A Gender Analysis of International Organisations' and NGOs' Policies and Program Guidance With Respect to the Reintegration of Child Soldiers

Katie Lloyd

University of Ottawa

School of International Development and Globalization Studies

Student Number: 6957769

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Abstract

Historically, former female child soldiers have been marginalized in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs. DDR programs have often made highly gendered assumptions about the roles played by former female child soldiers during their time with armed groups and about the social and economic roles they will and should play post-demobilization. This paper looks at an under-researched aspect of gender and child DDR globally, namely the extent to which the policy documents, program guidance and training manuals of the international and non-governmental organizations most involved in DDR (UNICEF, ICRC, Save the Children and Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers) represent and reproduce gendered thinking about the roles, the agency, and the future lives of former female child soldiers. The paper then contrasts these representations with the latest academic literature on gender and DDR.

The paper seeks to better understand how barriers are constructed for former female child soldiers during DDR programs and where there is convergence and divergence between the gender and DDR literature on the one hand and the organizations' policy, program guidance and training manuals on the other. In turn, this will illustrate and clarify the interplay between the academic literature and the practice on the ground. For example, how are the multiple identities female child soldiers embody during conflict—including being subjected to war violence and becoming a perpetrator of armed conflict—recognized and accounted for within DDR policies and program guidance? Conceptual frameworks used to direct this research include a critical feminist lens, a content analysis and a critical discourse analysis. A classification spectrum of gender integration in DDR was developed to measure the extent to which documents analyzed incorporated gendered provisions.

Key Words: gender, DDR, child soldiers, girl soldiers, post-conflict studies

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1. Introduction

In the post-Cold War era, children have taken on active combatant roles during conflicts including in Sri Lanka, Colombia, Afghanistan and Sierra Leone, to name a few. It is estimated that currently there are over 300,000 child soldiers involved in more than 30 conflicts in almost every region of the world (UNICEF, n.d.). The incidence is highest in Africa and Asia, though children are recruited and used as soldiers by government forces and armed groups in many countries in the Americas, Middle East and Europe. Some observers suggest that the systematic use of children in conflict has become a norm rather than an exception (Legrand, 1999). The need for specific disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs for children continually surfaces in practitioners' and academia's lessons learned. DDR has become a means to assist the transition of post-conflict societies from combatant to civilian life as part of the overall reconciliation and peace building project and is defined as helping to "create an enabling environment for political and peace processes by dealing with security problems that arises when ex-combatants are trying to adjust to normal life, during the vital transition period from conflict to peace and development" (The United Nations, n.d.).

Historically, former female child soldiers have been marginalized in DDR, which is likely to have a direct negative impact on their post-conflict physical and socio-economic security. It is projected that 40% of child soldiers are girls (IRIN, 2013), yet average levels of female participation in child DDR programs range between 8-15% of the estimated numbers of girls associated with armed forces or groups, much lower than that of their male counterparts (CSUCS, 2009); if the gender ratio in DDR was proportionate to involvement in armed forces, there would be three to five times higher participation of girls in DDR programs. Not having high levels of access to DDR programs leaves girls without the same post-conflict opportunities

and assistance as boys, and by default encourages alternative negative coping mechanisms (see CSUCS, 2008; McKay, Veale, Worthen & Wessels, 2011; Woodbury, 2011).

DDR program managers are aware that girls' participation rates are problematic and require action; since the mid-2000s there has been a trend towards incorporating gendered, child-sensitive, and other transformational perspectives into post-conflict programing (Bewicke, 2014). Efforts made to encourage greater participation of girls include UNIFEM's 2004 "Getting it Right, Doing it Right" guide on incorporating gender provisions in DDR. Despite these efforts, the low participation rates of girls remains of concern.

Further, DDR programs have often made highly gendered assumptions about the roles played by former female child soldiers during their time with armed groups and about the social and economic roles they will and should play post-demobilization (MacKenzie, 2009; McKay & Carlson, 2004). Promoting a specific role for girls based on conventional gender identities and norms contributes to the gendered process of DDR. This is problematic, both for girls' participation within DDR and for their re-integration into society.

1.1 Research Question

In response to this disconnect between high numbers of girl child soldiers and low girls' participation rates in DDR programing, this research will compare child DDR guidelines—as published by the most important international and non-governmental organizations active in DDR—against the ongoing body of literature on gender and DDR. To this, my research question is: **How do child DDR policy, program, and guidelines reflect and address the gendered nature of DDR, and what implications does this have on girl child soldiers?** This research question will help to better understand if and how gender dimensions, evolving capacities of

child soldiers, and the larger patriarchal and militarized environment DDR occurs within are reflected and incorporated into policy documentation, program guidance and training manuals. Analysis will focus on the reintegration aspect of DDR as it holds long-term implications of individuals and societies success in overcoming trauma of conflict.

It is important to learn the extent and manner to which organizational policy and programs guidance on DDR account for gender and what this suggests regarding the participation rates of girl child soldiers. Child soldiering can be a highly gendered phenomenon, and those who seek to remediate it should be aware of how gendered dimensions of conflict extend to reintegration. To answer the research question and address these current gaps, this research will:

1. Compare DDR policy documents, program guidance and training manuals—as published by the most important international and non-government organizations involved in DDR—against the ongoing body of literature on gender and DDR;

2. Analyze if and how gendered aspects of DDR from the literature are accounted for and recognized in current and past DDR policy documents, program guidance and training manuals from these implementing organizations;

3. Discuss whether implementing organizations recognize gendered aspects of DDR and if so, how their policy documents, program guidance and training manuals analyze power dynamics amongst former female child soldiers. For example, do implementing organizations reflect on socially constructed barriers to girls' reintegration or are they gender-blind by assuming that all child soldiers put through DRR programs are biologically male?

This paper will look at an under-researched aspect of gender and DDR, namely the extent to which the international and non-governmental organisations most involved in child DDR policy and practice reflect the latest thinking on gender and DDR through their policy documents, program guidance and training manuals. In turn, these findings will illustrate and clarify the interplay between the academic literature and practice on the ground and contribute to a recognized field of study where the topic has important practical application. These findings

could include both best practices and areas to improve reintegration policy documents, program guidance and training manuals—herein referred to as documents.

1.2 Conceptual Framework

Critical Feminism

The conceptual framework used to direct this research is guided by critical feminism, which aims to challenge societies' prevailing gender assumptions, including constructed value systems, roles and identities. A critical feminist approach will help to contextualize the research question through unpacking the marginalized positions females continue to hold in society and the privileging of 'masculinity' in post-conflict experiences (see Cockburn, 2010; Henry 2007; Parpart, 2010; Shepard, 2010). The primary focus is on explaining if and why there is gendered subordination of girl child soldiers within DDR documents.

Carpenter (2002: 158) asserts that it is advantageous to broaden the scope of critical feminism—where aims are to expose, address, and emancipate women's subordination—to also consider gender more broadly as an analytical instrument to include those positioned outside of feminism as a critical discourse. As girls' participation in DDR is influenced by broader power dynamics, it is worth noting this research will use a gender lens, which is broadly consistent with critical feminism. This gender lens will underpin the scope of analysis to unearth normative assumptions and inquire how constructs of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' interact. It will further consider the patriarchal, militarized and diverse environments that often pervade post- conflict societies. Here, contextualizing interactions within overarching masculine ideological imperialism (or 'hegemonic masculinity') and patriarchal systems can draw attention to gender hierarchies and delve deeper into how 'masculinities' operate within and contribute to the way in which DDR programing guidelines are constructed (see Carpenter, 2002; Connel &

Messerschmidt 2005; Tickner, 1992). Socially constructed gender identities, including of 'masculine' and 'feminine', are distinguished as separate from sex, which is biological or innate.

Theoretical frameworks will act as mutually reinforcing to answer the research question and will allow the analysis to go beyond the 'male-female' binary found in gender mainstreaming to include the role of masculinities, patriarchy and intersectionality of categories of difference, including gender, race, class, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation (Davis, 2008: 68). Outcomes of the heterogeneous nature of these interactions and their interplay with DDR documents will be looked at. This will also be a gateway to discuss discourses around the (re)production of power—further described in the methodology section.

Age Dimensions of 'Childhood'

There are debates around the concept of "childhood", including between proponents of the universalism of children's rights and of a culturally sensitive understanding of children. A universalism approach to childhood—namely universally accepting that all humans under the age of 18 are children, while taking into account evolving capacities as a child matures—is accepted as a departing point in this research. Still, understanding debates around the concept of "childhood" remain important.

Universalism asserts that all persons under the age of 18 (also known as the "straight-18" approach) are considered a child. This is often criticized as a Western concept that constructs children as weak, vulnerable and incompetent in making decisions—all characteristics that undermine their agency and create children as objects of protection, blanketing them under a uniform identity that can benefit from the same support and protection mechanisms world-wide (see McMullen, 2011; Park, 2010; Rivard, 2010).

A culturally sensitive understanding of children's rights views the concept of childhood as socially constructed and argues for the "social, cultural, and political diversity of the meaning of childhood and hence of children's rights in different cultures" (Fernando, 2001: 18 as seen in Rivard, 2010). Here there is no specific age threshold where childhood ends and adulthood begins, and instead a multitude of childhoods across cultures and over time exist. Specific to girl child soldiers, a culturally sensitive understanding could be seen as more favorable when dealing with child mothers. By law these girls are seen as children; however, culturally they may be seen as adults as they have bared a child and all responsibilities that come with it. They may feel child DDR is not appropriate for them and may be excluded from adult DDR, leaving them in a sub-optimal situation (see McKay, Robinson, Gonsalves & Worthen, 2006). A better understanding of local dynamics and conditions which shape norms is necessary to address the needs of these highly diverse childhoods (see Park, 2010; Rivard, 2010).

The United Nations Convention of the Right of the Child (CRC) and the 2007 Paris Principles stipulate that universally a person is considered a child if they are under the age of 18. The ratification of the CRC by 189 countries was pivotal in legally assuring children were holders of different rights than adults, including the right to not be recruited by and associated with armed groups. Implementing an age threshold of 18 through the CRC and subsequent Principles was crucial in realizing children have different needs—and are holders of different rights—than adults and in holding governments accountable to adequately protect and provide for children, without denying children's agency (see CRC articles 5 and 12, but also articles 13, 14, 15, 23 and 31). Although CRC Article 38 allows recruitment of 15-17 year olds, the 2000 Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Conflict mitigated this loophole by prohibiting recruitment for all those under the age of 18. Further, other non-legally binding

initiatives, including the Paris Principles, have been endorsed and advanced by international humanitarian law, major humanitarian organizations and discourses at large.

It is important to underscore that mechanisms which support a "straight- 18" approach – especially the CRC—allow for the recognition of the evolving maturity of a child on an individual basis and that their opinions should be given a higher degree of seriousness and consideration in accordance with the age and maturity level of the child (see CRC article 5). The agency-recognizing nature of the CRC is progressive and emphasizes children's active role as right-holders.

This paper accepts the broadly-accepted definition of child as anyone under the age of 18, and emphasizes the importance of evolving maturity and capacity of the child; an eight-year-old and 17-year-old former child soldier will have different reintegration needs due to their lived realities.

1.3 Positionality

This research topic comes from a deep interest and passion for realizing children's rights and gender equality during post-conflict peace building and inherently unequal dynamics of power relations. The researcher understands her positionality and perspective as white, educated, feminist and Canadian inquiring in a topic she has only experienced through literature and social media. Grant (1993: 181) clearly emphasizes this positionality: "To know as a woman means to know from the perspective of the structure of gender. In contrast, a feminist perspective means that one has a critical distance on gender and on oneself" (as seen in Lazar, 2007: 145).

To center this position, Spivak's (1988) critique on the role intellectuals assume within research of 'the other' or traditionally marginalized groups is important to mention. The researcher fully understands that she does not *know* the lived realities of child soldiers, and is

mindful to not produce a narrative of child soldiers, including female child soldiers, as a monolithic collective.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Recognizing Children as Soldiers

The use of child soldiers long predates the recent global attention and discomfort surrounding the topic. Cole Dodge (1987) was one of the first to write on and contextualize the use of child soldiers in "War Violence and Children in Uganda," informing key audiences, including UNICEF, that action must be taken. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 48/157 in 1993, Graca Machel made the first UN inquiry to the topic of child soldiers in her ground-breaking 1996 report "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children", bringing further light on the subject to the international community. This issue was acted on by academics, practitioners, analysts, policy makers and concerned global citizens alike, as is reflected in the volume of literature, conferences and social media campaigns, among others, around the recruitment, lived realities, and reintegration of child soldiers.

The international and regional community took concrete action to strengthen the protection of children and help to prevent their use in armed conflict by ratifying and implementing legally binding mechanisms in this time period, including the 1989 Convention on the Right of the Child (especially Articles 38 and 39) and the 2000 Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. In the regional context, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child establishes an unequivocal 18-year-minimum, which entered into force in 1999. These efforts were reinforced by other mechanisms including the 1997 Cape Town Principles and Best Practices, which offered the first internationally accepted definition of "child soldier":

> "Any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers, and anyone accompanying such groups, other than family members. The definition includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and for forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms."

Although progressive for recognizing the issue of child soldiering, the 1997 Principles boxes girl child soldiers in the role of sexual purposes or forced marriage, where in reality not all groups explicitly recruited girls for this, illustrating a low degree of gender-awareness. The subsequent 2007 Paris Principles modified the definition to "children associated with an armed force or armed group" and included a higher degree of gender-awareness. This is the definition used at present time and it reads:

> "Any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities."

These powerful mechanisms act as cornerstones within the efforts to stop the usage of child soldiers.[1] Recognizing the existence of the problem allows the needs of child soldiers to be taken into account in reintegration programs. For example, an important distinction between child and adult DDR stipulated in Paris Commitment 5, is the unconditional release of a child from an armed group at all times, including during armed conflict. To this, child reintegration is:

> "The process through which children transition into civil society and enter meaningful roles and identities as civilians who are accepted by their families and communities in a context of local and national reconciliation. Sustainable reintegration is achieved when the political, legal, economic and social conditions needed for children to maintain life, livelihood and dignity have been secured. This process aims to ensure that children can access their rights, including formal and non-formal education, family unity, dignified livelihoods and safety from harm." (Paris Principles, 2007:7)

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[1] For simplicity's sake, this paper will use the term "child soldiers".

Progress has been made over the last few decades in recognizing that both boys and girls act as soldiers through multiple roles and that the local, regional and international community must enforce mechanisms to not only stop recruitment, but reintegrate children back into civilian lives.

2.2 Does DDR Work?

The DDR of ex-combatants is a complex process, with political, military, security, humanitarian and socio-economic dimensions. It aims to deal with the post-conflict security problem that arises when ex-combatants are left without livelihoods or support networks, other than their former comrades, during the vital transition period from conflict to peace and development (UN DDR Resource Centre, n.d.). The release of children who have been unlawfully recruited must be sought at all times, without condition. The three key parts of child DDR are broken down by Child DDR Child Protection Working Group (2006) as follows:

·   Disarmament is the collection, documentation and disposal of combatants' weapons. Children should not have to provide a weapon or show knowledge of how to use a weapon to be considered disarmed and accepted into the DDR program;

·   Demobilization is the planned process by which the said armed force(s) either downsize or completely disband. The first stage of demobilization may extend from the processing of individual combatants in temporary centers (often called interim care centers). The second stage encompasses support packages that help cover the basic needs of ex-combatants, including food, clothes, and medical services.

·   Reintegration is a long-term, continuous political, economic and social transition process back to peaceful civilian life. For children, this is assisted through family reunification; education; vocational training; and apprenticeships. In accordance with child labor laws, children aged 15 and older are able to take advantage of vocational training and apprenticeships.

This research is primarily focused on the reintegration aspect of DDR. Limited access of child soldiers to disarmament and demobilization can preclude their access to reintegration, so although the focus of this research is on reintegration, the three cannot always be treated

separately. Therefore, there will be some overlap of disarmament and demobilization components into the analysis of child reintegration programs.

The importance of DDR for the reintegration process of child soldiers has mixed reviews from scholars. If adequate support is provided, reintegration can reap positive results—where reintegration support can range from family reunification, community sensitization, education training and trauma therapy (Boothby, Crawford & Halperin, 2006). Further, reintegration not only assists the post-conflict lived realities of child soldiers, but is also an investment into the security and stability of communities in society (UN DDR Resource Centre, n.d.).

Others question the value of participation in DDR programs as additional factors contribute to reintegration success. Humphreys and Weinstein (2007) show a relation between the recruitment age and the individual's reintegration success: the younger individuals joined armed groups, the more problems they encounter after their release. In a similar vein, a study by Banholzer and Haer (2014) found that in Uganda former child soldiers who feel a higher level of trust towards the armed group are less likely to trust the members of their home community and feel accepted by them, showing a correlation between reintegration and personal experiences within armed groups. Further, Knight and Özerdem (2004) assert poorly working economies and states bear the danger that former combatants are 'reintegrated into poverty' – which ultimately lowers their opportunity cost to take up arms again. The reintegration phase of the DDR program is the most difficult to implement in a context of poverty where very few economic work opportunities exist as a result of the devastation of conflict, a reminder that DDR is a piece of a larger puzzle.

Resources are also an issue. The UN's Integrated DDR Standards recommends that child reintegration should extend over a period of five years or more, yet typically funding for national

DDR programs is only provided for the immediate post-conflict period– normally one year. The long-term support necessary to enable former child soldiers to take on meaningful productive roles in their societies is rarely available. Similarly, Douglas and Hill (2004) recommends that female peacekeepers should be present at DDR sites to encourage female participation in programs, but there is a lack of trained female peacekeepers to always provide this.

Lastly, despite efforts of implementing organizations, not all child soldiers benefit from reintegration programs evenly. Exclusion from essential services in DDR programs makes the transition back to civilian life more challenging and can lead to sub-optimal livelihood alternatives in attempts to survive including: being re-recruited into armed forces or criminal organizations; living on the street and engaging in criminal activity; civil unrest; and prostitution (Denov, 2005; McKay & Mazurana, 2004). Despite international acknowledgement of girls as child soldiers who assume multiple roles (see 2007 Paris Principles), girls remain under-served. The estimated 40% of child soldiers who are female does not translate to the same ratio of male-female participation in child DDR. In Sierra Leone, it is estimated that girls consisted of 4% to 7.7% of all children demobilized, even though girls constituted about 50% of the children associated with the armed forces (Nilsson, 2013: 1339). In Columbia from 1999 to 2001, 72% of participants in the reintegration program were male and 28% female (Nilsson 2013: 1358). There is a need for more gender disaggregated data, but these rates are largely mirrored in other conflicts. UNICEF (2012) acknowledges "the girls who were not demobilized, and not able to access services, are of major concern". This exclusion leads to alternative, often negative, livelihoods—listed above—and subsequently greater risk factors for girls' post-conflict physical and socio-economic safety.

This paper accepts that multiple factors outside of program design can affect reintegration results. The disproportionate exclusion of girl child soldiers within DDR is seen as most pressing for the objective of this research and warrants further inquiry. Gender dimensions of reintegration are relevant and often overlooked; Eritrea and Mozambique are cases in point where female combatants were not targeted in programs (Ozerdem & Podder, 2011). In Sierra Leone, UNICEF implemented the "Girls Left Behind" Project in response to the initial poor involvement of girls in DDR, despite them having an approximate 40% participation rate within armed groups (Mazurana & Carlson, 2004; UNICEF & CSUCS, 2003). Academic literature speaks to why girls are disproportional marginalization from reintegration programs.

2.3 Girls' Wartime and Post-Wartime Identities

Analyzing gender and power dimensions within a post-conflict society is essential to understand why girls are often so under-served, including in DDR. In the last decade, relevant literature, including McKay and Mazurana's (2004) "Where are the girls?" has contributed to understanding the importance of and barriers to DDR programs for former girl soldiers.

Bambidele (2012) asserts that, contrary to general assumptions, girls participate in armed conflict in many different ways. Female children formerly associated with fighting forces experience multiple, and overlapping roles including: fighter; spy; porter; cook; messenger; abductor of other children; and bush wife (Mackenzie, 2009; Mazurana & Carlson, 2004: 22). Pre-existing gender inequality towards girls may also be replicated, even exacerbated, within armed groups as they are used to perform socially constructed gendered roles such as carrying out domestic tasks (Mouthaan, 2014: 4). On the other side of the pendulum, girls have also undertaken violent, militant roles where they have participated in abducting other female children to be used for purposes of systematic sexual violence and killings (Mackenzie, 2011).

Multiple and diverse conflicting identity roles assumed during war can leave girls experiencing varying degrees of both traditional 'masculine' power and 'feminine' subservience.

Being subject to enacting violent masculinities and docile femininities not only shows the spectrum of roles child soldiers face, but also definitively illustrate the paradox of 'child-soldier' or 'victim-perpetrator'. Namely, the confusion of identity brought on by war's deviation from societal gender constructs, but also a lack of acknowledgment from society of the deviations within one's identity. Girls' passive role, emphasized in gender mainstreaming, is often far from reality.

Knight and Ozerdem (2004) state that girls are expected to return to traditional roles after the war. Although this is the expectation, Bambidele (2012) stipulates that dealing with girls' needs and harnessing their capacities and potentials will improve the chances of achieving more sustainable and effective DDR. However, girls' multiple war-time roles and identities are often not acknowledged and instead girls are monolithically categorized as 'helpless' and 'vulnerable' from their war-time experiences which, in effect, de-emphasizes the active, empowering aspect of their war-time identity and over-exaggerates the passive, victim aspect (Mazurana & Carlson, 2004). The agency-denying effects of not realizing girls' active role in the conflict and boxing girls into traditional norms excludes them from appropriate reintegration programs and by extension, limits their future livelihood (Mackenzie, 2011). Dealing with girls' needs and harnessing their capacities and potentials will improve the chances of achieving more sustainable and effective DDR (Bambidele, 2012).

Sierra Leone hosted the first official program that acknowledged the specific needs of child soldiers in DDR in 1999, and illustrates the above point well. One of the key lessons learned was the need to be proactive in involving girls in DDR due to the difficulties found in

reaching out to them (UNICEF & CSUCS, 2003:19). Mackenzie (2009: 243) directly speaks to why this is: "The DDR program in Sierra Leone effectively (re)constructed female soldiers as 'wives,' 'camp followers,' or 'sex slaves' in order to de-securitize them and to distinguish them from securitized male soldier subjects". That females' were stripped of their title of 'soldier' while men were pigeonholed as 'soldier' unearth society's hard-wired traditional gender norms while portraying how girls (and women) should act and not how girls did act during war. As Mazurana and Carlson (2004) affirm, treating girls as passive victims strips them of their sense of self-worth and dignity, and by not recognizing them as a 'soldier' excludes them from official DDR programs. This experience is largely repeated in other child soldier reintegration contexts.

2.4 Constructing a Monolithic Girl Soldier

Labeling child soldiers as a homogeneous group, especially monolithically categorizing girls as victims, warrants further discussion. It is problematic to generalize the experiences of boys and girls in armed conflict; As Ozerdem and Podder (2011) assert, experiences of war differ depending on the individual location, motivation, group membership, age, and gender dimensions—hence, transitions to civilian life mandate a deeper understanding of this diversity. Tactics used in one conflict, such as girls being preferred as suicide bombers in Sri Lanka, may not be used in another, such as girls' role as a vessel for child reproduction in Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). These examples capture a snapshot of different realities that have been documented in the literature and are a reminder that, especially when speaking on a global scale, it is imperative to not generalize child soldiers, but recognize the multiple and varying lived realities of boys and girls, including their age, ethnicity and class, both within and between conflicts.

Girls are often monolithically categorized as experiencing sexual violence, which often pervades the imagery around girl child soldiers. Girl child soldiers are much more likely than boys to experience sexual abuse (Sivakumaran, 2013 as seen in Mouthaan, 2014: 4) and can become pregnant. The lived reality of girls is impacted by local social norms, attitudes and practices towards sex. Sexual violence is an unfortunate reality many girl (and boy) child soldiers face which should not be diminished; however, the topic of sexual violence and girl soldiers needs to be more nuanced.

Reproductive roles are experienced in multiple ways by girl soldiers given the context of the conflict and armed group they serve. The LRA used girls as vehicles of reproduction, often through forced pregnancy. At one point, Joseph Kony stated that each girl should produce 15 children for the "new generation." (Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, n.d.: 18). In other contexts, forced abortions are implemented (Nilsson, 2013; Watch List, 2004). The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) operates a "sexual freedom" policy, where consenting relationships are allowed between male and female soldiers, yet, this is at the price of girls' reproductive freedoms; there are reports of fitting girls as young as age 12 with intra-uterine devices or providing contraceptive injections, forced abortions, and forced adoption (Watch List, 2004). In other conflicts, including Nepal, the Philippines and, at one point the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), rape of females was illegal—although this was not always adhered to (Bumbenzer & Stern, 2011).

Further, the widely accepted narrative of girls as victims of sexual violence risks diminishing the sexual violence and traumatic effects which boy child soldiers experience. Carpenter (2006) has done important work around recognizing gender-based violence against boys in conflict situations. Often taboo to discuss, it is important that reintegration programing

not frame gender-based violence, or sexually-based violence as exclusively violence against girls, in order to ensure all children are receiving proper treatment for their lived realities during conflict.

These examples illustrate the diverse and nuanced realities of how sexual violence plays out during war, which does not solely follow the narrative of girl "bush wife" or "sex slaves".

2.5 Patriarchy and Militarized Masculinities

Understanding how identity constructs contribute to overarching societal power dichotomies helps to explain why there is subordination of girl child soldiers within DDR policy. There are many factors that interplay to create this discrimination; Cockburn (2010) asserts that economic class, ethno-nationalism, and the gendered hierarchy together shape human social structures, institutions, and relational processes, and establish positions of relative power. While acknowledging there are multiple contributors to power dichotomies within the DDR process, this analysis specifically focuses on gendered hierarchies within conflict and post-conflict societies that inform patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities to better understand inequalities in DDR. It is important to unpack power dichotomies as they do impact post-conflict lived realities, including that of child soldiers; reintegration does not happen in a vacuum (Ozerdem & Podder, 2011: 313).

Patriarchy ensures that men are privileged over women; however, it dictates a specific masculinity that is the dominant, or hegemonic, masculinity in hierarchical masculinities in a society. Hegemonic masculinity is understood as "the pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue (global subordination of women to men)" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). A

hegemonic masculinity does not denote violence, and can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting.

Despite multiple masculinities existing, these are crowded out by militarized masculinities in conflict and post-conflict societies, rendering a very aggressive, violent masculinity as hegemonic (Cockburn, 2010; Parpart, 2010). The relationship between militant masculinity and power leaves less space for other masculinities to emerge as dominant, and for women to achieve equality. As Parpart (2010: 92) asserts "In general, the masculinity spawned by war and terror is resolutely patriarchal, emphasizing male authority over women as well as hierarchies among men". Similarly, Cockburn (2010:152) notes that:

> "Disposition in societies, characterized by a patriarchal gender regime, is towards an association of masculinity with authority, coercion and violence... [War] produces particular gender identities--armed masculinities, demoralized and angry men, victimized femininities, types of momentarily empowered women. But these war-horned gender relations, 'after war', again tend to feedback perennially into the spiraling continuum of armed conflict, forever predisposing a society to violence, forever disturbing the peace".

Militarized masculinity as the dominant masculinity in a society has many ramifications, including teaching boys to embody violent male identities (Parpart, 2010). Displaying this masculinity often goes hand in hand with extreme sexual violence, produced and legitimated through war. Rapes, often performed as a group, "provide sites for preforming one's masculinity and providing one's credentials as 'real' men" (Parpart, 2010:92). Further, girl soldiers have less space to be recognized within their role as soldier, even if they embrace male traits, impacting participation in livelihood programs and DDR at large (Parpart, 2010; Stavrou as seen in Mackenzie, 2011).

The conflict and post-conflict situations, although perhaps exuding an extreme masculinity under patriarchy, is not the only factor informing local gender politics. As Connell

and Messerschmidt (2005: 849) explain: "Global institutions pressure regional and local gender orders; while regional gender orders provide cultural materials adopted or reworked in global arenas and provide models of masculinity that may be important in local gender dynamics". The patriarchy and largely privileging of Western men at the institutional level in effect impacts gender politics at the local conflict level, including girls' access to DDR. As Spievek (1988: 82,90) argues in a similar vein, it is the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominant—in which the local, national and international levels stand to maintain this status quo. This also means that all levels, including institutional, can reconstitute patriarchal power into new conditions, including through changing masculine and feminine identities and constructs.

There are spaces for change within gendered hierarchies, which could enable a shift from systems of patriarchy that privilege militarized masculinity. This change away from militarized masculinities within post-conflict situations could extend to and positively influence girls' participation in DDR programs. As a 2002 UNDP document asserts, the post-conflict transitional recovery phase can be a space for positive transformation of gender relations through providing opportunities to increase women and girls' skills, livelihood opportunities and overall empowerment. Still, for this shift to be attainable, males and females must be oriented to the idea of females departing from traditional gender roles and gender perceptions must be 'reconstructed' within society (Woodbury, 2011: 31).

This literature review has illustrated the importance of further research on the reintegration of child soldiering, which is a highly gendered phenomenon, and goes in depth about the nuances of reintegration and return for girl child soldiers. It makes clear the challenges female child soldiers face during reintegration, and general disconnects between programing, the

needs of boys and girls and larger power dynamics at play. The review will be compared and contrasted against documents on child DDR programs.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data Collection Design and Methodology

This MRP uses a comparative study of the texts of documents of four international and non-governmental organizations. I collected the universe of documents and selected the most appropriate samples for analysis. Documents selected for use were judged on the basis of a relatively even distribution of documents by organization and over time, and on the relevance and quality of the document. I then subjected selected documents to a content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Data collection methods include a Google search of DRR policy documents, program guidance documents and training manual documents from the four international and non-governmental organizations', namely the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)[2], Save the Children (SCF) and the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSUCS). CSUCS has since been renamed to Child Soldiers International, but will be referred to as the former within this paper. My reasoning for choosing these organizations is twofold: these organizations are the most important donors and actors in conflict and post-conflict situations involving child soldiers; and, there is a large availability of data on the websites of these organizations, which allowed for efficient document retrieval for purposes of this research. Although CSUCS is not as active in implementing programs, they are an excellent resource for child DDR programs globally and work with other organizations who implement programs in the field.

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[2] Strictly speaking the ICRC is not an NGO or an international organization, but a public benefit organization created by treaty (the Geneva Conventions).

Twenty documents were analyzed over the timeline of 1995 to 2014, as the mid-1990s was when organizations first started reporting on DDR (See Appendix A for a full list of documents). If full versions of documents were not located online after an extensive Google search, the organization was contacted and asked to retrieve the public documents from their archives. I was unable to find two documents despite my attempts to directly contact the organizations concerned. It was not always possible to acquire an even distribution of documents over the time period despite extensive research; best-fitting document were selected, taking into consideration organizations and time periods of analysis. All relevant sections of documents were analyzed (e.g. the introduction chapter of CSUCS Child Soldier Global Reports) and all documents were read at least twice. Documents used were technical in nature (policy documents, program guidance documents, and training documents), and not for fundraising or advocacy and awareness purposes. As documents were for a professional audience, they were expected to have a flat tone. Word searchers also proved to be a tool used within the data gathering process.

Both a content analysis and a CDA were used as practical document analysis tools, as described below:

Content Analysis

Buttolph and Reynolds define a content analysis as deriving numerical measures from a non-numerical written record, which enables a researcher to "take a verbal, non-quantitative document and transform it into quantitative data" (2005: 223). This is done through constructing mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories that can be used to analyze documents, and record the frequency with which each of these categories is observed within documents selected for study.

A content analysis is useful in understanding this research question as it allows access to subjects that would otherwise have been difficult, or impossible, to reach through direct, personal contact and it allows analysis of this phenomena over time (20 years) (Buttolph & Reynolds, 2005: 230-231). A disadvantage of this approach could include that the content may be biased (whose voice is coming through), among others. A content analysis remains an appropriate tool to answer the research question.

Part of the content analysis includes developing a classification spectrum of gender integration that was measured against documents analyzed, considering both the roles boys and girls assumed during conflict and how reintegration programing addresses their needs, as seen in Table 1. A generous interpretation of documents was applied; when there was overlap of the category of best fit in the ranking process, the document was marked up in the higher ranking category to ensure results leaned towards being in favor of documents analyzed.

Table 1: Gender Spectrum of Child Soldier Reintegration Programing

Gender Blind	Gender Neutral	Gender Aware	Gender Sensitive	Gender Active
Do not see girls as child soldiers and see this role being filled only by boys Programs are exclusively targeted at boys	Do not acknowledge any differentiation between 'boy' or 'girl' and instead use 'child' or similar terminology With lack of gender-specific terminology, unclear if girls are accounted for in DDR programing	Aware that females can be soldiers, but do not acknowledge their multiple identities. Tend to ascribe girls to a single identity (e.g. sex slave) Programs emphasize sexual abuse girls experience and promote traditional labour roles	Aware that girls soldiers take on multiple identities during war This is more of an intellectual realization versus a practical guide to action, and gendered programing remains ambiguous	Aware of the multiple roles girls and boys can assume during conflict In programing, acknowledge the specific challenges girls, boys, and sub-groups (e.g. girl mothers) face and detail specific guidelines to meaningfully address these challenges

After documents were classified within the gender spectrum, organisations and time periods were ranked against one another to reflect differences in gender integration between

organisations and over time. The ranking was based on a five-point scale model (gender blind = 1 point; gender neutral = 2 points; gender aware = 3 points; gender sensitive = 4 points; gender active = 5 points), where an average of points was taken to determine rank order.

A separate content analysis tool devised pulled reintegration program elements out of each document. These were further categorized into program focus areas of (i) gender disaggregate provisions; (ii) social integration; (iii) physical, reproductive and mental health integration; and (iv)long term integration (see Appendix B for full analysis). This allowed for comparing the prevalence of program elements against gender inclusion.

Lastly, emotive words (e.g. 'victim'; 'resilient'; 'helpless') were noted within categories of 'child', 'girl', 'girl mother' and 'boy'. The frequency of select emotive words were counted within each document analyzed. This allowed inquiry into the emergence of agency-giving and agency-denying language that permeates the child soldier discourse. See Appendix C for a full list of emotive terms used in the search.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Broadly, a CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that is socially and historical situated and uses discourse to explore the intricate relationship between power, dominance and social inequality in different social domains (see Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Machin & Mayr, 2012). This research draws from Fairclough and Lazar's frameworks of CDA (Fairclough, 1995; Lazar, 2007).

Fairclough understands ideologies as constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination, based on social structures including class and gender. Fairclough (1995) has noted the relationship between discourse and the social is a dialectical one, in which discourse constitutes, and is constituted by,

social situations, institutions and structures (also see Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). This relays the idea that concepts, absorbed by society, can be reproduced or transformed through discourse.

Lazer largely accepts Fairclough's framework and flags a feminist perspective within CDA, which specifically examines "how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or (counter-)resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of gendered social practices" (2007: 149). For Lazar, the central concern of feminist CDA is critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order, or "relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group" (2007: 145). This approach to power dichotomies through discourse allows for an analysis of 'masculinities' as well.

Lazar's framework emphasizes the gender dimension of this analysis while Faircloth's integrates intersectionalities of other categories that too impact discourse structures and its effect on child soldiers. Language matters and applying a CDA to documents will enable the researcher to explore how discourses are produced, reproduced and transformed over time and how constructs of the identities of boy and girl child soldiers are reinforced or challenged within power dichotomies.

Applying both a content analysis and CDA to documents of analysis is seen as consistent and complimentary. Where a content analysis can be seen as positivist, a CDA goes beyond positivism. Using both a content analysis and CDA can be mutually reinforcing, as it allows for a holistic interpretation of documents grounded in hard data. The conceptual framework described above will pair with a content analysis and CDA to investigate four findings sections, namely:

Assumed Gender Roles; Constructed Identities and Sexual Violence; Emotive Language; and Overarching Power Systems.

3.2 Ethics

This research is strictly a desk review of literature and documents that have been made public, either on the internet or in libraries (books, academic journals and articles). This research did not require approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board (REB).

The researcher respected the ethical obligations of reporting the truth and the obligation to be balanced in selecting, reading, and treating source documents. Appropriate citation was used in writing this paper.

3.3 Limitations

This research does not incorporate the viewpoint of child soldiers, or any actors, receiving reintegration services, nor does it explicitly incorporate the views of those people running DDR programs. Analysis can only infer what was written in documents, which could be disconnected with experiences from local contexts. In attempts to lessen this gap, this research compares documents to the literature, including those who are critical of these processes.

Furthermore, although best efforts were made for an exhaustive analysis of documents from organizations selected, and equal distribution of documents analyzed by organizations and over time (5-year period increments), this can at best contribute to the literature, but findings should not be taken as absolute for trends of all organizations Similarly, some document titles were found but the document itself was unable to be retrieved through a Google search or reaching out to organizations to look in their archives.

Lastly, this research focuses at the international level, and not at the local level or the individual experiences of child soldiers who receive reintegration programing as it was not within the parameters of this research project to do so. This would be important research to carry out in future. Other areas of research that were outside the purview of this paper that could be carried out in future include: child DDR and livelihoods of girls; further exploring the link between masculinities and boys' lack of mention in documents; and how child DDR policy, program and guidelines translated to being effectively implemented in the field.

4. Findings

The findings section blends a content analysis and critical discourse analyses (CDA), which act as tools to better understand whether and how gender roles and identity are presented, produced, and re-produced throughout the 20 documents analyzed. This will be done through four sub-sections: Assumed Gender Roles; Constructed Identities and Sexual Violence; Emotive Language; and Overarching Power Systems. Findings of these sub-sections will be compared against what was said in the literature review.

4.1 Assumed Gender Roles

Documents analyzed were measured against a gender spectrum (see Table 1 above). Content analysis reveal that no documents are found to be 'gender blind' and the most frequent category documents fall into is 'gender active', suggesting positive results. Findings are illustrated in subsections of 'by organization' and 'over time', which is supplemented in an analysis with examples from the text. The text further provides reference to how child soldiers are described by organizations, as elaborated on throughout the findings section.

By Organization

Table 2 reflects findings of document analysis by organizations against the gender

spectrum. Five documents were analyzed for each organization. Results show that there is

variance between and within organizations of where their documents rank against the gender

spectrum. Organizations are discussed in ranking order of least to most gender incorporation.

Table 2: Results of Document Analysis against gender Spectrum by Organization

	Gender Blind	Gender Neutral	Gender Aware	Gender Sensitive	Gender Active	Average
ICRC	0	2	2	1	0	2.8
UNICEF	0	0	1	3	1	4
CSUCS	0	0	0	2	3	4.6
SCF	0	0	0	0	5	5

The **ICRC** has made progress between categories over time. However, when measured

against other organizations it ranks the lowest on the gender spectrum, with no documents

fulfilling criteria of 'gender active'. Improvements have been made within their text over time: in

their 1995 and 2003 documents, 'child' was not gender specified and it was unclear if boys, as

well as girls, were included in their usage of 'child'. Further, a 'child soldier' was illustrated in

the context of someone who fights on the frontline, as depicted in a photo of a boy with a gun

and statements such as "some children become soldiers because they want to be heroes or

martyrs" (ICRC, 1995: 3), suggesting that the multiple roles all child soldiers can assume was

not taken into account.

The two ICRC documents categorized as gender aware failed to adequately mention

girls' multiple identities, instead describing girl child soldiers as a "less visible but equally

vulnerable populations" (ICRC, 2011: 4), or mentioning girls only with reference to the Paris

Principles (ICRC, 2013). The one ICRC document that met 'gender sensitive' criteria illustrated

the multiple roles girls can assume through the following account from a Ugandan former female child soldier: "They used me first as a babysitter but, when I turned 12, I had to start training as a fighter. I think I was about 13 when I got my first child. A little later, I was shot twice in the same leg. I became weak, but still I had to walk, carry the child, carry the weapon – and fight" (2009: 12).

The ICRC's mandate is grounded within a legal basis and mission is to promote and strengthen humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles—as laid out in the four Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol 1 (ICRC, n.d.). The ICRC's focus on implementing the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol 1, which predate modern concerns with gender mainstreaming, could be suggestive of the organization's overall low ranking of incorporating gender in programing.

UNICEF documents incorporated a higher degree of gender inclusion, and the organization ranked third against other organizations. Three UNICEF documents were 'gender sensitive'. Of note is UNICEF's 1996 document which made important and progressive distinctions on the roles of boy and girl child soldiers: "Although the majority of child soldiers are boys, armed groups also recruit girls, many of whom perform the same functions as boys" (Machel, 1996: 13). The report also acknowledged that boys, too, can experience sexual violence.

One UNICEF document, although framing girls as sexually abused and invisible soldiers, recognized that "poor attention has been given to [girls'] protection, demobilisation and reintegration" (Legrand, 1999: 5). Other UNICEF documents reflected that reintegration should "Provide for the specific needs and capacities of girl soldiers" (2003: 53) and that "Particular attention must be given to the specific needs of girls and their stigmatization, including those

heading households, who have been sexually exploited, who are combatants, and who have children" (2005: 214). These examples show that accounting for gender within programing has long been recognized as important. UNCEF's 2011 document was especially practical, providing a mapping tool which charts out multiple variables within child protection.

CSUCS documents ranked second highest against other organizations on the gender spectrum. Two documents analyzed from the CSUCS were ranked as 'gender sensitive' and three as 'gender active', showing a consistency of recognizing the multiple roles girl child soldiers assumed. For example, one report stated that "Girl soldiers are frequently subjected to rape and other forms of sexual violence as well as being involved in combat and other roles" (2004: 21), while another document quoted a girl who had given birth on open ground: "I picked up a gun and strapped the baby on my back and continued to fight the government forces" (2001: 12). This example shows the extremes of the multiple role and responsibilities girls experience.

Documents that fell within 'gender active' promoted carefully designed gender-specific outreach programs. For example, the CSUCS 2008 document included provisions for the babies and children of girl soldiers and funding for sustained reintegration to address girls' complex physical, psychosocial and economic needs.

SCF documents ranked highest against other organizations. They consistently met categorical criteria of 'gender active' and made references to gender incorporation within programs early on, stating they are "committed to ensuring that [their] programs recognize and respond to the gender-specific vulnerabilities and strengths of female and male child soldiers" (2001: 21).

In fact, two exceptional documents, namely from 2007 and 2013, addressed that all diverse roles should be recognized within programs: "Programing that addresses only one

experience (e.g. that of being an ex-child soldier, or a child mother) threatens to ignore the range of rights to which children are entitled" (SCF, 2007: viii). Further, it was acknowledged that certain children's exclusion from programing can be more nuanced than gender: "...some children become excluded from child protection services or information due to their gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation or disability" (2013: 4). This falls in line with SCF's approach for a fully inclusive integration by sometimes going outside of formal DDR channels: "While few girls associated with armed actors have been through formal demobilization, many may be accessed through an inclusive approach to community-based reintegration; outreach health services; negotiation with commanders; and other girls formerly associated with armed actors" (2005: 10). These reports assume an all-encompassing model and lens to approach a gender analysis from.

This analysis finds SCF to be most progressive and consistent in including gender active provisions within documents. Three out of four organizations demonstrated the ability to apply a gender active lens to at least one document. There is no reason for future documents from all organizations to fall below 'gender active' as these provisions have been made clear and recognized.

Over Time

Table 3 reflects findings of documents analyzed over four time periods against the gender spectrum. Three documents were analyzed in the 1995-1999 time period, seven from 2000-2004, six from 2005-2009, and four from 2010-2014. Despite there not being an even distribution of documents over the time periods chosen, a ranking and trends can still be inferred.

Table 3: Results of Document Analysis against Gender Spectrum over Time

	Gender Blind	Gender Neutral	Gender Aware	Gender Sensitive	Gender Active	Average
1995-1999	0	1	1	1	0	3
2000-2004	0	1	0	3	3	4.1
2005-2009	0	0	0	2	4	4.67
2010-2014	0	0	2	0	2	4

The ranking shows a trend in documents improving along the gender spectrum over the first three time periods, but a regression over the last time period. The average for 2000-2014 period is slightly lower (0.1 points) than the 2000-2004 period, ranking the most recent time period third when it would be expected for it to rank highest on the gender spectrum.

Perhaps surprising is half (two) of the documents from the 2010-2014 time period fall within the 'gender aware' category where the former time period's (2005-2009) lowest ranked document was 'gender sensitive'. The 2010-2014 time period only analyzed four documents and is biased towards one organization; these two documents were ICRC, which, as discussed above, lacks a gender analysis. Further, in the search for appropriate documents to analyze, a shift in recent years was noticed in organizational focus from child soldier reintegration to whole-community approach towards reintegration and prevention of recruitment--where documents would not have been in the scope of this research question. This would help to explain the lower number of documents on child soldier reintegration in this time period, but is not an excuse for documents analyzed to lack incorporation of a gender active lens.

Overall, the variation between time periods (especially the latter three) is slight and may not be reflective of progress within international mechanisms and protectionist tools for child soldiers. These include the 2007 Paris Principles—which incorporates greater inclusive of the different roles girls assume and the fact that boys, too, can be subject to sexual violence in

conflict—versus the 1997 Cape Town Principles. Although some documents solely relied on the widely accepted child soldier definition of its time, SCF often expanded to a more progressive understanding of child soldier, questioning how much the Principles impact documents. At minimum, documents are mirroring norms of international principles—namely the Cape Town Principles and Paris Principles. As the Principles reflected greater inclusion of gender over time, this may have impacted the small but important shift of more documents being ranked in higher categories along the gender spectrum over time.

Overall, there is a positive shift towards documents being 'gender active'; however, this is not a substantial shift. Awareness of gender has been of note in the discussion since the 1995-1999 time period (see Legrand 1999; Machel 1996) and time period 2000-2004, saw the most drastic jump in gender awareness being incorporated into documents (see CSUCS, 2000, 2001; SCF, 2000). Further, this shift is not linear, as there is a lack of consistency in maintaining or improving on gender integration into programing guidelines over time.

Still, the need for gender active provisions within DDR, as to include under-served girls, has continually been stated in multiple documents (see CSUCS,2004; CSUCS, 2008; CSUCS, 2009; ICRC, 2009; Legarand,1999; Machel, 1996; SFC, 2001; SFC, 2007; SFC, 2013; UNICEF 2013). All organizations reflected that, despite growing knowledge of best practices for child soldier DDR, lessons learned from past efforts have continued to be overlooked in the implementation of official programs. Excerpts from CSUCS Global Child Soldier Reports illustrate this well over time:

The first Global Report on Child Soldiers stated that DDR programs should pay special attention to the experience and needs of girls, "who have often been overlooked in assistance programs and disadvantaged by traditional patriarchal social values" (CSUCS, 2001:14). In

CSUCS's 2004 global report, it was emphasized that "Despite growing recognition of girls' involvement in armed conflict, girls are often deliberately or inadvertently excluded from DDR programs" (2004:16). The following Global Report stated that "The special needs and vulnerabilities of girls affected by armed conflict have long been recognized, yet they are not well served by DDR processes. The vast majority of girls associated with fighting forces do not participate in official DDR programs and are not catered for in post-demobilization support" (2008: 16). In 2009, CSUCS again stated that girls' level of participation are particularly poor, averaging between eight and 15% of the estimated numbers of girls associated with armed forces or groups in any given situation (2009: 7). Similar statements can be found in other organizations' documents (ICRC, 2013; Legrande, 1999; Machel, 1996; SCF, 2007; SCF, 2009).

To reiterate an important point, over the two decades of reports being written on reintegration of child soldiers, the under-representation of girls in DDR programs has remained a big problem. Why this could be influenced by the portrayal of girls and boys in documents is discussed below

4.2 Sexual Violence and Gender Identities

DDR programs are made up of many different components to support reintegration efforts. In documents analyzed, 19 different elements were found. These elements were recorded, and divided amongst four categories:

• **Gender Provisions in Integration**: specific needs of boys; specific needs of girls; specific needs of girl mothers; sexual violence against girls; sexual violence against boys

• **Social Integration**: family tracing and reunification; alternatives to family reunification; local ownership; all child soldiers have access to DDR; all-inclusive programing approach

• **Physical, Reproductive, and Mental Health**: medical / health services; psychological services; traditional ceremonies; recreational activities

- **Long Term Integration**: life skills and vocational training; education; child participation; prevention from re-recruitment; monitoring and follow-up

An analysis of these elements, and recording the frequency of elements mentioned across documents was completed (see Appendices B for complete analysis). As Figure 1 illustrates, the majority of elements had a prevalence rate of 75% or higher. Four elements had a prevalence rate of 50-74% (including specific needs of girl mothers at 55%) and four elements had a prevalence rate below 50% (including specific needs of boys and sexual violence against boys, both at 25%, and child participation at 45%). These are relatively positive findings due to the high frequency of most elements in documents analyzed.

Figure 1: Percentage of Reintegration Elements in Analyzed Documents

1a) Gender Provisions in Integration
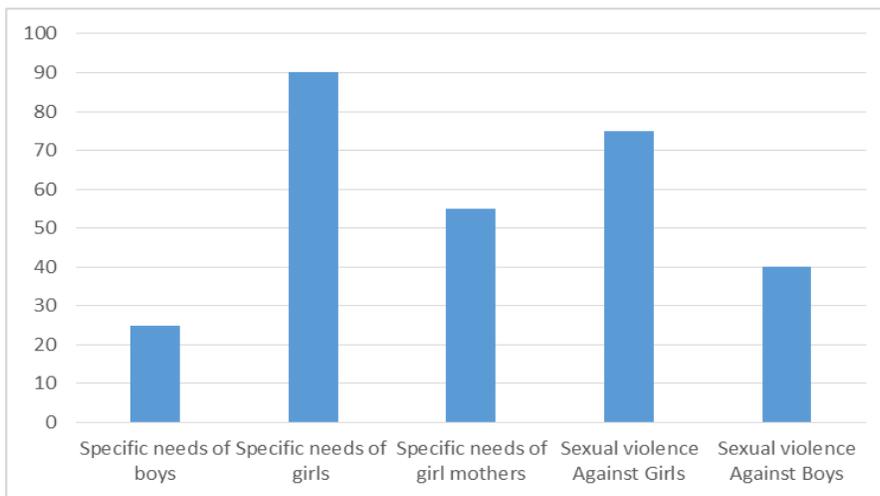
1b) Social Integration
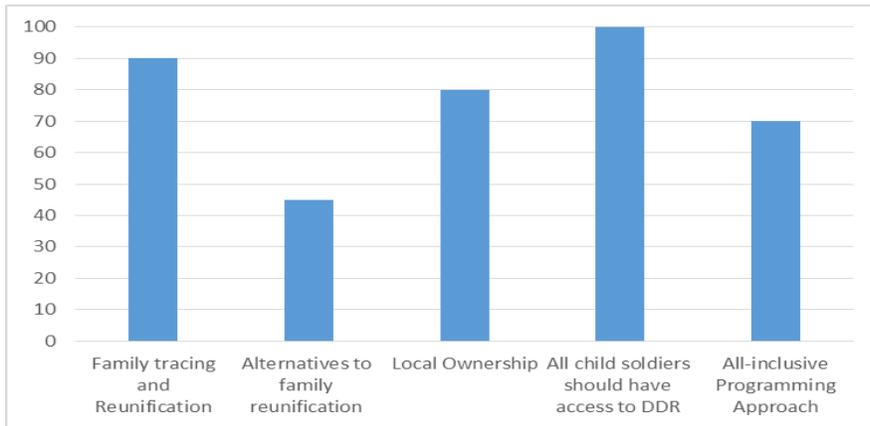
1c) Physical, Reproductive and Mental Health

1d) Long-term Integration

Similarities and differences were found between elements in each section. Eleven elements were recorded at or above a 75% frequency rate. Four elements were recorded between 50% to 74% prevalence rate, including from: 1a) specific needs of girl mothers (55%); 1b) all-incl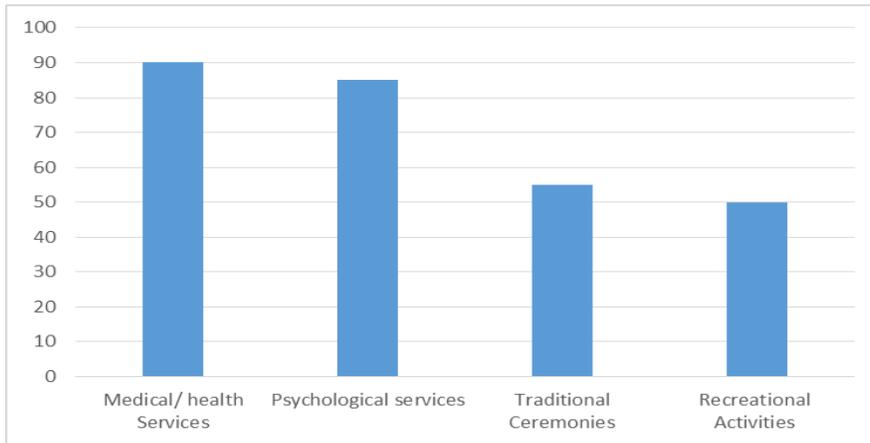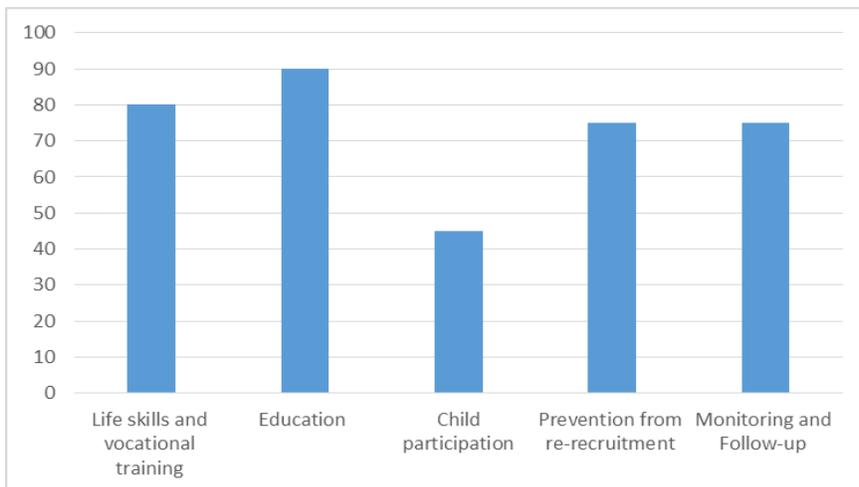usive programing approach (70%); and 1c) traditional ceremonies (55%) and recreational activities (50%). Four elements were recorded below a 50% prevalence rate, including from: 1a) specific needs of boys (25%) and sexual violence against boys (40%); 1b) alternatives to family reunification (45%); and 1d) child participation (45%). A trend of lower frequencies amongst elements which speak to children's agency is noticed (e.g. child participation, alternatives to family reunification). Further, categories "Social Integration" and "Long-term Integration" have the least number of elements (one) that fall below a 75% frequency, whereas "Gender Provisions in Integration" has the most elements (three) below a 75% frequency. It is also the only category where the majority of elements within a category fall below a 75% frequency.

The proceeding analysis is most interested with findings in Figure 1a), the category that faired worst regarding the overall frequency of elements within documents. The high frequency around elements that speak to 'girls' and a much lower frequency around the same elements that speak to 'boys' is also an interesting trend to note. Analyzing Figure 1a) with examples from documents will be suggestive of why there is a higher frequency of mentioning girls' needs within documents, yet girls remain undeserved in DDR.

Out of 20 documents analyzed 18 (90%) wrote about specific needs of girls independent of boys while only five (25%) mentioned boys' needs independent of girls. Two documents (ICRC 1995 and 1999) did not mention 'boy' or 'girl' in the text and only 'child'. Sexual violence was an ongoing theme throughout documents and predominantly focused around girls as victims. This separate act from girls' identity becomes intertwined with—if not defining of—

girls' identity through the discourse: "Children recruited by the military also include a large proportion of girls who are often sexually abused by the military. They remain the invisible soldiers" (Legrand, 1999: 5); "While some girls engage in fighting, many provide sexual services" (SCF, 2005: 9). Similar language is produced very often in most documents analyzed.

Of the documents that wrote about the specific needs of girls independent of boys, the action of sexual violence was woven together with multiple other girls' needs to be addressed in reintegration programs. Reproductive abilities of girls—namely forced pregnancies, child mothering and reproductive health problems—were underpinned by the experience of sexual violence. A SCF document reads: "Apart from sexually transmitted diseases, girls may present with several reproductive health problems including fistulas, disappearance of menstruation and sterility due to infection. They may face other reproductive health problems arising from female genital mutilation and giving birth without medical support" (2004: 49). Other documents capitalize on girl mothers' lack of agency: "Girl mothers and babies who are born of rape in situations such as the DRC, Liberia or Uganda are especially vulnerable to rejection" (CSUCS, 2008: 29); "Girl mothers and their children are among the most vulnerable groups…" (CSUCS, 2009: 9). The discourse that speaks to the specific needs of girls risks agency-denying effects by monolithically categorizing girls and girl mothers as 'victim' and as their biological and reproductive systems.

Outside of reproductive roles, many factors were linked to the experience of being sexually abused including: higher risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections; psychological and emotional problems; being stigmatized by home communities and having more difficulty reintegrating – even difficulty with marriage prospects (see Machel, 1996:

14). Child early and forced marriage, being excluded from DDR and being invisible due to stigmatization from sexual abuse were also spoken of.

There was a tendency for girls' needs to be prefaced with a link to sexual violence. These absolute and homogenizing descriptors of girls being sexually abused are problematic as it is not representative of all girl child soldiers' experiences. CSUCS (2004) is the one document which clarifies that not all armed groups commit sexual violence against girl recruits as a matter of the groups policy, such as in the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

Not all documents centered sexual violence as a 'girl' issue; only eight out of 20 documents clearly mentioned that both boys and girls (distinctive from 'child') are at risk of sexual violence (see CSUCS, 2001; CSUCS, 2004; ICRC, 2009; SCF, 2001; SCF, 2004; SCF, 2013; Machel, 1996; UNICEF, 2011). Organizations fail to consistently state that both boys and girls are at risk of sexual violence; instead this is often precluding this as a 'female issue'. Other documents which note that girls and boys both experience sexual abuse tend to single out girls: "All child soldiers are vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation by others in the armed group. The risks are usually much higher for girls" (SCF, 2001: 5; SCF, 2004:5); "Girls are at particular risk of rape, sexual slavery and abuse, although the exploitation of boys for these purposes is also reported" (CSUCS, 2001:12). Few documents acknowledge sexual violence in a way that does not single out one gender, while contextualizing it within overarching systematic issues: "In emergencies, sexual violence against girls and boys is perpetrated in a legal vacuum and is exacerbated by a culture of impunity" (SCF, 2013: 8). The lack of consistency in addressing sexual violence, or gender based violence, as an issue that affects both boys and girls illustrates a reproduction of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' stereotypes. Not explicitly addressing sexual violence as an issue both boys and girls can experience furthers a patriarchal gender regime by

encouraging the silencing of boys who have experienced sexual violence, as they do not fit within societal norms of 'masculinity'. Further, it assumes girls have passive identities. This issue extends beyond child soldier reintegration to all of society.

Despite the finding that both boy and girl child soldiers experience sexual violence in multiple ways, as was made explicitly clear in Machel's 1996 report, almost two decades on there continues to be a lack of recognition within documents that (i) girls are not always victims of sexual violence; (ii) boys can be victims of sexual violence; and (iii) there is need to make available services for sexual violence as an essential part of reintegration programs. This shows unchanged gender constructs and social norms in the portrayal of who is victim to sexual violence, and consequently documents run the risk of reproducing the dichotomy of girls as agency-lacking and boys as agency-possessing.

The portrayal of girls' war time experiences, reflected in reintegration needs, is laden with the imagery of girls as victims of sexual violence which has led to multiple problematic outcomes for their post-war reality. This paints a canvas where girls are continually recipients of aggression, domination and victimization. There is harm in only filling the canvas with experiences associated with sexual abuse, while lacking recognition of other experiences. Emphasis on the sexual abuse of girls, especially associated with their reproductive abilities, produces a 'women-as-womb' outlook where the existence of the girl is continually linked to her reproductive biology. Concerns of her being 'spoiled' for marriage or the reproduction of her identity as a child mother relegates her existence to that of what her biology as female can offer (IRIN, 2011). Although this is the reality in certain contexts where girls are child soldiers, it is problematic for documents to reproduce this sentiment in the discourse, unchallenged and at a high frequency, where needs outside of sexual abuse are rendered as an aside.

In contrast to the notion of girls as victims, few documents centered girls' experiences within the context of: empowerment or agency; livelihoods; shifting gender norms and post-war identities; or incorporate girls' voices into decision-making. For example, SCF (2004) emphasized that every effort should be made to find out children's views and discussions should be had with girls and boys, in particular on gender issues relevant to demobilization and reintegration. Similarly, few documents addressed what identity and role a girl would like to assume post-conflict, and implications of potentially challenging societal gender constructs with these roles. One notable SCF document recognizes this: "Where girls have held posts of responsibility or experienced greater social freedom in armed forces, the return to a society where their freedom and opportunities are restricted because of their age or sex can be problematic" (2004: 52). SCF (2007: 3) discusses how an effective reintegration program "is one that can be applied to their many realities", and further acknowledges that "While some girls are looking to redefine their role in society, others require support to return to their traditional gender role" (2007: 24).

Of the five documents that wrote about the specific needs of boys independent of girls, themes included differentiating between recruitment and traditional initiation rites of passage into adulthood (CSUCS, 2001; CSUCS, 2008); boys taking on the role of breadwinner (ICRC, 2009); boys as survivors of sexual violence (SCF, 2013) and boys being raped, forced into prostitution and traumatized by violence (Machel, 1996). Not surprising were the boy-specific mentions in line with masculine identities of 'provider' and 'protector'. It was surprising that only 20% of documents that spoke to the needs of boys included the taboo subject of sexual violence, which creates tension with the construction of 'dominant masculinities'. Interestingly, the two mentions of sexual violence were from the beginning and end of the time period being

analyzed (1996 and 2013). Why, then, was this not continually mentioned in other documents in between as an issue that needs addressing in boys' reintegration?

The low frequency of boys needs being mentioned (five times total) compared to 'child' and 'girl' could suggest the perceived characteristics of boys as 'tough' and 'independent' are accepted by organizations. In turn, this justifies warranting less attention around boys needs within documents. It is equally important to challenge the re-production of boys' as agents-of-action as it is to challenge girls as passive recipients of action. Not doing so is problematic, and reinforces the protection/protected dichotomy.

The ICRC illustrates the acceptance and reproduction of constructed gender identities through text: "While girls might be forced into early marriages, boys become breadwinner at an age when they should be in elementary school" (2009: 20). Inquiry into the nuances this text produces is valuable: it is important that the boy, assuming role of 'breadwinner' be in elementary school, but why is it that access to education is not given equally important mention for the girl who is forced into early marriage? The sentence emphasizes the importance of boys—not children or boys and girls—accessing education in conflict and post-conflict situations and reproduces a gendered hierarchy by reinforcing that boys are privileged to education and higher-waged production while girls are relegated to the home to fulfill their domestic and reproduction duties.

The above text is one example of many that box girls' into agency-denying roles and assumes boys in agency-giving roles. The inclusion of gender disaggregated elements synonymously equates girls' needs to addressing sexual violence while lacking consideration of boys' needs. Despite putting forth best intentions, many documents re-produce gendered constructs which can act as a deterrent to the very objectives they seek. SCF (2007: 25) asserts

that "Girls frequently want support to be offered in ways that do not single them out as former children associated with armed forces and groups or survivors of rape…They wanted to be recognized as women with children and all the respect and responsibilities that entails". Yet, most documents analyzed reproduced the very stigma which girls' are trying to escape, consequently pigeonholing girls within identities centered on being victims of sexual abuse. To deconstruct there, organizations must be sensitive as to how they create discourse within documents.

4.3 Emotive Language

Language creates and shapes identity, and can lend or deny agency to an individual or group. Within the documents analyzed, emotive words, including adjective and adverbs, effectively highlighted certain war-time roles of child soldiers which were carried forth as part of their identity upon reintegration. Many were found to be agency-denying, or disempowering, and few to be agency-giving, or empowering. The two most frequent descriptors of child soldiers ('child'. 'girl' and 'boy) were 'vulnerable' and 'victim'. Table 4 breaks down the average frequency that 'vulnerable' and 'victim' were found within documents. Although these are overall averages, some documents were saturated with this language, including one ICRC (2009) document where 'victim' was found 32 times within a 32 page document. Other documents used these words sparingly or not at all (see ICRC, 2003; CSUCS, 2001, 2004; UNICEF 2005; SCF 2005; 2013).

Table 4: Average Usage of 'Vulnerable' and 'Victim'

4a) by Organization

	'Vulnerable'	'Victim'
CSUCS	3	5
ICRC	7	12
SCF	12	2
UNICEF	11	19

4b) Over Time

	'Vulnerable	'Victim'
1995-1999	12	18
2000-2004	5	2
2005-2009	7	9
2010-2014	12	14

It should be noted that 'vulnerable' was often led with words such as 'most', 'extremely' and 'unequivocally', emphasizing for readers the plight of child soldiers. Multiple other agency-denying words were found within the documents, including 'helpless' (ICRC, 2003); 'robbed of their childhood' (UNICEF, 2003); 'shattered childhood' (ICRC, 2013); 'devastating… experiences' (CSUCS, 2008)'; 'slaughtered', 'exploited'; (UNICEF, 1996); 'deprived' (ICRC, 2013). Here these agency-denying words ubiquitously characterize any person under the age of 18, while a child's evolving maturity or intentions behind being part of armed groups is, for the most part, unacknowledged.

In attempts to gender-disaggregate descriptor words, it was found that there were many agency-denying descriptors specific for 'girl' and few to describe 'boy'. Girls tended to be recognized as 'invisible victims' (CSUCS, 2000); 'invisible soldiers' (UNICEF, 1999; SCF, 2005); 'stigmatized' (CSUCS, 2004; CSUCS, 2009); and 'most vulnerable' (SCF, 2007). In the case of girl mothers, they were described as 'more vulnerable' (CSUCS, 2009) and 'especially vulnerable to rejection' (CSUCS, 2008).

Few agency-giving descriptors were found for 'child', 'girl' or 'boy. There were two instances describing the ability for children to 'survive' (SCF, 2001; Machel, 1996), to be 'resilient', namely that "the resilience of boys and girls must not be underestimated" (ICRC, 2009:1) and that "the ideal approach includes "strengthen[ing] children's own resilience" (UNICEF, 2011). SCF also stated they were "committed to ensuring that [their] programs recognize and respond to the gender-specific vulnerabilities and strengths of female and male child soldiers" (2001: 21).

These agency-giving words, of which were found a handful of times within hundreds of pages of documents, are far and few between those which are agency-denying. This language permeates tropes of vulnerability and is laden with gender-based stereotypes. A narrative of hopelessness and haplessness is constructed and pervades the child soldier discourse, especially that which is centered around girls. It also illustrates a narrow conceptualization of groups that are being affected, simply homonogenizing victims as 'child' and 'girl' while 'boy' is left out. Reality is much more nuanced than homogeneously grouping individuals together along simplistic boundaries of sex and age, allowing these parameters to transcend other categories of difference (ethnicity, class, maturity).

One means of procuring agency found in documents analyzed is to give space for voices of child soldiers to be heard, rather than to speak over their stories with language they may not, or not want to, identify with. Child soldiers' lived realities as told by child soldiers themselves used less emotion-provoking language (see for example featured texts or text boxes in CSUCS, 2004; SCF, 2007; ICRC, 2009, and the following autobiographies: Beah, 2007; Jal, 2009; Ung, 2000. among others). This tactic incorporates into documents the voice of a generally voiceless group, giving them agency and allowing their stories to be heard in an authentic way which has potential to change how the reader will digest and consume similar information. As a CSUCS Global Report reads: "Promoting the rights of war-affected children – including child soldiers— means more than defining them as "collateral damage" or as passive victims of war. Such children must be guaranteed a larger role in society and the right to participate in decisions that affect their lives" (2004: 28).

Some documents rely on loaded language to get across a point while others are closer to language-neutral when delivering similar points. Take for example the two excerpts below:

> (1)"Child soldiers both armed with lethal weapons, plied with alcohol and drugs to incite them to violence and fearlessness, forced into dependence on the group that has recruited them, unable or too fearful to find a way out, children become loose cannons, a danger to themselves and others" (ICRC, 2003:4).

> (2) "Child soldiers may also be at additional risk of drug and alcohol abuse (often used to recruit children or desensitize them for violence), sexually transmitted disease, including HIV/AIDS, and unwanted pregnancies (CSUCS 2001:12)"

The ICRC example uses charged language to create a picture that is emotionally provoking, and totalizing terms, although not all child soldiers are armed, take alcohol and drugs, or are forced into the armed group. The second example from the CSUCS is less severe, creates space for different contexts as that "*may* also be at risk" while still getting across the importance and severity of the situation. As the same underlying message is conveyed to the audience, why

are emotive words preferred over words that will give a former child soldier the most agency and autonomy moving forward? This is especially curious in policy documents, program guidance documents, and training manual documents; one may expect a certain amount of hyperbole in awareness-raising and fundraising documents to motivate a certain audience, but not in documents geared towards practitioners and like-minded in the field of child soldiers and DDR.

Emotive language found in documents serves accepted norms of masculine and feminine constructs, described in findings section two, but it further serves the purposes of distancing organizations that write the report, as well as those who read it, from the acts of those who facilitate child soldiering. Perhaps unconsciously, this distancing is reproduced through emotive language that creates a distinct binary of "us" (the west / supporters of these organizations) and "them" (the facilitators of such war crimes). This echoes Mutua's (2001) "savage" "victim" "savior" model, where the "savage" are those who use child soldiers, the "victims" are child soldier (especially those most vulnerable to sexual abuse), and the "savior" are those on the outside who condemn such acts in a way that distinctly separates those acts from over breaching their reality, where language, especially emotive language, is a tool to facilitate such separation.

Language is powerful and can conjure images into societies' consciousness, paralleling those of which dominant discourses constantly speak. Findings show that many well-intentioned organizations joined the verbal assembly line of producing and reproducing tropes of emotive language. Documents should reflect on language used, whose purpose this language serves, and how to be agency-giving, opposed to agency-denying, when discussing child soldiers.

4.4 Overarching and Intersecting Power Systems

Children's, especially girls', limited access to reintegration programs is contextualized within the larger framework of power dynamics in the local community, and at the state level

and international level. Looking at if and how different levels of power dynamics are explained in documents is telling of organisations' position as to why girl child soldiers are undeserved in DDR.

Some documents discuss the reproduction of gender norms at the local level, for example CSUCS reporting on child soldiers reintegrating from the Mai Mai militia in the DRC suggest that returning boys are generally treated by their communities as "heroes" while returning girls are treated with suspicion because they are perceived to have been sexually promiscuous (2009: 9) and to have transgressed gender norms. Although this gives a concrete example of how the (re)production of gender identities are negatively impacting girls' reintegration, it does not attempt to answer why.[3]

Four out of 20 documents analyzed, from CSUCS and SCF, delve deeper as to who is or why these constructs are being created which render girls' experiences and roles 'invisible' or look at structural and systematic power dynamics that prevent equal access for all children to these services.

SCF (2007) contextualizes how gender and other categories of difference (e.g. disability, ethnicity, and age) intersect with power relations. This distinction allows a more holistic view of who is being marginalized within programs. It is surprising that more documents do not capture this crucial aspect, especially post-conflict when tensions are often high between groups along ethnic, religious or political lines.

Two documents speak to the broader context of unequal power relations affecting reintegration outcomes: "The needs of girl soldiers must be seen within broader contexts of entrenched and complex gender discrimination and inequalities" (CSUCS, 2008: 29); "In

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[3] In fairness, adequate ethnographic research with such a group can be potentially hazardous to health and poses ethical issues.

emergencies, sexual violence against girls and boys is perpetrated in a legal vacuum and is exacerbated by a culture of impunity... Gender discrimination, perceptions of masculinities and unequal power relations between adults and children also make girls and boys more vulnerable to sexual violence" (SFC, 2013: 8). Drawing on 'unequal power relations' is essential to realize the path of answering the 'why' and 'perceptions of masculinities' is also of importance as it infers that perceptions of gender are created and harmful.

Only one document answers the *why* by naming the system that is creating gender constructs that lead to gender discrimination, perceptions of masculinities as more entitled and powerful and the interplay of categories of difference within this: "Special attention needs to be paid in such programs to the experience and needs of girls, who have often been overlooked in assistance programs and disadvantaged by traditional *patriarchal* social values" (CSUCS, 2001: 14, emphasis added).

It is a welcomed and necessary step that these documents inquired into the 'why', albeit minimally. This inquiry is essential in changing what discourse is produced and what knowledge is consumed and sheds light on more than the outcome of the problem, namely lack of girl child soldiers' participation in reintegration programs, as well as the root. Further, it is acknowledged that the space of speaking about the 'why' can be challenging from an organizational point of view where both donors and the country where programing is implemented must be appeased, funding is tight, and program managers are often overworked as is. Therefore, although necessary, the discussion of overarching power dynamics is not sufficient and the boundary of appropriate organizational discourse should be pushed to further this essential discussion for a chance at true change.

The ideological root cause of the marginalization of girls (and other groups) is the entrenched patriarchal structure, which is complemented by an environment of militarization and masculine privilege. What is reflected in the document that delves most into the issue of patriarchy is "traditional patriarchal social values" which limits the scope of the issue at the local or regional level where said traditions take place. This comment is problematic as it creates an 'us', 'them' dichotomy where countries that do not use child soldiers—perceived to be the West although there have been recent accounts of under-18 recruitment in the UK, U.S. and Canada— are equally exempt of "traditional patriarchal social values". The root issue of patriarchy runs much deeper than social values at a local level, but is the result of norms which have become entrenched and pervasive at local, regional and global levels. These norms grow inequalities through the production, consumption, and reproduction of constructs which diminish power of certain groups, including female child soldiers, to the advantage of other groups.

These organizations and the environments in which they operate in, too, have a role in how discourses around child soldiers are reproduced. This analysis shows that organizations often reproduce the gender constructs created by the very system in which they are pushing back on to include girl child soldiers, amongst other marginalized groups, in reintegration.

5. Conclusion

Documents analyzed address the gendered nature of DDR, specifically the reintegration of girl child soldiers, largely by ascribing to social norms and constructs surrounding gender. This research has provided evidence suggestive of why girls remain underserved in DDR despite recognition of their high participation rate in militaries and armed groups.

Most documents of major humanitarian organizations explicitly recognize that girls are involved in conflict as child soldiers. There is room for improvement as a gender-active lens is

lacking in documents from CSUCS, ICRC and UNICEF, and gender inclusion in documents has dropped in the most recent time period of study (2010-2014). There is no reason to not achieve gender-active status, especially when there are tools that can be utilized to help guide this process (see UNIFEM document by Douglas & Hill, 2004). Failing to fully include gender within documents limits the scope for organizations to push against confirmative gender roles and best assist girl child soldiers in reintegration.

A second major finding is that documents (hold SCF, 2007) often re-produced the very constructs they were trying to mitigate and eventually dismantle, and re-produced the very stigma which girls' are trying to escape. Although organizations claim to advocate for and mainstream the rights of girls', documents are at times significantly gendered and fall below the highest standards. This is underscored by much discourse relegating girls to their biological and reproductive roles, and conflating their war-time experience with sexual violence. In a similar vein, emotive language found in documents largely placed girls in agency-denying roles. Lacking consciousness of how language used to position girls (and boys) confines girls to a certain identity they may not ascribe to within the reintegration process—or even push them outside of the DDR process. All organizations use emotive language (again some not as frequently as others) and, at times, were found to re-produce and assume traditional gender roles onto boy and girl soldiers in reintegration. This may be because authors wanted to use attention-grabbing emotive language, or perhaps authors unconsciously re-produced emotive language and did not reflect on the power of their words. There is no real way to know why documents re-produced the very constructs they were trying to mitigate as authors of documents were not interviewed. In future, reflection and attention should be spent on using language with intention.

Lastly, reintegration programs for child soldiers occur within conflict, or post-conflict, militarized, violent systems operating at the extreme end of the patriarchal and hegemonic masculinity spectrum. This is a challenging environment to operate and effect change within, giving organizations all the more reason to be conscious of how their documents can be mechanisms of creating space for change.

Over time, the patriarchal spectrum is changing; the fact that gender inclusion—albeit with criticisms—is prevalent in documents analyzed should not be underplayed or go unnoticed. Further, the fact that there is recognition in some documents of gender identities, with which patriarchal norms are uncomfortable (e.g. boys as victims of sexual abuse, girls in positions of power) illustrates one way organizations can challenge assumed identity norms. Challenging assumed norms creates space to shift societal norms of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities. So then, the role of language and of discourses in documents should not (re)produce patriarchal and hegemonic masculinity constructs, nor feed audiences what is known and easy to swallow. What should be offered is a sourness that is hard to swallow, but with digestion and in time will lead to change.

There are convergences and divergences between findings of this research and the literature review provided on girl child soldiers and DDR. Both the academic literature and documents analyzed are aware of the basic gender issues of inequality between boys and girls (e.g. girls have lower participation rates in DDR; girls are more likely to be ostracized and have a harder time reintegrating; girls are at higher risk of sexual violence; girls take on multiple roles within conflict). Further, documents analyzed reflect international child protection mechanisms—including the CRC—and Cape Town Principles and Paris Principles.

Findings of the content and critical discourse analysis are largely consistent with critiques made in the literature review. One critique of the literature review includes that girl child soldiers are ascribed to assumed gendered identities. This is problematic and documents that did so risk monolithically categorizing girls' as 'victim' and synonymously equating this to experiencing sexual violence. Another main critique of the literature review is that the multiple roles girls assume are not recognized. A few documents reflect this criticism; however, those that do recognize and address girls' multiple roles fall outside the literature's critique. Further, the literature criticizes programs for not providing more agency-giving situations for girls—one of the reasons why DDR has so often failed girls in the past. Different documents focused on different elements of girls' needs in reintegration, with some being agency-giving (see SFC, 2011; also see Appendices B). The literature is fair in criticizing the lack of agency-giving situations for girls and there is space for documents to improve the inclusion of this. Lastly, many documents, although recognizing girls as child soldiers, emphasize their 'passive', 'victimized' experiences while not giving due emphasis to agency- giving moments. As previously mentioned, SCF 2004 and 2007 documents are an exception to this.

Reintegration does not occur in a vacuum, and the efforts of organizations, including their documents, are bringing much awareness to the issue of girl child soldiers and the challenges girls face on reintegration. Awareness should be brought to how child DDR policy documents, program guidance documents, and training manual documents reflect child soldiering as a gendered phenomenon. Still, these documents can be key mechanisms to relay gender inclusion within reintegration programs, and an opportunity to effect change. This paper hopes to encourage organizations to implement findings of this research.

6. Appendices

Appendix A: List of Documents Analyzed

Save The Children
- Lorey, Mark. (2001). Child Soldiers Care & Protection of Children in Emergencies: A Field
- Guide. Save The Children**.** Retrieved August 28, 2014.
- International Save the Children Alliance. (2004). A Fighting Chance: Guidelines and Implications for Programs Involving Children Associated with Armed Groups and Armed Forces. STC UK.
- Visman, Emma. (March 2005). Reaching All: Core Principles for Working with Children Associated with Armed Forces. STC UK Child Protection
- MacVeigh, Johanna., Maguire, Sarah., and Wedge, Joanna. (2007). Stolen Futures: The Reintegration of Children Affected by Armed Conflict. Save The Children. London, UK.
- Save The Children. (2013). Child Protection Strategy: Child Protection in Emergencies.

Child Soldiers International (Formerly Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers
- CSUCS. (June 2000). Girls with Guns: An Agenda on Child Soldiers for 'Beijing Plus Five.' London: Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.
- CSUCS. (2001). Child Soldier Global Report.
- CSUCS. (2004). Child Soldier Global Report.
- CSUCS. (2008). Child Soldiers Global Report 2008.
- CSUCS. (2009). Release and Reintegration of Child Soldiers: One Part of a Bigger Puzzle.

UNICEF
- Graça Machel. (1996). The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children. UNICEF.
- Legrand, Jean-Claude. (October 1999). Lessons Learned from UNICEF Field Programs For the Prevention of Recruitment, Demobilization and Reintegration for Child Soldiers. New York, NY: UNICEF, Child Protection Section, Program Division.
- UNICEF and CSUCS. (2003). Guide to the Operational Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict.
- UNICEF. (2005). Emergency Field Handbook: A Guide for UNICEF Staff. UNICEF Division of Communication, New York, USA.
- UNICEF. (2011). Comprehensive Child Protection Mapping System.

ICRC
- ICRC. (1995). Plan of Action Concerning Children in Armed Conflict.
- ICRC. (2003). Child Soldiers.
- ICRC. (2009). Children in War.
- ICRC. (2011). Children Affected by Armed Conflict and Other Situations of Violence Workshop Report, Geneva, 14-16 March 2011.
- ICRC (August 2013). Children Associated with Armed Forces or Armed Groups

Appendix B: Reintegration Process Elements Identified in Documents

Note: "1" indicates element is present in the document analyzed.

Year	Document	Gender disaggregate provisions					Social Integration						Physical, Reproductive and Mental Health Integration				Long-term Integration				
1995	ICRC. (1995). Plan of action concerning children in armed conflict						1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1			1
1996	Machel, G. (1996). The impact of Armed Conflict on Children. UNICEF.	1	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
1999	Legrand, Jean-Claude. (1999). Lessons Learned from UNICEF Field Programmes For the Prevention of Recruitment, Demobilization and Reintegration for Child . UNICEF.	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2000	CSUCS (June 2000). Girls with Guns: An Agenda on Child Soldiers for 'Beijing Plus Five.' London: Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.	1	1	1					1		1							1		
2001	CSUCS (2001). Global Report	1	1		1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1		
	Lorey, Mark. (2001). Child Soldiers Care & Protection of Children in Emergencies A Field Guide. Save The Children	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Year	Source																				
2003	ICRC (2003). Child Soldiers.				1		1	1		1	1					1		1		
	UNICEF and CSUCS. (2003). Guide to the Operational Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict.		1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1
2004	International Save the Children Alliance. (2004). A Fighting Chance:Guidelines and implications for programmes involving children		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	CSUCS_(2004)._Global Report		1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1			1	1
2005	Emma Visman (March 2005). Reaching All: Core Principles for working with children associated with armed forces. STC UK Child Protection		1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1
	UNICEF. (2005). Emergency Field Handbook: A Guide for UNICEF Staff. July 2005. UNICEF Division of Communication, New York, USA.		1	1	1		1	1	1			1						1	1
2007	MacVeigh, J., Maguire, S., Wedge, J. (2007). Stolen Futures. Save The Children		1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2008	CSUCS. (2008). Child Soldiers Global Report.	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1

2009	ICRC (2009). Children in War		1	1	1	1		1	1			1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
	CSUCS. (2009). Release and Reintegration of child soldiers: One part of a bigger puzzle			1	1			1	1	1	1	1					1	1		1	
2011	UNICEF (2011). Comprehensive Child protection Mapping System			1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1		1
	ICRC (2011). Children affected by armed conflict and other situations of violence Workshop report, Geneva, 14-16 March 2011			1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1
2013	STC (2013) Child Protection Strategy: Child Protection in Emergencies		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1		1
	ICRC (August 2013). Children Associated with Armed Forces or Armed Groups.			1			1	1		1	1	1	1			1	1			1
Total	20		**5**	18	11	15	8	18	9	16	20	14	18	17	11	10	16	18	9	15	15
Percentage			**25**	**90**	**55**	**75**	**40**	**90**	**45**	**80**	**100**	**70**	**90**	**85**	**55**	**50**	**80**	**90**	**45**	**75**	**75**

Appendix C: Emotive Language

Listed below are words included in document searches for emotive language. Not all words were found to be present in documents (e.g. 'empower').

devastating
deprived
empower
especially vulnerable
exploited
extremely vulnerable
hapless
helpless
invisible
more vulnerable
most vulnerable
robbed
resilient
shattered
slaughtered
survive
unequivocally vulnerable
victim
vulnerable

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http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/filesCharter_En_African_Charter_on_the_Rights_and_Wlefare_of_the_Child_AddisAbaba_July1990.pdf

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Banholzer, L., Haer, R. (2014). Attaching and Detaching: the Successful Reintegration of Child Soldiers. Journal of Development Effectiveness. 6(2):111-127

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Bewicke, A. (2014). Realizing the Right to Repatriations for Girl Soldiers: A Child-Sensitive and Gendered Approach. Colombia Journal of Gender and Law. 26(2):182-233

Boothby, N., Crawford, J., and Halperin, J. (2006). Mozambique Child Soldier Life Outcome Study: Lessons Learned in Rehabilitation and Reintegration Efforts. Global Public Health. 1(1): 87-107

Buttolph, J., Reynolds, H.T. (2005). Political Science Research Methods. Fifth Edition. CQ Press.

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Carpenter, C. (2006). Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations. Security Dialogue. 37(1):83-103

Child Protection Working Group. (August 2006). Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards. Children and DDR.
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Denov, M. (2005). Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Experiences, Implications and Strategies for Rehabilitation and Community Reintegration. CIDA.

Douglas, S., Hill, F. Eds. (2004). Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. UNIFEM.

Cockburn, C. (2010). Gender Relations as Casual in Militarization and War. International
    Feminist Journal of Politics.12:2, 139-157

Connell, R.W., Messerschmidt, J. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept.
    Gender & Society. 19(6): 829-859

Cape Town Principles and Best Practices. (April 27-30,1997). UNICEF. Cape Town, South
    Africa. http://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/Cape_Town_Principles(1).pdf

CSUCS. (June 2000). Girls with Guns: An Agenda on Child Soldiers for 'Beijing Plus Five.'
    London: Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. Retrieved August 28, 2014.
    https://www.essex.ac.uk/armedcon/story_id/000050.pdf

CSUCS. (2001). Child Soldier Global Report. (sent by e-mail)

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