strengthen gender sensitivity, called for the appointment of women in all levels of senior decision-making of peace and security, called for civil society engagement to increase gender sensitivity, and reaffirmed that men, like women, should play a part in promoting gender mainstreaming and the prevention of CRSV (SIPRI 2016: 332).

The adoption of these resolutions are deemed important as the adoption of UNSCR 1325 signifies that women and their security have been positioned on the international security agenda and that these resolutions will bind all member states legally to mainstream gender within their policies (SIPRI 2016: 323). The adoption of UNSCR 1325 signified that the understanding of gender had to be revaluated when considering peace and security (SIPRI 2016: 326).

Literature on women, DDR, and armed conflicts generally agree that women are overlooked during the DDR design due to an essentialist view that women are passive victims of armed conflicts. Coulter, Persson & Utas (2008: 8) write that women, despite being active agents in armed movements, are still seen through a gender essentialist lens and viewed as victims without agency to act upon insecurity and are therefore excluded from DDR programmes. The concept of agency has its roots in the Enlightenment thought, broadly seen as "free thought" (Wilson 2008: 83). Agency rests on the notion that individuals are able and willing to influence and change their social or political environments (Miller 2005: 11). Agency also entails an actor having the capacity to devise ways in order to cope with certain situations, such as conflict, despite coercion (Moser and Clark 2001: 4-5).

During war, women have several strategies available to them: to support the conflict, to engage violently, to participate through non-violent resistance, or to become active supporters of the combatants (Kaufman 2013: 2). According to Bouta (2005: 7), women can assume four types of roles within armed groups: fighting in the front lines; cooking, cleaning, nursing, or serving as messengers; being an abductee; or being a wife. Women can also use conflict settings to advance their own positions. For example, Aziza Kulsum Gulamali, a woman from the DRC, was alleged to be the driver behind the trafficking of arms and natural resources and was financing the Burundi rebel group during the conflict (Cuvelier and Bashwira 2016: 2).

Alison (2009: 120) argues that even though women have agency, they do not necessarily have unlimited agency. Their agency is limited in that prevailing structures and discourse still remain a challenge for all women to work against, including male-dominated peace programmes. International organisations dealing with the peace process remain focussed on the victimisation of women during conflict, but women as active agents during the conflict is usually overlooked, despite literature indicating that women, too, have agency during armed conflict (Mazurana 2004: 24). Furthermore, not all women's agency is considered feminist agency as not all women become agents to attempt to change patriarchal political, social, and economic systems (Kaufman 2013: 14).

Bleie (2012) and Tarnaala (2016) write that women's agency is overlooked because they are generally not considered to be combatants but are seen as campfollowers, or supporters (Houngbedji, Grace and Brooks 2012: 7). A combatant of an armed movement is defined by International Humanitarian Law (IHL) as a person who is a member of an armed group but excludes medical and religious personnel (International Committee of the Red Cross 2009: 5). Combatant status is given to all individuals who participated, voluntary or forcibly, in an armed conflict (Schirch 2015: 185). Under the

Third Geneva Convention of 1949, a combatant is a person who "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" (United Nations 2006: 4).

However, identifying women associated with armed groups is no easy task. Women are not always willing to participate in DDR programmes because of the stigma associated with their involvement in DDR programmes (Bouta 2005: 11). Women, especially in combatant roles, face community stigma such as being unfit for marriage, being a prostitute, or having loose morals, and therefore they choose to self-demobilise to avoid this association (White 2006). Women who were abducted also tend to take the DDR program as an opportunity to escape and not to actively join the DDR programme (Bouta 2005: 11). According to Learning for Equality, Access and Peace (LEAP) (2009: 3-4), the identification of female combatants has proven difficult due to stigma, the female combatants being dependant on the commanders to identify them, security threats after identification, the unclear definition of what a female combatant is, and not enough information being available about the benefits.

Numerous scholars have called for women to become part of the peace process in leadership roles because they are seen as being more peaceful and could contribute to achieving peace. However, this discourse creates an assumption that women can only be in leadership positions if they can prove that they are more peaceful, efficient, and ethical than men (Cuvelier and Bashwira 2016: 4). Women should have equal access to leadership roles not because they are women, but because that is the true nature of gender equality. By excluding women from the peace process, including DDR, women are made objects of the peace process and not participants or active agents (Dam

2013: 11). If women are part of the peace process they are given active agency to rebuild their societies instead of just being viewed as passive victims (Cahn 2006: 344). Moreover, it is difficult to achieve peace when majority of the population - women in this case - are not part of the peace process (Diallo 2015: 154). In order to promote gender equality, women should not only be included in the peace processes such as negotiation or mediation, but they should also receive training in order to gain the skills needed to negotiate and mediate (Diallo 2015: 156).

DDR programmes aim, in the long-term, to create an environment for human security and development, and this will only be possible if women who were combatants, wives, abductees, and support workers are involved in DDR programmes (Bouta 2005: 12). Inequality between men and women hinders sustainable peace and therefore peace requires equality.

The Inter-Agency Working Group (IAWG) on DDR does not view gender equality as men and women being the same but as their needs and priorities being a focus during DDR programmes (IAWG 2012: 9). However, it could be argued, since gender is a social construction, women and men can be the same in that their roles could become the same: combatants, victims, or perpetrators. Only focusing on male ex-combatants who fought on the front lines of the armed conflict renders a society susceptible to instability because those who were affected by the armed conflict were not all considered and did not receive the needed help to partake in the peace process (Alusala 2011: 91). War affects the psychology of a society, therefore DDR programmes need to better understand the concept of gender as the needs of men and women do not derive from their sex, but from their identities and agency (Alusala 2011: 97).

DDR programme officers need to take into consideration the needs and wants of all who have been affected by the armed conflict in order to ensure that post-conflict reconstruction is not affected by grievances or assumptions of what those involved in

the conflict need (Farr 2008: 3). A DDR program that promotes and entails gender equality would, for example, not only give male ex-combatants condoms but also hand out female condoms to female ex-combatants (Cahn 2006: 351).

The benefits within DDR programmes need to be equal which will enforce a commitment towards peacebuilding that is also based on gender equality (Cahn 2006: 352). Key to promoting gender equality within DDR programmes, according to Mazurana, (2010: 13) is designing strategies during DDR programmes which are based on a sound understanding of how an armed conflict has affected men and women, their rights, as well as their families, and to address these issues during the transition period to avoid the gendered legacies of an armed conflict. Men and women's experiences during armed conflicts depend on their status within a given society. For example, research has shown that in societies where women are unequal prior to an armed conflict, they will most likely also experience this inequality during the armed conflict (Mazurana 2010: 12). Therefore, the peace process is an ideal platform to resolve gender inequalities within a given society.

Several women experience a new-found freedom during armed conflicts and their new roles within these conflicts through gaining equality, respect, and protection. DDR programmes can, however, threaten this agency. During the disarmament and demobilisation phases, women who hand in their weapons, if they had any, might experience a loss of equality, respect, and protection which they gained through being a combatant (IAWG 2012: 11). Women who occupied high ranking positions within the armed group are also mostly demoted to a lower ranking if they are considered to join a national army (IAWG 2012: 11). Despite attempting to create stability, DDR programmes more often than not contribute towards women losing any leadership or representative capabilities once the peace process starts in that they are forced, directly or indirectly, back into their traditional gendered roles within a community.

Female combatants who have not been part of a DDR programme also run the risk of emotional issues due to unresolved trauma, and former female combatants who were not part of the DDR program are at risk for re-recruitment due to them being forced back into society without any assistance (UNDDR 2006: 10). DDR programmes aim to provide community security, but by excluding women from the DDR process, community insecurity could be increased when former female combatants' special needs are ignored by a traditional DDR process (UNDDR 2006: 11). Sprecht and Attree (2006: 223) argue that excluding women from DDR programmes could lead to crime, social unrest, and recruitment by other armed groups.

Gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes are also undermined in peace agreements, the first phase of the peace process. A study by Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke showed that only 16% of 585 peace agreements between 1990 and 2010 mentioned women (DPI 2014: 24). Björkdahl and Selimovic (2016: 182) argue that the term gender needs to be clarified within the UNSCR 1325 framework and the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Houngbedji, Grace, and Brooks (2012: 2) argue that gender within DDR needs to be redefined as it is of paramount importance for long-term social and economic reconstruction within a post-conflict society.

2.7.   Conclusion

Gender is an important tool of analysis for this investigation. A gendered analysis will allow a researcher to establish the power relations in any given society and to analyse gender equality, agency, and armed conflict in the DRC. For this research, gendered identities, female or male, will rest upon the definition that gender identities are socially given and are therefore changeable and vary between cultures. These gendered identities shape gendered systems and, in return, are shaped by power, and this power is affirmed by political, social, economic, legal, educational, and cultural institutions. Understanding the concept of gender is of importance because it serves as a social

analysis of how women and men are viewed and what is expected of them in any context.

The gender mainstreaming process aims to not only address gender inequalities but to also reorganise, improve, develop, and evaluate male dominated policies. Not only should women be part of the peace process as facilitators but also as participants. Despite popular belief, women are not always peacemakers, but can also be a source of insecurity for any given community during an armed conflict. Women, like men, become members of armed groups, voluntary or forced, and take up arms to fight in a conflict. They have agency, mostly limited due to patriarchy, to influence and change their social and political environments. International organisations dealing with the peace process remain focussed on the victimisation of women during conflict, women as active agents during the conflict is usually overlooked, despite literature indicating that women, too, have agency during armed conflicts. DDR programmes must move away from a traditional gendered lens in viewing combatants in order to provide community security by including female combatants in DDR programmes and taking their individualist needs into consideration.

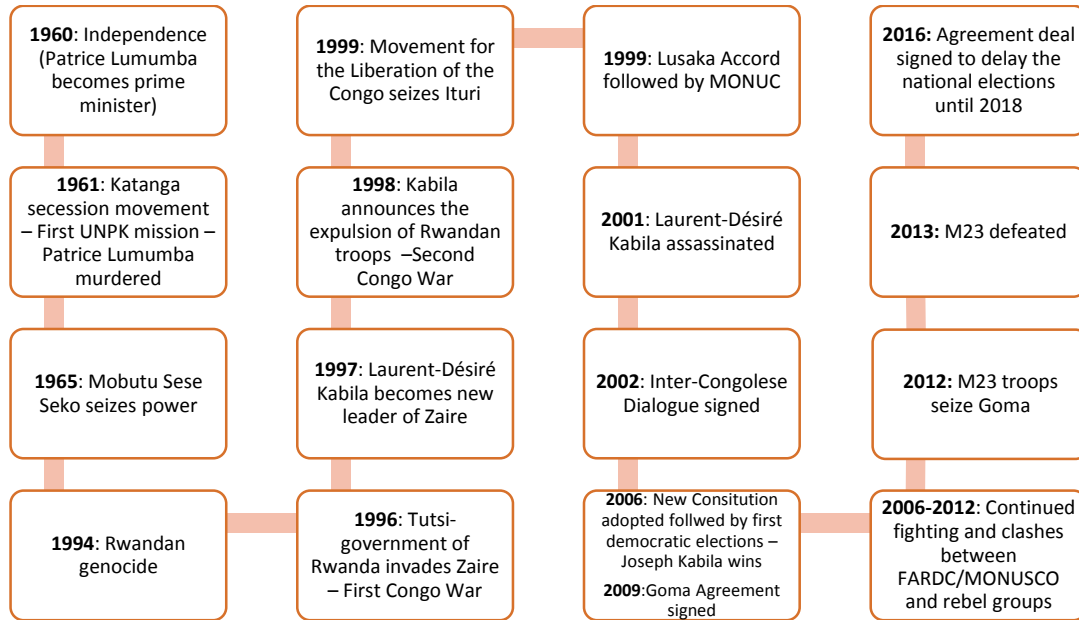## 3. CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY: DDR IN THE EASTERN DRC

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the conflict within the DRC from 1960 to date. It will also provide a brief overview of the peace efforts within the DRC, notably the DDR programmes within the eastern DRC. The objectives, successes, and failures of these phases will be briefly mentioned in order to better investigate gender mainstreaming and DDR programmes. This chapter will also include a brief overview of women and their position in the DRC. This section will set the scene for the investigation on gender mainstreaming and DDR in the chapter that follows.

3.2. Background on the Conflict in the DRC

Throughout history the Republic of the Congo has been crippled by violence and little capacity for self-governance. The Congo Free State was under Belgian colonial rule since 1885. During the colonial rule, Belgium focused solely on extracting natural resources from the Congo in a brutal manner, leaving investment in infrastructure, governance structures, or education non-existent (Peace Direct 2014). The Belgian colonialists used violence to achieve their goals within the Congo Free State, which left its mark in the Congo throughout its independence (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 3).

Flow Diagram 1.1. DRC Conflict Timeline (Source: compiled by author)

1960: Independence (Patrice Lumumba becomes prime minister)	**1999**: Movement for the Liberation of the Congo seizes Ituri	**1999**: Lusaka Accord followed by MONUC	**2016**: Agreement deal signed to delay the national elections until 2018
1961: Katanga secession movement – First UNPK mission – Patrice Lumumba murdered	**1998**: Kabila announces the expulsion of Rwandan troops –Second Congo War	**2001**: Laurent-Désiré Kabila assassinated	**2013**: M23 defeated
1965: Mobutu Sese Seko seizes power	**1997**: Laurent-Désiré Kabila becomes new leader of Zaire	**2002**: Inter-Congolese Dialogue signed	**2012**: M23 troops seize Goma
1994: Rwandan genocide	**1996**: Tutsi-government of Rwanda invades Zaire – First Congo War	**2006**: New Consitution adopted follwed by first democratic elections – Joseph Kabila wins **2009**:Goma Agreement signed	**2006-2012**: Continued fighting and clashes between FARDC/MONUSCO and rebel groups

The independence movement within the Congo Free State left the Belgians unprepared during the 1950s which lead to the Congo gaining independence on the 30th of June, 1960 (Peace Direct 2014). Patrice Lumumba became prime minister of the Congo Free State shortly after independence. In 1961 he was murdered during the Katanga secession movement. The Katanga crisis led to one of the first UN Peacekeeping operations which lasted until 1964 (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 4-5). Colonel Joseph Mobutu, also known as Mobutu Sese Seko, seized power in 1965 through means of a coup supported by the United States (US) (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 3). It is speculated he was behind the assassination of Lumumba in 1961. Mobutu's reign was characterised as being centralised and authoritarian (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5). Mobutu, striving for a more authentic Congo, renamed the Congo Free State to Zaire in 1971 (Peace Direct 2014).

Mobutu's 32-year reign was also characterised by self-enrichment and divide and rule (Peace Direct 2014). Infrastructure investment and human development was not a priority for Mobutu who focused on ruling with an iron fist, yet his government's authority was not visible in several areas which led to opposition movements and the rise of

armed groups (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 3). The local population's security was not only threatened by poverty, a lack of infrastructure, employment, and armed groups, but also by unpaid security forces who used force as a means to sustain themselves through raids and looting within the community (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 3). Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, Zaire splintered into various city-states that were characterised by ineffective administrations, a lack of formal justice systems, and corrupt security forces (Peace Direct 2014).

With the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s came the end of Mobutu's funding from international countries such as the US. In a desperate attempt to cling to his position, he exploited ethnic sentiments and turned indigenous communities against immigrants of Rwandan descent, known as *Banyarwanda*, which lead to violent clashes between these groups in 1993 (Peace Direct 2014). In 1990 Mobutu agreed to a multi-party system due to domestic and international pressure, but continued to delay elections (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5). The announcement of a multi-party democracy, despite it not taking place, sparked competition to oust Mobutu (Verweijen 2016: 19).

In 1994 the situation within Zaire escalated rapidly with the Rwandan genocide. Thousands of refugees fled Rwanda to Zaire (Peace Direct 2014). The overflow of refugees to Zaire diverted state resources and negatively affected the local community (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5). By the end of 1994, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels, a Tutsi rebel group, managed to defeat the Hutu government in Kigali. This Tutsi victory led to many Hutus, mostly perpetrators of the genocide, to flee Rwanda to Zaire (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 3). With Mobutu's support, these Hutu extremists, the *Interahamwe*, used refugee camps located in eastern Zaire to hide from the Tutsi government of Rwanda and to launch various military attacks in Rwanda (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5, Lamb *et al.* 2012: 3).

In 1996 the Tutsi government of Rwanda decided to invade Zaire in an attempt to pursue the *Interahamwe* (Peace Direct 2014). The Tutsi government's invasion was supported by Uganda and rebels known as the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL), led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila, an exiled Congolese militant (Peace Direct 2014, Wanki 2011: 107). Mobutu's army was no match for the invaders and in less than six months lost control over Zaire leading to the AFDL leader, Kabila, to become the new leader of Zaire in 1997. Following this, he renamed Zaire the DRC (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5). This invasion by the AFDL led to what is known as the First Congo War (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5). The presence of the AFDL created a space wherein *Swahiliphones*, Swahili-speaking nationals, from the east held important positions over *Lingalaphones*, Lingala-speaking nationals, fuelling ethnic tensions even more (Verweijen 2016: 20).

In 1998, due to hostilities between Rwandan soldiers and the *Banyarwanda*, Kabila announced the expulsion of Rwanda troops (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 5). This action led to the alliance between Rwanda, Uganda, and the AFDL to deteriorate, so much so that Rwanda and Uganda rallied a new rebel group, Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD), against the AFDL. This rebellion sparked what is known as the Second Congolese War which started in 1998 (Peace Direct 2014). The DRC became a battleground with more than eleven countries being involved. Kabila's army, with support from Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, managed to deter the RCD from ousting Kabila (Peace Direct 2014). Uganda also supported the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC) in an attempt to overthrow Kabila (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 4). These Ugandan armed forces seized the mineral rich province, Ituri, in the eastern DRC in 1999 which increased ethnic tensions within this region. This led to the rise of several armed groups, the most prominent of these being the Nationalist and Integrationist Front (FNI) and the Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC) (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 4).

The RCD started to split into various factions: the Rwandan-backed RCD-Goma and the RCD-Goma led by Kin-Kiey Mulumba (RCD-K/ML) backed by Uganda, due to

leadership tensions and strategic disagreements (Peace Direct 2014, Lamb *et al.* 2012: 4). The Second Congolese War became increasingly deadly, especially in the east where the DRC government used several militias to fight against rebels controlling the east (Peace Direct 2014). The Second Congo War was characterised as militarised politics driven by rebels (Verweijen 2016: 21).

In 1999 the *Lusaka Accord*, which set the framework for the implementation of the Congo's DDR process, was signed in an attempt to secure the ceasefire agreement between all warring groups followed by the employment of the UN peacekeeping mission, the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 4). The mission involved four phases: creating peace within the DRC, supervising the ceasefire, DDR, and assisting and supporting the DRC's political transition (Wanki 2011: 108).

These peace efforts were, however, rendered unsuccessful (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 4). The War continued until 2002, when an *Inter-Congolese Dialogue* was signed, after all troops from neighbouring countries left DRC soil. This dialogue led to a power-sharing government followed by the adoption of a constitution (Peace Direct 2014). This peace accord called for the withdrawal of all foreign groups and the reintegration of all rebels into the newly created military, the FARDC, as well as into the government (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 6).

The peace accord was hindered by its lack of neutrality in that several armed groups believed that the FARDC was not a representation of all armed groups as the command chain was not evenly distributed. This discontent led armed groups to turn to self-defence through using power, violence, and popularity as a means (Verweijen 2016: 24). In return insecurity felt by local communities led to these communities supporting armed groups as political parties within their areas in a failed attempt to achieve security. (Verweijen 2016: 24-25).

In 2006 the first democratic elections were held which led to Joseph Kabila, son of Laurent-Désiré Kabila who was assassinated in 2001, becoming the first democratically elected president of the DRC (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 6, Peace Direct 2014). In 2009, the government of the DRC and the CNDP signed the *Goma Agreement* in the hope of addressing political and military integration of CNDP members (Ahere 2012). These accords led to the CNDP becoming a political party (World Bank 2009: 4).

Kabila, who secured his presidential seat for two terms, had to leave his seat in November 2016, but he kept delaying the elections, leaving him as president until the next elections (Cornish 2017). In November 2016 the ruling party and opposition parties signed a deal agreeing that the next presidential elections will take place in 2018 (BBC News 2017).

Continued violence within the DRC derives from ethnic tensions, land disputes, competition over resources, and citizenship rights (Members and Committees of Congress 2016: 10). The conflict in the DRC has left the country and its people in extreme poverty. The DRC was ranked at 186 out of 187 countries by the Human Development Index (HDI) in 2015. It is estimated that 87.7% of the population is living below the income poverty line, and roughly 46.2% of the population is living in extreme poverty (Shackel and Fiske 2016: 3).

Peace remains much to be desired despite the Dialogue and democratic elections in 2006. The eastern region of the DRC remains unstable despite the relative national stability within the DRC following the 2006 elections (Verweijen 2016: 28). Several armed groups who create insecurity have been able to survive due to a lack of state authority (Peace Direct 2014). The lack of state authority led to the 23 March Movement

(M23) crisis when M23 seized control over Goma in November 2012. The DRC government and peacekeeping forces was only able to defeat the M23 by the end of 2013 (Vinas: 2015: 16). The most prominent armed groups currently within the DRC are the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP), the LRA, the Mai Mai militia, and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) (Obala 2015: 5).

3.3.   Women in the DRC

The DRC has been a pivotal case for gender as a social concept shaped by any given society. A gender and development study by U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in 2012 revealed how femininity and masculinity are primarily viewed in the DRC. This study was conducted from April to May 2012 in seven of the eleven provinces in the DRC. More than 650 men and women partook in group discussions and 100 people were interviewed (USAID 2012: 6).

The study revealed that most participants, men and women, agreed that the man is the head of the household and that his dominance derives from his sex. Comments such as "the women come to complete man in accordance to man's life on earth" were common among male participants. Typical female participant comments were "it's not a man's role to do housework, it is the woman who is responsible for that" and "men do the hard work, that is, masculine types of work, while women do the domestic work at home". Majority of participants agreed that women who are outspoken and not domestic, are men and are not viewed as women (USAID 2012: 25). This study however noted that majority of respondents, although agreeing that men have a superior role over women, agreed that women should be equal to men with regards to opportunities (USAID 2012: 26). Several female participants agreed that their culture makes it difficult to fight for equality since it is a concept that is not well adapted to suit their cultures. A male respondent argued that "African women make a wrong interpretation of the concept of

emancipation by thinking that the woman can become superior to her husband" (USAID 2012: 26).

This study also noted that gender roles are embedded in the upbringing of children. In households where there is a single mother, daughters would generally be encouraged to go to school, if possible. However, in poor households, the boy would be encouraged to go to school whereas the daughter would leave school to work (USAID 2012: 29). Davis, Fabbri, and Alphonse (2014: 38) argue that the term "woman" means different roles to different cultures and tribes. It is important for any research to understand that being a woman has different meanings and that their power wields from different sectors such as politics or economics. In the DRC, regardless of how sections of the female community view their positions, gender equality has statistically, been low.

Women's rights and equality within the DRC is visible on paper. A Ministry of Advancement of Women was established in 1980 and ratified *the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* in 1986. The DRC government adopted the *Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa* in 2004, which holds states responsible to monitor gender mainstreaming within their respective countries. The 2006 Constitution of the DRC affirmed that there must be equality between men and women. Article 13 of the Constitution asserts that the state has the responsibility to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and that the state must implement measures to ensure gender equality; to eliminate all forms of violence against women; and that women should be represented in national, provincial, and local government institutions (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 1). The DRC also signed the Southern African Development Community (SADC) *Protocol on Gender and Development* in 2009, an agreement to implement efforts that will contribute towards gender equality (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 2). Article 14 of the Constitution stipulates that 30% of representatives within the national, provincial and local institutions must be women (Selimovi 2012: 5).

Women make up 53% of the DRC's population but only 8% are employed in lower state positions (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 2). After the 2006 elections, women only make up 9.4% of seats in the national parliament (Rawles 2012). Only 8.4% of the National Assembly of the DRC consists of women while the Senate only consists of 4.5% of women (JICA 2017: 2). Despite the constitution advocating for gender equality, the Electoral Law, being contradictory, does not affirm the same advocacy of the constitution. Article 13.3 states that the lists of all political parties must be considerate with regards to the equal representation of men and women. However, article 13.4 stipulates that "the nonrealisation of equality between men and women during the upcoming elections does not make the list inadmissible" (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 2).

Taking into consideration the wars within the DRC, gender equality has improved within the DRC since 1998 but remains low. The DRC's Gender-related Development Index (GDI) raking has improved from 18 in 1998 to 5 in 2007, according to bar diagram 1.1, page 48 (UNDP 2009: 185). The GDI compares the HDI values of women and men, taking into consideration life expectancy at birth; adult literacy; the combined values of primary, secondary, and tertiary enrolment rates; and the estimated earned income of women and men (UNDP 2016: 3, UNDP 2001:161). This means that, based on the dimensions used, women's position within the DRC has improved with regards to longevity, education, and received income (UNDP 2009: 185). However, with regards to GDI, the DRC remained in the low development group compared to other countries since 1998 and has not moved into another grouping, indicating that although women's position within the DRC has improved with regards to the dimensions mentioned, their position still remains lower to that of men (UNDP 2009: 185). According to the Gender Inequality Index (GII), women's position has also improved within the DRC from 2008 to 2015, moving up 5 ranks. The GII, measuring gender inequality, uses maternal mortality, adolescent fertility rate, seats in parliament, enrolment into at least secondary education, and labour force participation (UNDP 2013: 15). Important to note, however,

is that women's empowerment, measured in the GII, remains low, indicating that although women's position with regards to education and income has improved, their political empowerment remains low within the DRC (UNDPb 2015: 16).

Bar Diagram 1.1. Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII) (Source: UNDP Human Development Reports 2000-2016) (See table 1.3, page vi)
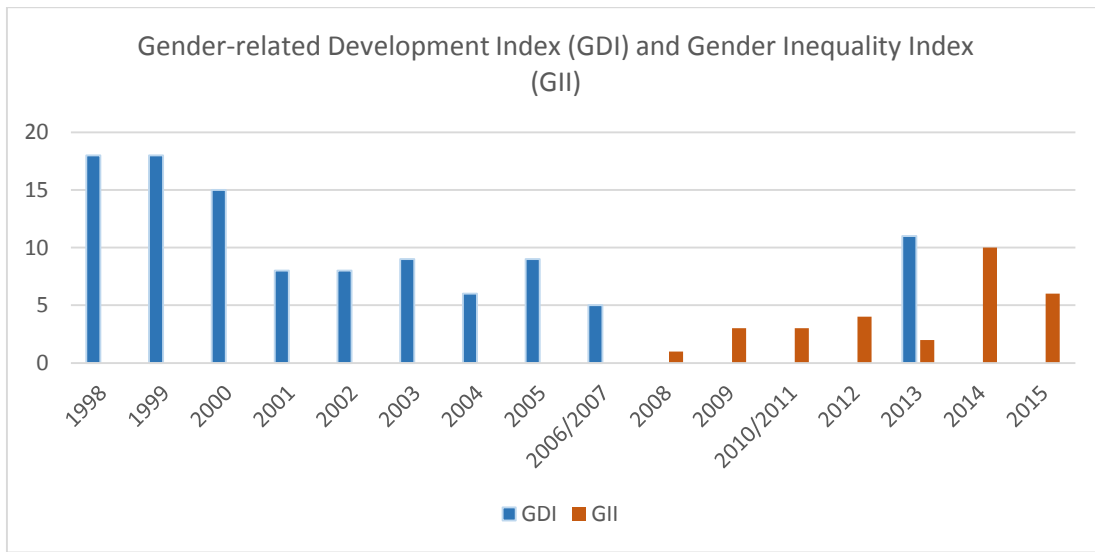
Women's rights groups raised awareness campaigns prior to the 2006 election which focused on informing women of their rights. This led to the election of 42 out of 500 parliamentarians being women. In 2011, only 47 women were elected into government positions due to patriarchal systems and traditions (Selimovi 2012: 7). Women organisations are, however, critical of the fact that most women within these positions are elites that came into power because of wealth and their husbands holding positions of power and as such do not represent the majority of women within the DRC. During a vote to pass the Electors Act, which prescribed that there must be an equal representation of women and men, most female parliamentarians did not show up for the voting (Selimovi 2012: 7).

Women within the DRC are also underrepresented in most positions in the formal workforce. Women who are married have limited or no lawful capacity to make their own decisions, such as signing legal contracts by themselves. Married women need their husband's permission to work, to open accounts, to travel, or to even start a business. Women within the DRC are denied pensions or inheritances. The Family Code of the DRC contradicts all articles within the Constitution with regards to gender equality. Article 444 of the Family Code stipulates that the man is the head of the household and that his wife must obey him at all times. Article 448 states that married women must obtain permission from their husbands for any legal act (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 2, 4). Tradition within the DRC undermines gender equality in that women are inferior to men with regards to ownership and resources. Women are not allowed to partake in farming activities, yet, during the conflict they were forced to become farmers (Selimovi 2012: 6).

Women of the DRC are also not visible during most peace agreements. The Democratic Progress Institute (DPI) (2014: 35) writes that during the *Lusaka agreement*, 15% of those involved in the drafting of the agreement were women. During the 2008 ceasefire act, the *Act of Engagement Agreement,* only 1.1% of participants were women, during the 2009 *Goma Agreement* no women were represented, and during the 2013 agreement between the DRC government and M23 rebels, only 6.2% of representatives were women.

Women's position within the DRC has been characterised as a feminisation of poverty. This is due to poverty, a lack of access to lands, property, healthcare education, water, as well as insecurity caused by armed groups within their communities (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 7). The DRC has been dubbed the rape capital of the world. Women are constant targets of sexual violence in the DRC by the hands of rebels and members of the FARDC (Shackel and Fiske 2016: 3).

Despite the DRCs adoption of UNSCR 1325, DDR programmes do not take into consideration the different needs of women who were part of armed groups (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 9). According to Mbambi and Faray-Kele (2010: 9), there have not been women who have led any of the armed groups or the military. Women and girls have, however, been part of armed groups, but to what extent it is not known since the National DDR document has not made any distinction between male and female combatants (Mbambi and Faray-Kele 2010: 9). Baaz and Stern (2012: 717) note that women have been part of the Congolese army since the 1960s, when Mobutu aimed to create an all-female brigade (Baaz and Stern 2012: 717).

Despite women's victimisation and facing unequal status, women of the DRC have been playing a pivotal role in securing peace in the DRC. This was evident by *The Nairobi Declaration of 2002* in which women called to become part of mediation processes, to become part of decision-making structures, for gender equality to be addressed, for women to have access to land and natural resources, and for gender-sensitivity needs to be adopted in decision making structures (Inter-Congolese Dialogue 2002).

3.4.   Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration in the eastern DRC

The *Lusaka Accord* of 1999 set the framework for the implementation of official DDR programmes within the DRC, notably in the east (Wanki 2011: 118). The Accord paved the way for United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) who was responsible for ensuring compliance towards the ceasefire by armed groups, to collect weapons, and to supervise the withdrawal of all foreign groups. This Accord aimed to disarm all combatants, to track down all those responsible for the Rwandan genocide within the DRC and those responsible for mass killings (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 1999). MONUC, being mandated by resolution 1279, expanded its mandate and became MONUSCO (Alusala 2011: 3). Resolution 1925 expanded MONUSCO's mandate and the DDR programme within the

DRC was given two additional phases, repatriation and resettlement of foreign armed groups (MONUSCOa 2017).

The World Bank, in partnership with more than 30 donor countries and UN partners, launched MDRP in 2002, a regional DDR programme, in an attempt to respond to the conflict in the Congo that has pulled in eleven other countries (Muggah, Maughan, and Bugnion 2003: 13). The MDRP's main focus was the GLR and included Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 5). The DRC received the majority of the financing – 50% of the budget was dedicated to the DRC (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 5). The program estimated that 350,000 combatants from nine countries would be disarmed and demobilised (World Bank 2013).

The main objectives of the MDRP were to demobilise and reintegrate ex-combatants of all countries who were participating in the programme from 2002 to 2004, to initiate special programmes and activities, to manage these programmes and activities, to provide DDR frameworks to governments of the GLR, and to establish a single mechanism for coordination and the allocation of resources (Muggah, Maughan, and Bugnion 2003: 13-14, MDRP Secretariat Staff 2010: 11).

The EDRP, a DRC-specific demobilisation and reintegration programme, was initiated to address the urgency to demobilise most armed members (World Bank 2013). The demobilisation and reintegration programme involved the disarmament, demobilisation, and social and economic reintegration of ex-combatants, as well as HIV/Aids prevention measures (Muggah, Maughan, and Bugnion 2003: 14, MDRP Secretariat Staff 2010: 11). Special programmes and activities involved the support of "special groups" such as ex-combatants who did not want to return to their home countries such as Rwanda, and the demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants outside the control of their respective governments (Muggah, Maughan, and Bugnion 2003: 14). Regional activities were initiated and involved cross-border information campaigns, sharing of cross-border

research with regards to DDR issues, knowledge sharing regarding capacity building, and the upkeep of databases to ensure that ex-combatants do not cross borders in an attempt for gain more resources from other DDR programmes (MDRP Secretariat Staff 2010: 12).

The MDRP was based on a local ownership approach and national governments had to take responsibility for the implementation of all DDR programmes. The MDRP changed into TDRP in 2010 (Alusala 2011: 1, 6). TDRP aimed to support the transition from demobilisation and reintegration into development programmes (Alusala 2011: 15).

In 2004 the DRC government also took local ownership of attempting to bring peace to the DRC by initiating its own National Plan which was required by the MDRP DDR programme –PNDDR –which was tasked to lead the MDRP programme. This program followed after the *Inter-Congolese Dialogue* was signed in 2002 as well as the signing of the *Dar es Salaam Accord, a ceasefire agreement,* in 2003 (Actors 2013: 2). The PNDDR estimated that about 330,000 combatants will go through the DDR programme (Actors 2013: 2). (See table 1.1, page iv, for summary of the official DDR programmes).

In 2003 the DRC government established CONADER, an interdepartmental committee to oversee PNDDR (Wanki 2011: 118). CONADER was funded by MDRP and mandated to organise disarmament and to classify all ex-combatants to either FARDC or to become civilians (Vogel and Musamba 2016: 2).

The first aim of the PNDDR was to disarm and demobilise all combatants who signed the *Global and Inclusive Peace Agreement*. MONUC was tasked to assist in the implementation of the PNDDR, focussing mainly on the disarmament phase, especially that of foreign armed groups (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 6). Peacekeepers were mobilised to provide security to armed group members who wanted to form part of the DDR

programme but were in danger of being assaulted by their fellow members who saw them as deserters (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 6). Members of foreign armed groups were expected to surrender to MONUSCO who then transported these ex-combatants to Orientation Centres (OC) located in Uvira, Bukavu, Beni, Dungu, and Goma (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 6).

At the OCs, these ex-combatants were provided with food and clothes, followed by the suspension of their military status. Ex-combatants were then given an option to either join the national military or to go through the demobilisation process (Actors 2013: 2). Ex-combatants who chose the latter were given safety allowances which consisted of monthly payments of US$110 for transport and food for a year, and reintegration training was provided which included agriculture, fishing, sewing, tailoring, woodwork, bricklaying, driving, and metal work in an attempt to reintegrate ex-combatants (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 7). An ex-combatant could only become part of PNDDR if the one-man-one-gun principle was met, if they were a citizen of the DRC and if a proof of membership in any of the signatory armed groups was presented (World Bank 2009: 4, Actors 2013: 5).

The SMI, established in 2004, was tasked to identify and classify the soldiers who chose to become part of the national army (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 4). Ex-combatants who chose to become part of the FARDC were taken to military training centres and had to pass an aptitude test. In the case they failed the test, they had to return to the CO to form part of the DDR programme (Actors 2013: 6). However, in 2008, 22 armed groups, roughly 20,000 combatants, signed the *Acts of Engagement Agreement* and were incorporated into the FARDC without undergoing the initial phase of the DDR programme of choosing between demobilising or joining the national army (Actors 2013: 2).

PNDDR was a daunting task. No expected estimate of combatants was available, the infrastructure within the DRC made it difficult to plan accordingly, and conflict continued

throughout the eastern DRC despite the *Lusaka Accord* (World Bank 2009: 3). PNDDR was expected to achieve its goals by 2006, before the first democratic elections (World Bank 2009: 3). The first phase of the PNDDR ended in December 2006 due to funding, corruption, and a lack of political will (World Bank 2009: 4). More than 18 COs were closed due to these issues which led to the DDR programme becoming stagnant.

By the end of 2006 CONADER had managed to disarm 15,811 combatants, of whom 4,525 were children (Lamb *et al.* 2012: 7). More than 54,000 ex-combatants received EDRP reintegration packages from fields such as agriculture, fishing, sewing, woodwork, bricklaying, and metal work (World Bank 2009: 5). CONADER was replaced by UEPN-DDR in 2007 which led to the second phase of the DDR programme being initiated (Actors 2013: 6, World Bank 2013). The numbers of the first PNDDR phase remain contested. The World Bank estimated that roughly 132,000 ex-combatants were demobilised, including 2,670 women, even though 50,000 combatants chose to form part of the FARDC (World Bank 2009: 1, 3).

The second phase of the PNDDR started after the signing of peace accords in 2009 in Goma (World Bank 2009: 4). The *Goma accords* were signed between the government of the DRC and the CNDP in the hope of addressing political and military integration of CNDP members (Ahere 2012). The accords led to the CNDP becoming a political party (World Bank 2009: 4). The second phase started off rocky as the newly elected government stated that 70,000 FARDC and 19,000 rebels had to be processed for the DDR programme. According to the World Bank (2009: 4) this meant that 40,000 additional reintegration packages had to be made available, which funding did not allow for. These numbers were also contested. A study by MDRP revealed that only 20,000 combatants of the previous phase had to be processed (World Bank 2009: 4). The second phase not only had to process new combatants, but also had to process 40,000 combatants who were processed during the first phase but were awaiting demobilisation and reintegration (World Bank 2009: 5).

MONUC was upgraded to MONUSCO in 2010 with the same mandate to facilitate the DDR programme within the region (Wanki 2011: 114). The second phase of PNDDR differed slightly from the first phase in that the number of estimated combatants to demobilise was reduced to 10,000, compared to 70,000 during the first phase since several rebels already went through the process and mass amounts of rebels chose to join the FARDC (World Bank 2009: 5). Reintegration packages were also adjusted based on the success of these programmes during the first phase. The agriculture and fishing packages were deemed most successful and were a priority during the second phase (World Bank 2009: 5).

The African Development Bank (AfDB) also became a key contributor of the PNDDR in 2011. The AfDB initiated Post-Conflict Socioeconomic Reintegration Support Project (PARSEC), which consisted of several components such as outreach campaigns for ex-combatants, strategies for female ex-combatants and those associated with armed groups, and the additional reinsertion of ex-combatants such as the development of pilot agricultural groups (World Bank 2009: 6).

Phase 1 and 2 of the PNDDR was criticised for being vague and non-informative. Community members hardly received communication surrounding the whereabouts of their family members who participated in the DDR programme and ex-combatants stated that information concerning the DDR programme was mostly not communicated. The large influx of ex-combatants into communities sparked anew tensions between community members and former combatants who competed for resources within these areas (Vogel and Musamba 2016: 2). The one-man-one-weapon DDR requirement fuelled the proliferation of small arms within the eastern DRC as old weapons were handed in and new weapons were bought with money received through the reintegration packages. This criterion also created perceptions that there were economic gains in joining armed groups (Sengenya 2015).

The first two phases of PNDDR were critiqued for allowing human rights violators to join FARDC ranks, thus increasing their power and authority to continue abusing the rights of the local community (Sengenya 2015). PNDDR became an avenue for self-enrichment and several coordinators used reintegration packages meant for ex-combatants and sold it privately. An example of the corruption during PNDDR was that ex-combatants living in Kamituga, an area where driving is impossible, were to receive bicycles but CONADER coordinators took these bicycles and sold them privately (Vogel and Musamba 2016: 3). Vogel and Musamba (2016: 3) identified that local insecurity, elites who do not benefit from DDR programmes and their resistance to political agendas, social identity and statuses being ignored, and the inability to demobilise commanders of armed groups as being the sources that hindered the PNDDR. The first two phases of PNDDR, between 2004 and 2009, managed to process 208,438 ex-combatants. Only 110,921 ex-combatants chose to go through the demobilisation and reintegration programmes, whereas the rest joined the FARDC. During the disarmament phase, 118,548 weapons were also collected (Actors 2013: 6).

The first and second phase of PNDDR was anticipated to achieve stability within the eastern DRC but was unsuccessful due to a lack of political will, corruption, and the inability to reintegrate key rebel leaders into the FARDC (Tunda 2017). A third phase, DDRIII, was launched in 2013 and implemented in 2015, and is monitored by UEPN-DDR (Vogel and Musamba 2016: 1).

DDRIII aims to continue to disarm and demobilise armed group members but also focuses extensively on skills enhancement training and the reintegration of already processed ex-combatants of the second phase of PNDDR, and new ex-combatants waiting to form part of the programme (Tunda 2017). DDRIII also focuses on awareness campaigns to inform armed groups of the benefits of DDR programmes (Sengenya 2015). Programmes such as auto mechanic masonry, hairdressing, and conflict

resolution have been implemented during the reintegration phase in an attempt to allow ex-combatants to become economically independent (Tunda 2017). DDRIII also aims to not reintegrate ex-combatants into their local communities but into other parts of the DRC. This method has been criticised because it hinders participation as ex-combatants do not want to leave their families (Vogel and Musamba 2016: 4). DDRIII also aims to focus on assisting vulnerable groups and to initiate psychological and family livelihood support programmes which will include life-skills training, livelihoods training, childcare services, and psychological counselling (TDRP 2016: 6).

DDRIII is currently facing several obstacles. Not all partners who pledged funding towards the programme have fulfilled their pledge, hindering reintegration programmes financially, affecting the transportation of ex-combatants, food assistance, and logistics (Tunda 2017). The delay in the announcement of the next elections by Kabila is increasing armed group grievances which fuels violence and also causes ex-combatants to re-join their former armed groups (Sengenya 2015). The ongoing operation of groups such as the FDLR, ADF, LRA, and Mai Mai hinders DDRIII as these groups are reluctant to form part of the DDR programme (Tunda 2017). Poverty within the DRC also hinders the DDR programme. Reintegration of ex-combatants relies on a prosperous environment; ex-combatants cannot be successfully reintegrated into poverty-stricken communities (Tunda 2017).

3.5.   <u>Conclusion</u>

Creating stability within the eastern DRC has been no easy task, despite DDR efforts. This section indicated the complexity of the DRC conflict as well as the implementation of DDR programmes. The first two phases of DDR in the DRC was rendered unsuccessful due to several constraints and issues such as funding, corruption, no clear objectives or systems, and due to the perception that a one-size-fits-all DDR programme could bring stability to a complex conflict area such as the DRC.

With the third phase of the DDR programme came new hope that lessons have been learned and that errors will be corrected. However, as indicated, despite renewed efforts, DDRIII has faced several obstacles: funding, the delay in national elections, armed groups not wanting to demobilise, and operating in a poverty-stricken area, to name a few. Key to this section is the question, "where are the women of the DRC?" Majority of the literature speaks of the DDR phases as being neutral, making no mention of gender. However, it can be assumed that this body of literature speaks of men and their DDR experiences. Despite various articles within the Constitution or the adoption of gender equality protocols and declarations endorsing gender equality within the DRC, women in the DRC are not equal to the men socially, politically, and with regards to DDR programmes. The next section will provide an in-depth investigation on women and their presence, or lack thereof, in DDR programmes in the eastern part of the DRC. This section will investigate whether gender was implemented within these programmes, and, if so, to what extent.

4. CHAPTER 4: DDR AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING: AN INVESTIGATION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will set the scene by providing an investigation of the extent to which gender mainstreaming was incorporated and implemented within the official DDR programmes in the eastern part of the DRC. UNSCR 1325, the foundational resolution for gender mainstreaming, will be used as a tool for this investigation. It rests on four pillars which will be used as a lens: participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery (SIPRI 2016: 323). This investigation will use literature on women in armed conflicts and literature on the DDR programmes within the DRC.

4.2. Participation

Participation deals with the recognition that women should have equal participation, like men, in the promotion of peace and that women should have equal access to peace and security decision making processes at all levels (SIDA 2015: 1). Women should be appointed as negotiators, mediators, peacekeepers, police, humanitarian personnel, and should be included and represented in all political spheres (SIDA 2015: 1, 3). Women and gender within peacekeeping forces, the FARDC, the NAP national legal frameworks, and the design of DDRIII as well as women's occupation in parliamentarian and judiciary positions were investigated.

MONUSCO is tasked with the disarmament of ex-combatants and therefore it is of importance to look at gender mainstreaming within peacekeeping in the DRC (World Bank 2009: 1). Women's presence within UN Peacekeeping has been trivial. Bar diagram 1.2, page 61, outlines the percentage of female staff officers in MONUC and MONUSCO from 2006 to 2016. MONUC was tasked by resolution 1279 to monitor the ceasefire outlined by the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and to assist in disarming all armed groups. In 2010 this mandate was extended to MONUSCO by resolution 1925

(UNe 2017). An increase was seen from 2000 to 2010 in female staff officers who plan and coordinate the military unit as well as female military experts who facilitate all military staff. However, these figures declined in 2011, remained more or less constant until 2014, and increased again in 2015 (UN 2014: 25, 27). Female soldiers within MONUC/MONUSCO increased between 2006 and 2007, declined in 2008, increased in 2009, remained constant until 2012, decreased in 2013, and increased once again in 2014. The number of female individual police units increased from 2009 to 2011, decreased in 2012, increased from 2013 to 2015, declined once again in 2015, and increased in 2016 (UN 2014: 68, UNd 2017). Although women are part of the UN peacekeeping forces, their representation remains low. The highest percentage of women as staff officers was 5.61% in 2016, whereas the highest number of female soldiers was 3.12% in 2016, and the highest percentage of female individual police in 2015 was 12% (UNd 2017).

This low representation of female peacekeepers is of concern because it could affect the disarming and demobilisation of female ex-combatants. This is not to assume that these women will ensure that all female ex-combatants will demobilise via the DDR programme instead of choosing to self-demobilise, but it has been proven that women feel more comfortable to speak to female support workers, especially on the topic of intimate healthcare issues (Farr 2008: 4). Women also make up 53% of the DRC's population and therefore the small percentage of female peacekeeping personnel is of concern when it comes to assisting in providing security.

Bar Diagram 1.2. A MONUC/MONUSCO yearly breakdown of the number of female uniformed personnel (2006-2016) (See table1.4, page vii)

MONUC/MONUSCO yearly breakdown of the number of Staff Officers (2006-2016) (Source: UNd 2017).
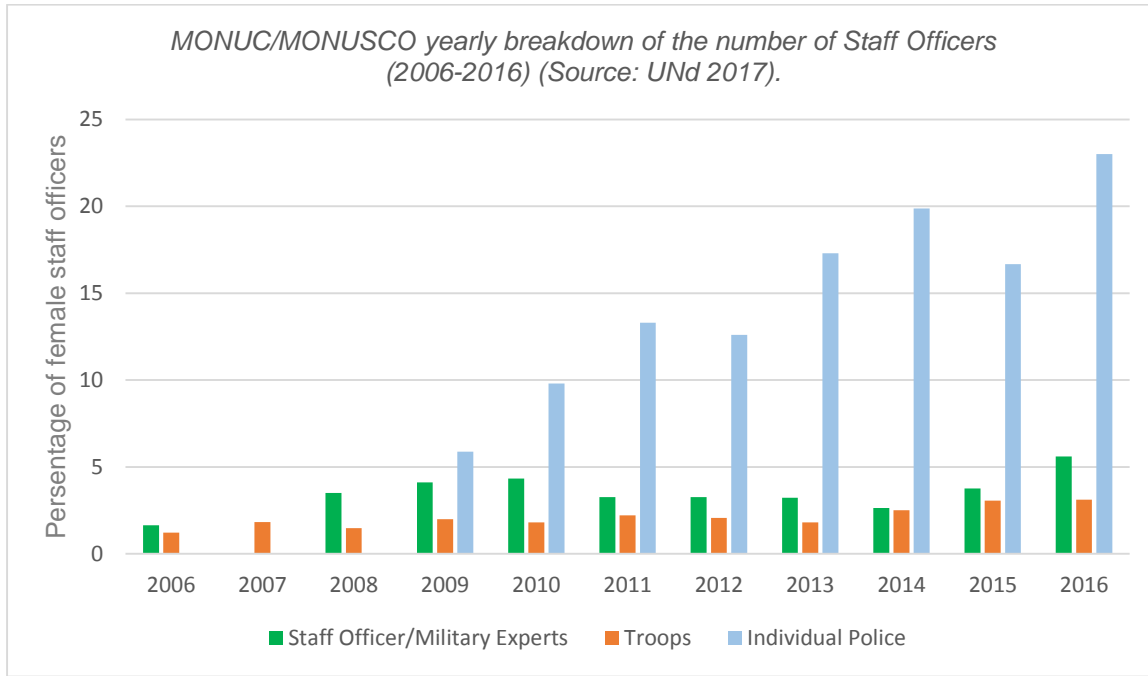
A Military Gender Field Advisory Section of MONUSCO was established in Goma and North Kivu in October 2014 followed by training sessions for female peacekeepers and service women of the FARDC (MONUSCO 2014). Issues such as human rights, child protection, gender issues, and the military code of conduct were addressed during these training sessions (MONUSCO 2014). The aim of these sessions was to address the following areas: the armed conflict and how it affects women, contributions made towards conflict prevention and how it is overlooked, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, relief and recovery, and the important, equal role women play in peace and security (MONUSCO 2014). It is, however, unclear whether these sessions are also presented to male peacekeepers and FARDC troops. The literature by MONUSCO reaffirmed the underlying issue of gender through their gender language – women as peacekeepers were referred to as service women, and not as peacekeepers.

If women are accepted into FARDC, they will primarily occupy non-combatant positions within the national army (Baaz and Stern 2012: 718). Although some female ex-combatants were incorporated within the FARDC, their acceptance and identity within the national army did not resemble gender equality. Culture plays an important part in the acceptance of gender equality in all sectors. During interviews with male soldiers of the FARDC, Baaz and Stern (2011: 572) noted that several male soldiers saw female soldiers from the DRC as inferior to female peacekeepers from Western countries. These women are seen as more courageous. During these interviews male soldiers of the FARDC said that giving a woman a gun will humiliate her because she is seen as someone with honour (Baaz and Stern 2011: 572). Women's inclusion within armed forces also seems too outrageous to male soldiers in that women are seen as weak, not as strong and aggressive like their male counterparts. Male soldiers said that women are afraid, especially if guns go off (Baaz and Stern 2011: 574). This belief that women are not courageous creates a depiction that, according to the male soldiers within the FARDC, all men are courageous (Baaz and Stern 2011: 574), therefore strengthening traditional male stereotypes of masculinity.

Baaz and Stern (2011: 577) argue that gender within the DRC is not necessarily based on traditional roles in that men are the protectors and women should be protected. During interviews they noted that the protection of women did not come up but the protection of the nation was mentioned (Baaz and Stern 2011: 577). Baaz and Stern furthermore reaffirmed the notion that women who serve as combatants assume a masculine identity and are no longer seen as women. During an interview, a male corporal said "but some women soldiers, some also do a good job, there are some. And if you look at them you will see that this person is a man. She has become like a man" (Baaz and Stern 2011: 580). Women are ultimately included or excluded in sectors based on their femininity (Baaz and Stern 2011: 568). Women soldiers are also not referred to as soldiers but referred to as "women soldiers" (Baaz and Stern 2011: 568).

Political will with regards to gender mainstreaming and the commitment thereof remains a concern in the DRC. In 2015, out of 11 provinces, only the Katanga and South Kivu provinces established committees that were tasked by the Minister of Gender two years earlier in 2013 to steer UNSCR 1325 (International Alert 2015). The Ministry of Gender, Family and Child also drafted a NAP in 2010 in an attempt to promote women's participation in the political domain; to put an end to human rights abuses against women and girls; to enforce the rule of law with regards to human rights violations against women and girls; to promote women's participation in peace and security; to integrate gender within peace and security planning, programming, and budgeting; to promote women's rights; to reform the security sector; to incorporate gender in peace and security research; and to monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of Gender, Family and Child 2010: 3-4). Despite the local ownership of UNSCR 1325, women's inclusion in government positions remained low – in 2015, women only occupied 8.2% of parliamentarian seats (Hellsten 2013: 11, UNDP 2016: 6). The amount of female judges also remains low in the DRC. In 2005 there was only one female Supreme Court judge. In 2008, after much lobbying by women activist groups, the government agreed that one quarter of the magistrates must be women (DPKOc. 2010: 29).

Gender equality remains an issue within the DRC, despite various gender mainstreaming programmes. During a consultation held in May 2013 in Goma by the Swedish government it was highlighted that women's political participation and role in decision-making needs to be strengthen within the DRC. Legislative documents such as the Family Code and Electoral Law were mentioned as a hindrance to the promotion of gender equality within the DRC (International Alert 2015). The participation pillar is also hindered by the contradictory stances between the Constitution and Electoral Law. The Electoral law was revised in 2015 which lead to the quota of 30% of women who should be included on candidate lists to be removed from the law, negatively affecting gender equality (JICA 2017: 2).

In her study of Iraq and Afghanistan after the US-invasion, Cynthia Enloe noted that the influence in negotiations derives from political support, support by both men and women in civil society, economic resources, and credibility in the eyes of the male negotiators – something women in male-dominated countries, like the DRC, mostly do not have. Male patriarchy does shape the peace process and therefore it must be addressed (Mazurana 2010: 14).

Women were part of the first two phases of PNDDR, mostly as women associated with armed forces. The numbers of the first PNDDR phase remain contested. The World Bank estimated that roughly 132,000 ex-combatants were demobilised, including 2,670 women, even though 50,000 combatants chose to form part of the FARDC (World Bank 2009: 1, 3). During the second phase of PNDDR, the Women Associated with the Forces and Armed Groups project was launched. This programme aimed to include 10,000 female beneficiaries (Conoir 2012: 20). By 2010, 99,494 male combatants went through the MDRP programme and 2,610 female combatants completed the DDR programme (MDRP Secretariat Staff 2010: 24). The data on DDR within the DRC remains contested due to a lack of information available. It is worth mentioning with regards to DDIII that the project design incorporates and acknowledges that women, too, are combatants. The design not only mentions women associated with armed groups but also mentions "female ex-combatants" (World Banka 2015: 7, 8, 19, 27, 37, 42, 44, 50, 80).

4.3. Prevention

The prevention pillar calls for the prevention of all forms of violence against women, during and post-conflict situations. Prevention can be achieved through incorporating gender sensitivity within early warning systems and through involving women and considering their needs during conflict prevention and DDR programme design (SIDA 2015: 2). Prevention of sexual violence can be strengthen through challenging gender unequal norms, attitudes, and behaviours through gender sensitivity training of men and

boys, as well as victims of sexual violence (SIDA 2015: 2). Prevention also includes the support of local women's groups and the support of initiatives launched by these groups (SIDA 2015: 1). MONUSCO's initiatives to incorporate the prevention criteria, MDRP programmes with regards to the concept of gender, DDRIII project design, and the PSCF were used to investigate whether DDR programmes within the DRC are meeting the requirements for gender mainstreaming in accordance with the prevention pillar.

MONUSCO (2016: 3) established an International Security and Stabilization Support Strategy (ISSSS) in 2008 which will last until 2017 in an attempt to address the root causes of the conflict within the DRC: patrimonialism, fragmented identities, socio-economic pressures, poverty, and land disputes. The ISSSS's criteria did focus on incorporating gender within its strategy. Gender sensitivity and conflict actors, including women and the participation of women, were incorporated within the criteria of the programme (MONUSCO 2016: 13). The programme also dedicated 15% of its budget to gender-responsive projects (MONUSCO 2016: 13).

MONUSCO's Security Sector Development (SSD) unit is also supporting the DRC government to incorporate a sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) module within the training of FARDC soldiers (DPKOa 2010: 20). MONUSCO also provided gender sensitivity training for 3,000 members of the national police force from 2009 to 2010 (DPKOc. 2010: 25).

Gender sensitivity when viewing female combatants however remains a concern. According to the MDRP Secretariat, the numbers of female ex-combatants were low because most female combatants chose the option of joining the national military due to their stigmatised identities caused by having being part of an armed group and also because the EDRP was unable to resolve issues with regards to female ex-combatants' certification and registration (MDRP Secretariat Staff 2010: 28).

Most reports, like the MDRP, mentioned that the identification of female combatants has been a difficult task. However, this investigation revealed that the MDRP adopted the definition of a child soldier as any person under the age of 18 who was part of an armed group, forced or voluntary, and participated as cooks, porters, messengers, military wives, or fighters (Alusala 2011: 7). This adoption leads to a key question: "if child soldiers, in combatant or non-combatant roles, are included in DDR programmes, why is the criteria for women deemed a difficult task?" Woman and child soldiers are not the same, however throughout reports of women and the PNDDR, women were classified, with child combatants, as being "special groups" (African Development Bank Group 2008: v). Sjoberg and Gentry (2011: 30) write that women who are recognised to move beyond prescribed traditional roles and take up arms are primarily dealt with differently because of their particular "unnatural" behaviour.

Specific information and statistics regarding female combatants within armed groups in the eastern DRC are limited and not specific. Work done by Francesca Tosareli has provided examples that women do not only serve as campfollowers or wives within armed groups, but that they can also serve in high-ranking positions and combatant roles. Tosareli (2013) undertook research in the eastern Congo in February 2013 where she followed, photographed, and interviewed several female combatants in various groups. During this field research she met Major Mathilde Samba who was part of the M23 since 2012. Samba mentioned that she joined the M23 when her husband joined the group. She also interviewed Colonel Fanette Umuraza who is also part of the M23 and previously served in the CNDP, the M23's predecessor, because she supported the group's ideology. Tosareli also met Lieutenant Marimakile Kiakimuakisubua who joined the Mai Mia Shetani/Democratic and Patriotic Forces (FDP) after she was attacked by FDLR rebels who raped her mother and sister. Tosareli also met Major Masika Ngheleza who was initially part of the Mai Mai La Fontaine group but left the group to join the M23 after being beaten by fellow rebels because she wanted to join the M23 (Tosareli 2013). This fieldwork proves that women, like men, choose to become active agents during situations such as armed conflict and, therefore, women move beyond

the traditional norm of being just victims to becoming agents to change their conditions (Eduards 1994: 182).

The UNDDR Resource Centre (2006: 10) argues that gender inequalities are reinforced if women are excluded form DDR programmes because women are being forced into economic hardships without any financial benefits. Since 2011 the AfDB aim to provide vocal training and promotion of self-employment in agriculture. By 2013, 28,500 men were targeted and 1,000 women (World Bank 2013).

The UN population fund (UNFPA) recognised in 2015 that gender-based violence (GBV) has only dropped with 4% since 2013, from 19,937 to 19,192 (Chinaemerem 2016). With the support of the UNFPA and the SONKE Gender Justice Network, Promundo, a NGO, initiated a project: International Men and Gender Equality Survey and the Good Practice Brief on Male Involvement in GBV Prevention. The project aimed to create a space for discussions with men and boys about how to treat women, what GBV is, and how it affects men and women (DPI 2014: 40). Promundo-US and the Institute for Mental Health of Goma also undertook the International Men and Gender Equality Survey with a focus on Goma, North Kivu. A total of 754 women and 708 men were interviewed via focus group discussions. The results were unsettling. 37% of male interviewees had raped a woman, one third of male interviewees said that women want to be raped and will enjoy it, half of the male interviewees said that women do not fight off men, thus it cannot be seen as rape, half of the male interviewees said that a man should reject his wife if she has been raped, and 48% of male interviewees have been guilty of GBV (Slegh, Barker, Ruratotoye, and Shand 2012). A total of 53% of women who were interviewed said that they have experienced GBV before (Slegh *et al.* 2012).

These results indicate that there is still a lack of knowledge with regards to GBV within the Kivu and possibly the whole DRC. During these focus groups various men shared that they must have sex with their partner, whether she refuses or not. A few male

interviewees also said that women in the DRC provoke the men, especially with their voices (Slegh *et al.* 2012). A male interviewee told the focus group that a girl under 18 asked him for water. Her voice provoked him and he proceeded to take her to his shop and raped her, stating that, "when a girl is asking for water in such a way, she wants sex. So I took her in the middle of my shop, I think she liked it, because her body accepted me to enter" (Chinaemerem 2016). Sexual violence remains a pressing concern within the DRC, indicating that gender mainstreaming is not incorporated nor enforced within the DRC. A study conducted in 2015 indicated that 1,152 women are raped daily in the DRC (Chinaemerem 2016).

Men are not the only perpetrators of GBV in the DRC. A study conducted by Lynn Lawry which was based on interviews, showed results that 40% of women and 10% of men were sexually assaulted by women in the DRC (Hatcher 2013). The LEAP programme was initiated in 2007 by the MDRP in an attempt to strengthen gender responsiveness within DDR programmes within conflict countries during the MDRP programme (MDRP Secretariat Staff 2010: 2). LEAP supported the DDR programme through initiating a programme for single household ex-combatants by increasing knowledge on GBV programmes and by working together with the AfDB to initiate gender sensitive programmes (LEAP 2009: 4).

A gendered perspective within the DDR phases within the DRC was visible through projects such as the distribution of leaflets and radio broadcasts which informed women and girls about sexual violence and men and women were given separate accommodation when arriving to OS sites (Tarnaala 2016: 5). Orientation training was also provided with a two hour training session on the topic of gender (Tarnaala 2016: 5). Various Congolese NGOs also partnered with MONUC to translate UNSCR 1325 into four of the DRC national languages in an attempt to raise public awareness (Hellsten 2013: 10). This initiative indicates that the implementation of UNSCR 1325 comes from a local context (Hellsten 2013: 11). President Kabila also appointed a Personal

Representative on Sexual Violence and Child Recruitment (Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict 2015).

DDRIII, based on the project design, incorporated various gendered aspects in an attempt to promote gender mainstreaming. Provisions for medical needs, such as unwanted pregnancies, caregiver facilities, accommodation, life skills training, career training, GBV support, and paediatric services were provided for in the design (World Bankb 2015: 8). The design also makes provisions for all former male combatants to receive sexual violence support and information sessions (World Bankb 2015: 8).

In February 2013, the DRC government and governments of the GLR signed the PSCF (Global Fund for Women 2017). This Framework came after the failure of the DRC government and the peacekeeping forces to stop M23 from seizing control over Goma in November 2012 (Vinas: 2015: 16). To strengthen this agreement the UNSG for the GLR launched The Women's Platform for the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. This framework allows women groups to cooperate cross borders and to develop action plans for the implementation of this framework (Global Fund for Women 2017). Vinas (2015: 26), however, notes that the PSCF does not address the militarised masculinities nor does it view sexual violence as a crime but calls it an "act". A case in point here is that frameworks are not synchronised, they are drafted followed by initiatives aimed at women, and by women. This is of a concern in that policies are not gender mainstreamed and that gender is being viewed as an initiative and not embedded in legal frameworks. Vinas (2015: 31) also noted that the PSCF consists of 247 indicators, of which only 10 mentions gender-related issues. The PSCF will guide DDRIII and therefore gender-related issues will also be of a lesser priority within the design and implementation of DDRIII. Vinas (2015: 33) notes that the Women's Platform for the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework is seen by most as the "Platform of Mary Robinson", the UNSG Special Envoy for GLR, indicating that this initiative lacks local ownership. This initiative has also been critiqued because it lacks

representation from all levels and backgrounds since representatives have been hand-picked by the DRC government (Vinas 2015: 33).

4.4.   Protection

Protection as a pillar is based on the protection of the rights of women during an armed conflict (SIDA 2015: 2). This pillar focuses on the report of sexual violence, the investigation thereof, and the prosecution of these cases (SIDA 2015: 3). This section will investigate whether there are mechanisms in place to investigate and prosecute sexual violence perpetrators. GBV statistics and findings were also used to investigate whether the requirements for the protection pillar is being met.

According to Human Rights Watch (2014), most sexual violence perpetrators in the DRC are members of armed groups and the FARDC (Human Rights Watch 2014). A demographic and health survey by USAID found that 27% of women, out of a sample of 18,000 households, have experience sexual violence (SIPRI 2016: 334).

In February 2008, the United Nations Joint Human Rights Office (UNJHRO) was created. This office consists of the MONUSCO Human Rights Division as well as the DRC Office of the UN Human Rights (DPKO 2017). According to UNJHRO, 187 of sexual violence convictions were recorded between July 2011 and December 2013 (Human Rights Watch 2014). In 2014 only 135 convictions were recorded, of whom 76 were armed force members, 41 police officers, and 18 armed group members (Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict 2015). The UNFPA recorded 11,769 cases of sexual violence in the North Kivu, South Kivu, Orientale, and Maniema between January and September 2014 (Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict 2015). In 2016, 5,795 cases of sexual violence were recorded. Of these cases, only 783 received judgements (UNDP 2017). The minister of Justice and Human Rights drafted a legislation to establish mixed chambers made up of international and local judges,

which has been publicly supported by President Kabila, in an attempt to increase the number of convictions. These chambers, however, still remain paper-based (Human Rights Watch 2014).

In 2006, the Law of Sexual Violence was added to the Penal Code. This law stipulated that sexual violence is punishable under national law and include: rape; sexual harassment; forced marriage, prostitutions, and sexual exploitation; forced pregnancy; forced sterilization; and sexual mutilation (USAID 2012: 22). It remains of concern that, under the Family Code, any person can get married legally at the age of 14.

MONUSCO's Office of Gender Affairs appointed a female Lieutenant from South Africa to address all gender concerns within the internally displaced people (IDP) camp, the *Kalembe* camp (DPKOa 2010: 17). The MONUSCO Gender Unit also trained 3,000 magistrates and lawyers on gender sensitivity between 2005 and 2010 (DPKOc. 2010: 28). However, Davis, Fabbri, and Alphonse (2014: 19) noted that 5,000 magistrates are needed in the DRC. In 2014, there were only 3,600 magistrates, 16% being women. The presence of female lawyers in military jurisdictions has also been no-existent. The MONUSCO Gender Office, the Congolese National Police (PNC), and the civilian police established the PNC Joint Follow-up Committee. The Committee provides capacity building of staff members on issues such as gender and sexual violence in an attempt to increase convictions within the region (MONUSCOb 2017).

The design of DDRIII makes provisions for women and men who suffered from sexual and gender-based violence in that it will collaborate with the World Bank's Great Lakes Emergency Sexual and Gender-based Violence and Women's Health Project (SGBVP) in order to provide support. The design, however, does not mention nor make provisions for the prosecution of perpetrators or the ineligibility of anyone guilty of such crimes in this DDR programme (World Banka 2015).

4.5. Relief and Recovery

The relief and recovery pillar primarily aims to address reintegration within DDR programmes. This pillar aims to address the specific needs of women during the DDR programme, which includes the design of the programme, the camps, and the programmes initiated. Relief and recovery should ultimately incorporate women as active agents within DDR programmes (SIDA 2015: 2). This section will look at reintegration statistics and packages of both phase 1 and 2 of official DDR programmes and will consider whether gender was mainstreamed. Gender mainstreaming within the design of DDRIII was also worth mentioning.

The EDRP, within the design, aimed to target women associated with armed groups and to provide gender-sensitive information, benefits, and opportunities to these women (World Bank 2004: 6). According to the World Bank (2013), the EDRP programme provided reinsertion packages consisting of US$300 and reintegration packages of US$600 to 140,000 ex-combatants, 66,814 ex-combatants chose to join the FARDC. In the September 2011 report the Bank, argued that 75% of men and 69% of women who were formerly part of armed groups were in engaged in productive economic activities and schooling. It is unclear how many women were part of the EDRP programme since the World Bank report only provides a grand total of ex-combatants.

Conoir (2012: 20) estimates that three out of five, about 67%, of women benefited from reintegration programmes launched by the PNDDR in total and that separate kits and camps were created for female ex-combatants (Conoir 2012: 20). However, during the first phase of PNDDR, 3,478 female ex-combatants were demobilised, but only 1,520 benefitted from reintegration programmes (Conoir 2012: 20). Douma, Van Laar and Klem (2008: 41) noticed that during the PNDDR programme, reintegration programmes included training in embroidery, knitting, sewing, hairdressing, as well as cloth painting. This type of training is predominantly associated with women. Whether women chose these types of training is unclear. However, several women join armed groups in an

attempt to escape their traditional roles and, therefore, providing training that is traditionally associated with women does not assist women to become equal to men nor does it allow the women of the DRC to play an equal part in contributing towards political, social, and economic development (United Nations Transitional Assistance Group 2000: 1). Kaufman (2013: 11) writes that the needs of women must be considered during DDR programmes as women in conflict situations can find "new" freedom and therefore DDR programmes should contribute towards this new-found freedom. Davis, Fabbri, and Alphonse (2014: 40) argue that DDR programmes aim to address gender inequality yet they are underpinned by assumptions of what is appropriate female behaviour.

During the second phase of PNDDR, the Women Associated with the Forces and Armed Group*s* project was launched. This programme aimed to include 10,000 female beneficiaries (Conoir 2012: 20). The reintegration programmes for female ex-combatants during this phase consisted of training in agriculture, livestock, bakery, soap making, tailoring, hairdressing, cooking, basket manufacturing, hair cosmetic, and juice making (Conoir 2012: 21). The programmes during this phase were based less on traditional female roles and included training in key sectors such as agriculture. Dale (2017) noted that only 1,046 women registered for the demobilisation programme, but only 67% of these women benefitted from the reintegration programme.

Compared to the first two phases, DDRIII, based on the project design, incorporates various gendered aspects in an attempt to promote gender mainstreaming within the DRC. The design makes provisions for female ex-combatants and states that they will receive the same base package as male ex-combatants, but they will also receive packages according to their needs (World Bankb 2015: 8). In 2015, DDRIII estimated that 1,221 women will be demobilised, reintegrated, and reinserted into their communities (UNDPb 2015: 3). The UEPN-DDR will also receive training on how to work with female ex-combatants. These combatants will demobilise and reintegrate in separate facilities (World Bankb 2015: 8). Provisions for medical needs, such as

unwanted pregnancies, caregiver facilities, accommodation, life skills training, career training, GBV support, and paediatric services will be provided (World Bankb 2015: 8). The design also makes provisions for all former male combatants to receive sexual violence support and information sessions (World Bankb 2015: 8). A Management Information System has also been established and will follow-up on reintegrated ex-combatants, female and male. Female ex-combatants will be visited every second month and male combatants every three months, in an attempt to monitor the reintegration of each ex-combatant (World Banka 2015: 7).

4.6.   **Conclusion**

When comparing the overall findings of the investigation and the pillars of UNSCR, one can agree that gendered initiatives and attempts within the DRC have not focused on gender equality; have not dealt with men and women in the same manner; and women were primarily not given opportunities to play an equal part in economic, political, or social development within the DRC. The investigation of gender mainstreaming within the DRC has furthermore provided knowledge in that, although governments commit to UNSCR 1325, without political will, gender mainstreaming will not be enforced. The end of October marks the 17th anniversary of UNSCR 1325; gender mainstreaming needs to be embedded in peace programmes and not only encouraged.

This investigation revealed, and collaborated, most second wave feminist theories in showing that gender cannot be explained or understood through sex differences. Women within the DRC have several roles within the conflict: wives, mothers, campfollowers, victims, perpetrators, and combatants. Therefore, their gender roles are not based on sex and should not be used to deal with women in the conflict and in DDR programmes. It also became clear that patriarchy, culture, and the construction of the society can affect gender mainstreaming within DDR programmes.

The number of female peacekeepers remains low. Based on the findings one can make two assumptions: that troops are primarily dominated by militarised masculine identities or that women choose not to be part of peacekeeping operations. The investigation also showed that MONUSCO aims to achieve gender mainstreaming but the usage of inaccurate gender language such as "service women" undermines gender mainstreaming. Data on women in the FARDC is difficult to obtain due to a lack of available information, but interviews done by field researchers indicated that there are female combatants within the FARDC. Research also indicated that women as combatants are regarded as unnatural. Women were primarily seen as those who should be protected. It was also found that Congolese women's power does not derive from politics due to their small amount of parliamentary seats and judicial positions. This is primarily due to their societal positions within the DRC that are being dominated by traditional male patriarchy. Women within the DRC are primarily viewed as poor and as victims, and it became evident in this investigation that they are dealt with in this way, having their agency denied because of their social position within society and society's understanding of gender.

Female combatants participated in phase one and two of PNDDR. It is, however, unclear whether these numbers represent the total number of female combatants. Female ex-combatants have benefited from reintegration programmes but it is unknown to what extent. Majority of reintegration programmes are based on traditional female roles. It remains unclear whether the women of the DRC wanted these programmes. Gender mainstreaming should challenge traditional roles as women should be able to choose between any type of training, regardless of how a given community views gender roles. The design of DDRII comes forth as being more gender mainstreamed and acknowledges women's agency in that it clearly distinguishes between women associated with armed forces and female combatants.

The investigation also found that the DRC government adopted a NAP for gender mainstreaming, however, this plan seems to be only paper-based as women are still

marginalised by the masculine Family Code. GBV also remains a pressing concern within the DRC. The number of recorded incidents compared to the number of convictions are not justified. Although several attempts and projects such as training have been implemented, GBV remains an issue that leaves the security of women and men threatened. What was clear is lessons have been learned: the third DDR phase in the DRC focuses more on gender sensitivity and has made more provisions for women in various roles.

A recurring theme across literature and policy documents was that sexual violence and gender were used under the same issue of concern. This is important in that sexual violence is predominately against the women of the DRC, yet, gender mainstreaming stretches beyond sexual violence and gender should not only be used in victimization discourses but should be mainstreamed in all sectors, issues, and aspects.

This investigation has been limited in obtaining in-depth reports on the DDR phases within the DRC with exact statistics of each year and all the programmes initiated. A language barrier has also been identified within the investigation as several key documents were only available in French. Field research is needed in order to promote an in-depth analysis of gender mainstreaming in the DRC with regards to DDR programmes. The lack of information also indicates that more research on gender mainstreaming and DDR programmes in the DRC is needed. Information sharing could aid this investigation. An in-depth understanding of gender, men and women's rights, identities, and roles would assist in broadening the research with regards to gender mainstreaming.

5. __CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS__

Despite the call for gender mainstreaming, the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and efforts made by the DRC government, NGOs, civil society organisations, and international organisations, gender mainstreaming remains a prominent concern. This chapter will discuss recommendations dealing with gender mainstreaming. These recommendations derive from the findings during the investigation of gender mainstreaming in the DDR programmes in the DRC. This chapter will also lend itself to future research by pointing out the gaps within DDR programmes, the issue of gender mainstreaming, and the issues related to denying women their agency.

This research firstly warns against the common belief and justification of only promoting gender equality as a means to secure peace. This stereotype in actual fact hinders gender equality in that one type of gender is being preferred over another and that all women are viewed the same: peaceful and incorruptible (Cuvelier and Bashwira 2016: 1).

More female DDR programme officers need to be appointed. This is not to assume that these women will ensure that all female ex-combatants will demobilise via the DDR programmes instead of choosing to self-demobilise, but it will strengthen gender equality and will contribute to the needs of women who might feel comfortable to demobilise through female support workers (Farr 2008: 4). A gendered equal DDR programme will make information available to all genders, will have equal male and female support workers, and will give ex-combatants options to choose whether they want to demobilise with or without their partners (Farr 2008: 4).

Demobilisation sites also need to take into consideration the various needs of both women and men, including childcare, healthcare, and so forth (Farr 2008: 5). The

community also needs to become a focus during the DDR programmes as perceptions of those being reintegrated into the community need to change (Farr 2008: 6). Involving the community in the peace process could aid in reducing the stigmatization of ex-combatants in that dialogues can be fostered and people can be made aware in order to reach mutual understandings. This would change reintegration phases into community reintegration programmes (Åström and Ljunggren 2016: 12).

This research also calls for a justice component in DDR programmes. Reconciliation cannot take place within a conflict-affected society without justice (Cahn 2006: 352). And human rights abuses cannot be rewarded (Cahn 2006: 353). This will, however, require a vetting process of the eligibility of ex-combatants that is neutral and works closely with the community and security services (Cahn 2006: 353). This vetting process might lead to combatants not wanting to go through the DDR programme because their deeds could be made known (Cahn 2006: 355). Community engagement is therefore of utmost importance to find solutions to achieve justice as well as peace. True justice can, however, only take place within a society if the laws in a society are based on gender equality (Cahn 2006: 357). Positive peace is only achieved through incorporating a justice component.

DDR programmes cannot assume an essentialist position when dealing with women in armed movements. Women's active agency during armed conflicts challenges the traditional norms with regards to their roles within the society. These women can gain new skills, statuses, and power due to them taking up different, non-traditional roles during the armed conflict (Mazurana 2010: 13). These new roles could become a widow of opportunity for women to alter their gender status within a society. That said, to change a society and its beliefs is no easy task since gender becomes an identity within a society. However, because gender is a social construction it can be altered and DDR programmes should create platforms where traditional gendered identities can be adjusted.

Political and social transformations hardly materialise without conflict and therefore organisations such as the World Bank and the UN should place more pressure on governments and oversee that they promote women's equal rights to men (Rawles 2012). The true power of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 lies in the hands of the government (DPI 2014: 36). Therefore, the UN needs to place pressure on governments to incorporate UNSCR1325 into their legislation and to implement it. The UN, however, needs to draft a document on how to incorporate UNSCR 1325 and what it truly means. Implementation documents also need to be drafted to assist countries in incorporating gender mainstreaming within their policies and legislatures. Countries also need to be assisted in understanding what gender means given that the definition of gender differs in any given society. This could be done through training sessions and consultations.

Gender mainstreaming funding within DDR programmes need to be increased. Bouta (2005: 10) writes that funding for DDR programmes tends to decrease which leads to the majority of actors creating insecurity, i.e. men, being targeted for DDR programmes while women are overlooked because of essentialist discourse that discounts them as security threats. Schroeder (2005: 2) argues that, in order for DDR programmes to truly be gender sensitive, equal attention must be given to women and men in the theory, policy, and in the implementation of these programmes.

Gender equality also needs to become mainstreamed within legislatures. Gender equality is not only important for both men and women, but is also vital for a state. Studies have shown that in societies where equal relations are practiced, peace has been long-lasting as these equal relations are carried over into not only social relations but also economic, political, and personal relations (Melander 2005: 696). Constitutions establish power, authority, the responsibilities, and rights of all who live in a given society. Therefore, the constitution of a conflict society must be redesigned to empower

women in all sectors (Mazurana 2010: 17). Research on intrastate conflicts indicate that grievances, especially systemic discrimination, are a factor in the outbreak of an intrastate conflict (Caprioli 2005: 162). However, this is only a probability if there is a group identification which could turn into collective action and if funding is available (Caprioli 2005: 163). Caprioli (2005: 165) argues that gender stereotyping increases the threat of violence in any society and that inequality could lead to political violence. Men should also be encouraged and educated to support the promotion of women's rights and participation in all spheres and levels (Selimovi 2012: 7).

To conclude, the aim of this research was not to militarise women and their role within conflicts, but to assert that women play prominent roles in conflict and war and could also play these roles during the peace process. This study did not set out to investigate what is done to women but what women are denied from doing. This research also aimed to indicate that women should not be included in all aspects of peace processes, including DDR programmes, because they are women and have the power to achieve peace, but because women, like men, have the right to equal access to all peace sectors.

This investigation set out to answer the research question, "to what extent has gender mainstreaming been incorporated into the official DDR programmes in the DRC since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000?" This investigation revealed that, because of their gendered identities, women are mainly overlooked in armed movements and DDR programmes. Women are still viewed as passive victims by international and national agencies who only embody peaceful qualities whereas men embody aggression. This essentialist discourse on gender roles affect gender mainstreaming given that women and their needs are not being placed on DDR programme agendas and if it is recognised, it is only recognised to a limited extent as women who are passive victims. Gender mainstreaming requires gender equality in the sense that gender should not be viewed from a traditional lens but from a gendered lens. Identities of both men and women can be the same and therefore their agency should be viewed equally. Gender

is a social concept and can be changed. Therefore DDR programmes should incorporate this changeable concept within their design in an attempt to achieve gender equality in all sectors of peace and security.

This research, having relied on primary and secondary sources, revealed that more research with regards to gender mainstreaming in the DRC is still needed. Although several agencies have produced reports investigating gender in the DRC, it has not been done coherently and several reports were published prior to 2015. Yearly reports will allow for comparison to determine whether improvements have been made in terms of gender mainstreaming within the DRC. These comparisons will allow for better policy making and the identification of gaps and possible remedies. This research also revealed that field work is of pivotal importance to investigating gender mainstreaming within the DRC DDR programmes. Interviews with participants, the community, and UEPN-DDR personnel will provide primary data for in-depth reports on gender mainstreaming and DDR programmes.

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