

Notes

Introduction: Reintegration into What?

- 1 Translation is from A. J. Toynbee (1951) *War and Civilization: Selected by Albert Vann Fowler from 'A Study of History'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p.51.
- 2 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) (2007) Resolution 279 (strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to manage and sustain peacekeeping operations), 29 June, A/RES/61/279.
- 3 UNGA (2011) 'Report of the Secretary-General on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration', Sixty-fifth Session, Agenda Item 53, *Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in All Their Respects*, 21 March, A/65/741, paras.3–4.
- 4 The final report of the Stockholm Initiative on DDR (SIDDR) lists 36 DDR processes between 1992 and 2005, 25 of which were in Africa: SIDDR (2006) *Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament Demobilisation Reintegration*, Final Report, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, February, pp.38–9.
- 5 Author's interview (2004) World Bank Senior Official, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Washington, DC, 6 April. [W10]
- 6 Several high-profile UN publications have emphasized DDR's importance to peacebuilding. The 2000 Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, commonly referred to as the Brahimi Report, called DDR the 'key to immediate post-conflict stability' (UNGA and Security Council (2000) *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, 21 August, A/55/305 and S/2000/809, para.42). See also UN Security Council (UNSC) (1999), 'Statement by the President of the Security Council on Maintenance of Peace and Security and Post-Conflict Peace-Building', 8 July, S/PRST/1999/21; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) Lessons Learned Unit (2000) *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in a Peacekeeping environment: Principles and Guidelines* (New York: United Nations); UN Development Programme (UNDP) (2006) *Practice Note: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants* (New York: UNDP); and UNGA and UNSC (1998) 'The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa', Report of the Secretary-General, 13 April, A/52/871-S/1998/318, para.64.
- 7 UN (2006), *Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards* (New York: United Nations), 4.30.
- 8 UNGA (2004) *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, 2 December, A/59/565, paras.227–8.
- 9 UNGA (2011), A/65/741, Summary, emphasis added (see also para.37).
- 10 The most prominent evaluations of DDR by international organizations include: MDRP (2010) *MDRP Final Report: Overview of Program Achievements*

- (Washington, DC: World Bank); DPKO (2010) *DDR in Peace Operations: A Retrospective* (New York: UNDPKO); UNDP (2009); UNDP (2006); UNGA (2006) 'Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Report of the Secretary-General', 2 March, A/60/705; UNDP (2000) *Sharing New Ground in Post-Conflict Situations: The Role of UNDP in Support of Reintegration Programmes* (New York: UNDP Evaluation Office, January); N. J. Colletta, M. Kostner and I. Wiederhofer (1996) *Case Studies in War-to-Peace Transition: The Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in Ethiopia, Namibia, and Uganda* (Washington, DC: World Bank); and World Bank (1993) 'Demobilization and Reintegration of Military Personnel in Africa: The Evidence from Seven Country Studies', *World Bank Discussion Paper*, No.130 (Washington, DC: World Bank).
- 11 J. Gomes Porto, C. Alden and I. Parsons (2007) *From Soldiers to Citizens: Demilitarization of Conflict and Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate), p.20; R. Muggah (2009) 'Introduction: The Emperor's Clothes?' in R. Muggah (ed.) *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War* (London: Routledge), p.9; P. Heller (2005), 'Guns Beneath the Table: Contingent DDR and Political Stalemate in Côte d'Ivoire', in A. M. Fitzgerald and H. Mason (eds) *From Conflict to Community: A Combatant's Return to Citizenship* (Shrivenham, UK: Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform), p.122.
 - 12 UNGA (2011), A/65/741, para.17. Gomes Porto et al. (2007) structure their book around the question, 'What does reintegration mean in the context of weak or non-existent state structures?'
 - 13 This is a theme common in literature on democratic transition after war. See J. D. Fearon and D. D. Laitin (2004) 'Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States', *International Security*, 28:4, 5–43; S. Krasner (2004) 'Shared Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States', *International Security*, 29:2, 85–120; J. L. Snyder (2000) *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: Norton); and E. D. Mansfield and J. L. Snyder (1995) 'Democratization and the Danger of War', *International Security*, 20, 5–38.
 - 14 IDDRS (2006), 4.30 5.4.
 - 15 I. Douglas, C. Gleichman, M. Odenwald, K. Steenken and A. Wilkinson (2004) *Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration: A Practical Field and Classroom Guide* (Frankfurt: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Norwegian Defence International Centre, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, and Swedish National Defence College), p.84; A. Verheul (2011) 'Managing DDR Risks in Sudan: A Field Perspective', in M. A. Civic and M. Miklaucic (eds) *Monopoly of Force: The Nexus of DDR and SSR* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press), p.206.
 - 16 Coincidentally, the advice to 'create parking spaces' occurs as the sub-heading for the section in question: GTZ (1996) *Concepts and Experiences of Demobilisation and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants: Guidelines and Instruments for Future Programs* (Eschborn, Germany: GTZ, September), p.44.
 - 17 P. Uvin (2007) 'Ex-combatants in Burundi: Why They Joined, Why They Left, How They Fared', MDRP Working Paper No.3, World Bank, October, emphasis added.

- 18 J. Brethfeld (2010) *Unrealistic Expectations: Current Challenges to Reintegration in Southern Sudan* (Geneva: Small Arms Survey). Incidentally, a Google search for 'ex-combatant reintegration' and 'high expectations' yields 93,300 results.
- 19 IDDRS (2006), 2.20.4.2; 4.60.3.
- 20 Ibid., 2.10 5.5.3, 2.20 4.2, 3.20 5.2, 4.20 5.9, 4.30 5.4, 4.30 8.4, 4.60 3, 4.60 4, 4.60 5, 5.20 Summary, 5.30 5.5, and 5.30 8.
- 21 UN Secretary-General (2005) 'Note to the General Assembly', May, A/C.5/59/31.
- 22 IDDRS (2006), 4.30.9.3.
- 23 Ibid., 4.30.9.4.
- 24 N. Colletta and R. Muggah (2009b) 'Rethinking Post-War Security Promotion', *Journal of Security Sector Management*, 7:1, 2.
- 25 UNGA (2011), para.26; E. McCandless (2010) *Second Generation Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Practices in Peace Operations: A Contribution to the New Horizon Discussion on Challenges and Opportunities for UN Peacekeeping* (New York: UNDPKO).
- 26 Author's interview (2005) Post-Conflict Reintegration Initiative for Development and Empowerment (PRIDE) Senior Official, Freetown, 5 July 2005. [SL4]
- 27 Author's interview (2003) USAID Senior Official, Maputo, 16 September. [M2]
- 28 Muggah (2009), p.15.
- 29 Ibid., p.14.
- 30 SIDDR (2005) 'International Financing Arrangement for Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration', Report of Working Group 2, May.
- 31 Gomes Porto et al. (2007), p.143.
- 32 Muggah (2009), p.6.
- 33 M. Utas (2005a) 'Building a Future? The Reintegration and Remarginalisation of Youth in Liberia', in P. Richards (ed.) *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts* (Oxford: James Currey), p.150.
- 34 J. Herbst (1996) 'Responding to State Failure in Africa', *International Security*, 21:3, 120–44.
- 35 C. Lutz (2001) *Homefront: A Military City and the American 20th Century* (Boston: Beacon Press), p.9.
- 36 J. Hanlon (2010) 'Mozambique: "The War Ended 17 Years Ago, But We Are Still Poor"', *Conflict, Security and Development*, 10:1, 77–102; L. Metsola (2007) 'Out of Order? The Margins of Namibian Ex-Combatant "Reintegration"', in H. Melber (ed.) *Transitions in Namibia: Which Change for Whom?* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute), pp.130–52; Jennings (2007); M. Cahen (2005) 'Success in Mozambique?' in S. Chesterman, M. Ignatieff and R. Thakur (eds) *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press), pp.213–33; Hanlon (2005).
- 37 Principal formal evaluations of reintegration related to the book's case studies are: **Namibia**: R. Preston (1993) *The Integration of Returned Exiles, Former Combatants, and Other War-Affected Namibians* (Windhoek: Namibian

- Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Namibia); **Mozambique:** UNDP (1997a) *Report on the Reintegration of Demobilized Soldiers in Mozambique 1992–1996* (Maputo: UNDP); UNDP (1997b) ‘The Socio-Economic Reintegration of Demobilised Soldiers in Mozambique: The Soldiers’ View’ (Maputo: UNDP, October); **Sierra Leone:** Government of Sierra Leone Executive Secretariat, National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR), Sierra Leone (2002) *Technical Assistance Mission Report* (Freetown: NCDDR, July–August); Executive Secretariat, NCDDR (2002) *Overview and Guide to Reintegration (Programmes and Operations)* (Freetown: NCDDR, 31 May); S. Comninou, A. Stavrou and B. Stewart (2002) *Assessment of the Reintegration Programmes of the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration* (Freetown: NCDDR, 8 November); G. Tesfamichael, N. Ball and J. Nenon (2004) *Peace in Sierra Leone: Evaluating the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Process*, Final Evaluation of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Program and the Multi-Donor Trust Fund Supporting DDR, Washington, DC, Creative Associates International Inc., October; **Liberia:** Liberian Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programme (2003) ‘Draft Strategy and Implementation Framework’, 18 October; UNDP (2006) ‘Liberia’s Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, and Rehabilitation Programme Trust Fund Activity Draft Report’, Vol. IV, January–December; C. Bugnion, L. Lafreniere, S. G. Doe, H. Tefferi and C. Garlo (2006) External Mid-Term Evaluation Report of the Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programme in Liberia, 2 October; and J. Pugel (2007) *What the Fighters Say: A Survey of Ex-combatants in Liberia, February–March 2006* (Monrovia: UNDP).
- 38 For example, the ILO stated in 2010 that ‘buying time’ is counter-productive: ILO (2010) *Socio-Economic Reintegration of Ex-combatants* (Geneva: ILO), p.26.
- 39 See, e.g., UNSC (2000) ‘Statement by the President of the Security Council on Maintenance of Peace and Security in Post-Conflict Peace-Building’, 23 March, S/PRST/2000/10. The statement makes similar claims to the UNGA (2011) report.
- 40 W. Easterly (2002) ‘The Cartel of Good Intentions: The Problem of Bureaucracy in Foreign Aid’, *Policy Reform*, 5:4, 228; M. Duffield (2007) *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity), p.12.
- 41 J. Schafer (2007) *Soldiers at Peace: Veterans and Society after the Civil War in Mozambique* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan), book jacket.
- 42 K. Fierke (2001) ‘Critical Methodology and Constructivism’, in K. M. Fierke and K. E. Jørgensen (eds) *Constructing International Relations: The Next Generation* (New York: M. E. Sharpe), p.122.

Chapter 1 Conceptualizing Reintegration Challenges

- 1 As Berdal notes, ex-combatants might be reluctant to ‘abandon a way of life which, however miserable, offers a measure of socio-psychological

- security': M. Berdal (1996) *Disarmament and Demobilisation after Civil Wars: Arms, Soldiers and the Termination of Armed Conflicts*, Adelphi Paper 303 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies), p.17.
- 2 D. Keen (2009) 'A Tale of Two Wars: Great Expectations, Hard Times', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9:4, 521.
 - 3 These include 'find[ing] a new civilian life' and 'reestablish[ing] roots in society' [K. Kingma (ed.) (2000) *Demobilization in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Development and Security Impacts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), p.18]; 'retraining and social absorption ... into non-military, and especially income-generating, activities' [S. M. Makinda (2003) 'Disarmament and Reintegration of Combatants', in W. Maley, C. Sampford and R. Thakur (eds) *From Civil Strife to Civil Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press), p.251]; acquiring 'civilian status' and gaining 'access to civilian forms of work and income' [Douglas et al. (2004), p.15]; and 'wean[ing] the combatant from the military' [J. Cilliers (1995) *Dismissed: Demobilisation and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Africa* (Halfway House, South Africa: Institute for Defence Policy), p.5].
 - 4 UN Office for West Africa (2005b) 'Final Communiqué, Seminar on the Challenge of Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in DDR Programmes in West Africa', Dakar, Senegal, 8 April, para.3.
 - 5 R. Muggah (2006) 'Emerging from the Shadow of War: A Critical Perspective on DDR and Weapons Reduction in the Post-conflict Period', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 27:1, 198; Lutz (2001), p.8; C. Nordstrom (1997) *A Different Kind of War Story* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp.46–7.
 - 6 UN Secretary-General (2005), A/C.5/59/31.
 - 7 The UN Office for West Africa (2005b, para.3) introduced the idea of a 'viable reintegration', which it defined as the 'necessary political, legal, economic and social conditions for a decent life in peace and dignity'. The Stockholm Initiative (2006, p.25) introduced the concept of a 'sustainable reintegration', or a reintegration that is long term.
 - 8 UNDP 2006, pp.52–5.
 - 9 UNDP uses the terms 'outputs', 'activities', and 'inputs' in ways that roughly coincide with my conceptualization of 'programs' and the terms 'results', 'goals', 'impact', and 'outcomes' to describe the aims of a reintegration process: UNDP (2009) *How To Guide: Monitoring and Evaluation for DDR Programmes* (New York: UNDP, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery), pp.9–11.
 - 10 The phrases 'the UN and its partners', 'international', or 'external' reintegration actors are used when I intend all international DDR actors.
 - 11 This criticism is echoed in K. M. Jennings (2007) "'The Struggle to Satisfy": DDR through the Eyes of Ex-combatants in Liberia', *International Peacekeeping*, 14:2, 204–18; K. M. Jennings (2008) 'Unclear Ends, Unclear Means: Reintegration in Post-War Societies – The Case of Liberia', *Global Governance*, 14:3, 327–45; J. Weinstein and M. Humphreys (2005) *Disentangling the Determinants of Successful Demobilization and Reintegration*, Working Paper No.69, Center for Global Development,

- September; R. Muggah (2005) 'No Magic Bullet: A Critical Perspective on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) and Weapons Reduction in Post-Conflict Contexts', *The Round Table*, 94:379, 239–52;
- B. Pouligny (2004) 'The Politics and Anti-Politics of Contemporary "Disarmament, Demobilization & Reintegration" Programs', Geneva, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) and the Secrétariat Général de la Défense Nationale, France (SGDN), September, p.5;
- J. Spear (2002) 'Disarmament and Demobilization', in S. J. Stedman, D. Rothschild and E. M. Cousens (eds) *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), pp.141–82;
- and S. Meek and M. Malan (eds) (2004) 'Identifying Lessons from DDR Experiences in Africa', Report of the Workshop 'Identifying Lessons from DDR Experiences in Africa', Institute for Security Studies and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Accra, Ghana, 10–12 August.
- 12 Muggah (2009); Gomes Porto et al. (2007).
 - 13 There are 12 references in the IDDRS to community resentment. They are: IDDRS (2006), 2.20 5.1, 2.20 5.3, 4.20 5.7, 4.30 Summary, 4.30 3, 4.30 4.10, 4.30 4.11, 5.30 3, 5.50 3, 5.50 8.3.6, 5.10 6.4.2, and 5.10 6.9.2.
 - 14 A. Özerdem and S. Podder (eds) (2011) *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p.8.
 - 15 IDDRS (2006), 5.30; UN SCR (2001) Resolution 1379 (on 'Children and Armed Conflict'), 20 November, S/RES/1379; M. Wessells (2006) *Child Soldiers: From Violence to Protection* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); R. Brett and I. Specht (2004) *Young Soldiers: Why They Choose to Fight* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner); G. Machel (2001) *The Impact of War on Children: A Review of Progress since the 1996 UN Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* (London: Hurst); M. Lorey (2001) *Child Soldiers: Protection of Children in Emergencies – A Field Guide* (London: Save the Children).
 - 16 P. Uvin (2009) *Life after Violence: A People's Story of Burundi* (London: Zed Books); Gomes Porto et al. (2007).
 - 17 C. Geertz (1993) 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Fontana Press), p.9.
 - 18 P. Bourdieu (1977) 'Structures and the Habitus', *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p.77.
 - 19 J. Schafer (1998) "'A Baby Who Does Not Cry Will Not Be Suckled": AMODEG and the Reintegration of Demobilised Soldiers', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24:1, 207–22.
 - 20 V. Burr (2003) *Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge), p.110.
 - 21 M. Bernal and D. Ucko (eds) (2009) *Reintegrating Armed Groups after Conflict: Politics, Violence and Transition* (London: Routledge); A. Özerdem (2009) *Post-War Recovery: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd); N. J. Colletta and R. Muggah (2009a) 'Context Matters: Interim Stabilisation and Second Generation Approaches to Security Promotion', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9:4,

- 425–53; C. Alden, M. Thakur and M. Arnold (2011) *Militias and the Challenges of Post-conflict Peace: Silencing the Guns* (London: Zed Books), p.xi.
- 22 Stereotyping is ‘a process in which something is taken to be “already known” but it is nevertheless anxiously restated as though it cannot be proved and so must be constantly reinforced by repetition’: P. Childs and P. Williams (1996) *An Introduction to Postcolonial Theory* (London: Longman), p.128. The way in which stereotyping impacts reintegration is a theme I explore in more detail in J. R. McMullin (2013) ‘Integration or Separation? The Stigmatisation of Ex-combatants after War’, *Review of International Studies*, 39:2, 385–414.
- 23 H. Bhabha (1993) ‘The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism’, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge), pp.66–84.
- 24 M. Utas (2011) ‘Victimcy as Social Navigation: From the Toolbox of Liberian Child Soldiers’, in Özerdem and Podder (eds), p.215; M. Utas (2003) *Sweet Battlefields: Youth and the Liberian Civil War* (Uppsala: Dissertation in Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University), p.146.
- 25 One news feature that has come under particular critique for the way in which its presentation of Liberian fighters reinforces tropes of the New Barbarism is N. Itano (2003) ‘The Sisters-in-Arms of Liberia’s War’, *Christian Science Monitor*, 26 August, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0826/p07s01-woaf.html>, accessed 1 July 2012. In the story, Itano writes, ‘Black Diamond could be the prototype for an action hero, a sort of African “Lara Croft.” She’s all sleek muscle and form-fitting clothes, with an AK-47 and red beret. She has a bevy of supporting beauties, equally stylish, who loiter nearby, polished fingernails clutching the cold steel of semi-automatic weapons.’ Critical treatment of the story can be found in M. Utas (2005b) ‘Victimcy, Girlfriending, Soldiering: Tactic Agency in a Young Woman’s Social Navigation of the Liberian War Zone’, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78:2, 403–30; and C. Coulter (2008) ‘Female Fighters in the Sierra Leone War: Challenging the Assumptions?’ *Feminist Review*, 88:1, 54–73.
- 26 *Blood Diamond* (2006) Directed by E. Zwick (USA: Warner Bros.); *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008) Directed by Jean-Stéphane Sauvaire (France: TFM Distribution).
- 27 Quoted text is from T. Allen (1999) ‘Perceiving Contemporary Wars’, in T. Allen and J. Seaton (eds) *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence* (London: Zed Books), p.27. Allen is critiquing R. Kaplan (2001) *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post-Cold War* (New York: Vintage); and S. Ellis (1999) *The Mask of Anarchy: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War* (New York: New York University Press).
- 28 L. Mashike (2004) “‘You Are a Time Bomb ...” Ex-Combatants in Post-Conflict South Africa’, *Society in Transition*, 35:1, 87.
- 29 IDDRS (2006), 2.20 5.4 and 4.30 Summary.
- 30 P. Collier (1999) ‘Doing Well Out of War’, Paper prepared for Conference on Economic Agendas in Civil Wars, London, 26–27 April; P. Collier and

- A. Hoeffler (2004) 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', Oxford Economic Papers, <http://oep.oxfordjournals.org/content/56/4/563.full>, accessed 1 June 2012. For critical response, see P. Le Billon (2004) 'The Geopolitical Economy of "Resource Wars,"' *Geopolitics*, 9:1, 1–28; M. Ross (2004) 'What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?' *Journal of Peace Research*, 41:3, 337–56; C. Cramer (2002) 'Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War', *World Development*, 30:11, 1845–64.
- 31 M. Kaldor (2001) *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity). For a critical response, see S. Kalyvas (2001) "'New" and "Old" Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?' *World Politics*, 54, 99–118.
- 32 R. Kaplan (1994) 'The Coming Anarchy', *Atlantic Monthly*, 273:2, 46. This article formed the basis of Kaplan's book, cited above.
- 33 Keen (2009). See also S. Gates (2011) 'Why Do Children Fight? Motivations and the Mode of Recruitment', in Özerdem and Podder (eds), pp.29–49; K. Peters (2011) *Re-Examining Voluntarism: Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies); Uvin (2009), pp.177–8; M. Bøås and A. Hatløy (2008) "'Getting In, Getting Out": Militia Membership and Prospects for Re-integration in Post-War Liberia', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46:1, 33–55; M. Bøås and K. C. Dunn (eds) (2007) *African Guerrillas: Raging Against the Machine* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner); R. Maclure and M. Denov (2006) "'I Didn't Want to Die so I Joined Them": Structuration and the Process of Becoming Boy Soldiers in Sierra Leone', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18:1, 119–35; S. Willett (2005) 'New Barbarians at the Gate: Losing the Liberal Peace in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 32:106, 569–94; M. Bøås (2005) 'The Liberian Civil War: New War/Old War?' *Global Society*, 19:1, 73–88; J. Abbinck and I. Van Kessel (eds) (2005) *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa* (Leiden: Brill); K. Peters, P. Richards and K. Vlassenroot (2003) 'What Happens to Youth During and After Wars? A Preliminary Review of Literature on Africa and an Assessment of the Debate', RAWOO Working Paper, October; A. McIntyre, K. Aning and P. Addo (2002) 'Politics, War, and Youth Culture in Sierra Leone: An Alternative Interpretation', *African Security Review*, 11:3; K. Peters and P. Richards (1998) "'Why We Fight": Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 68:2, 183–210; P. Richards (1996) *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (Oxford: James Currey); and P. Richards (ed.) (2005) *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts* (Oxford: James Currey). Some of these works have subsequently been the subject of further review and critique: see I. Abdullah (1998) 'Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36:2, 203–35; and I. Abdullah (ed.) (2004) *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War* (Dakar: CODESRIA).
- 34 That tradition encompasses, among others: R. Mac Ginty (2011) *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p.24; E. Newman, R. Paris and O. Richmond (eds) (2010) *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*

- (Basingstoke: Palgrave); M. Pugh, N. Cooper and M. Turner (2008) *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding* (London: Palgrave Macmillan); Duffield (2007); D. Chandler (2006) *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press); O. Richmond (2005) *The Transformation of Peace* (London: Palgrave Macmillan); and V. Jabri (1996) *Discourses on Violence* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- 35 See Mac Ginty (2011), pp.23–5.
- 36 Bourdieu (1977), p.78; P. Bourdieu (1989) ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’, *Sociological Theory*, 7:1, 18–19.
- 37 The distinction between public and hidden transcripts is taken from J. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
- 38 Berdal and Ucko (2009), p.3.
- 39 UNGA (2011), para.26.
- 40 IDDRS (2006), 5.30.5.2.
- 41 IDDRS (2006), 4.30 8.4.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 4.30.5.4.
- 43 UNGA (2006) A/60/705, paras.41, 9(c), and 27.
- 44 UN Development Fund for Women (2004) *Getting It Right, Doing It Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration* (New York: UNIFEM, October); T. W. Bennett (1998) *Using Children in Armed Conflict: A Legitimate African Tradition? Criminalizing Recruitment of Child Soldiers*, ISS Monograph No.32 (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, December); I. Cohn and G. S. Goodwin-Gill (1994) *Child Soldiers: The Role of Children in Armed Conflict* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- 45 DPKO (2000) paras.179–205; UNSC (2005) ‘Report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict’, 9 February, S/2005/72.
- 46 For literature critical of the treatment of child and female ex-combatants as vulnerable, see J. McMullin (2011) ‘Reintegrating Young Combatants: Do Child-Centred Approaches Leave Children – and Adults – Behind?’ *Third World Quarterly*, 32:4, 743–64; J. Hart (2006) ‘The Politics of Child Soldiers’, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 13:1, 217–26; A. M. S. Watson (2004) ‘The Child that Bombs Built’, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27:3, 159–68; S. Shepler (2005) ‘The Rites of the Child: Global Discourses of Youth and Reintegrating Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone’, *Journal of Human Rights*, 4:2, 197–211; and K. M. Jennings (2009) ‘The Political Economy of DDR in Liberia: A Gendered Critique’, *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9:4, 475–94.
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Chapter 2 The Advent of the Ex-Combatant: A Critical History of Reintegration

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Chapter 3 Namibia: Jobs for Some

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Chapter 4 Mozambique: Cash for All

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- 107 Author's interview (2003) [M13].
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- 110 Author's interview (2003) [M1].
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 136 Author's interview (2003) [M20].
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Chapter 5 Sierra Leone: Trained for Jobs that Weren't There

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- 16 L. Stovel (2008) "'There's No Bad Bush to Throw Away a Bad Child: "Tradition"-Inspired Reintegration in Post-War Sierra Leone', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46:2, 309. Paul Richards, in *Fighting for the Rain Forest* (1996), described the shift in terms of the RUF's increasing adoption of the brutal tactics as it was confronted with military defeat (pp.24–8).
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- 34 Tesfamichael et al. (2004), p.114; Kai-Kai (2004), p.4.
- 35 Comninos et al. (2002), p.26, my emphasis.
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- 43 Ibid., p.80.
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- 61 Ibid., p.157.
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- 64 Author's interview (2005) Former Combatant and Civil Society Representative, Freetown, 5 July. [SL6]
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- 66 Author's interview (2005) UNDP Official, Freetown, 7 July. [SL13]
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- 68 Ibid., p.82.
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124 Author's interview (2005) [SL16].
125 Author's interview (2004) [W10].
126 Author's interview (2005) [SL6].
127 Author's interview (2004) [W11].
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129 GoSL (2005), para.60.
130 UNSC S/2005/777, para.39.
131 Author's interview (2005) [SL4].
132 Ibid., pp.14, 24.
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134 Author's interview (2005) [SL6], emphasis original.
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Chapter 6 Liberia: Reintegration 2.0?

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- 8 Ibid., p.366.
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- 13 Author's interview (2007) UNMIL Senior Official, Monrovia, 14 April. [L9]
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- 15 See also UN SCR 1509 (on the situation in Liberia), 19 September 2003, S/RES/1509 (2003).
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- 17 UNSC (2005) 'Sixth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia', 17 March, S/2005/177, para.26.
- 18 *Ibid.*, para.84.
- 19 See IDDRS, UN (2006) 'Annex F: Results Framework for Liberia DDR Programme'; UNSC (2003) 'First Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia', 15 December, S/2003/1175; and Munive and Jakobsen (2012), p.366.
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- 30 Jennings (2008), pp.330–1.
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Conclusion: 'Like Everyone Else'

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- 3 The figures are my own calculations. Historical currency conversion rates have been used to adjust for inflation where appropriate. The ranges for Sierra Leone and Liberia reflect disparity in monetary value of toolkits, depending on the skill training received. Ex-combatants opting for agricultural assistance or education received less in both Sierra Leone and Liberia.
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