Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) is a process that contributes to security and stability by disarming combatants, removing them from military structures, and socially and economically integrating them into society. DDR programs downsize armed forces, or disband them completely. They are usually part of other efforts to demilitarize (e.g. landmine removal, Security Sector Reform, etc.) and consolidate peace (e.g. justice, reconciliation, community-based reconstruction, etc). When they shift resources to the social and economic sectors, DDR programs can also reduce poverty.

Over the last twenty years, there have been DDR programs in more than 30 countries. About two-thirds of these countries have been in Africa. The World Bank’s involvement with DDR began in 1992 with the Uganda Veterans Assistance Program. Since then, it has supported about 21 demobilization and reintegration projects in more than 15 countries.
Most of these have been post-conflict (e.g., the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Program) rather than peacetime (e.g., the Chad Structural Adjustment Credit, which had a demobilization component) operations. Hence, this note will focus on post-conflict disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

**Beneficiaries:**

There are usually three types of beneficiaries:

- **Combatants.** Most of the beneficiaries are adult males who have participated in combat and/or support roles such as cooks, porters or messengers. However, there may also be women and children, including those abducted and sexually exploited.

- **Dependents.** The spouses, children and other dependents of ex-combatants can also be direct beneficiaries.

- **Communities.** The communities where ex-combatants resettle may benefit from DDR programs, especially when they are delivered through community-based mechanisms.

Clear and unambiguous eligibility criteria, along with a careful screening process, should determine who can participate in a DDR program. While it is important to exclude non-combatants who may be armed (petty criminals, for example), it is also critical to include women, children and the disabled who may no longer be in possession of a weapon.

- **Children.** According to the United Nations, the recruitment of children under 18 into the armed forces is not only illegal but one of the worst forms of child labor. The recruitment of children under 15 is considered a war crime. When a DDR program includes children, they must be separated from adult ex-combatants and receive assistance specifically designed for their needs (e.g., interim care centers, family tracing, psycho-social support, and recreation). In Rwanda, the *kadogo* (Kiswahili for “little one”) schools were set up as multi-age, multi-grade institutions for child soldiers. These transitional institutions allowed for a period of de-socialization and re-socialization before the children returned to civilian schools.

**The Cape Town Principles**

The Cape Town Principles and Best Practices (1997) defines a “child soldier” as “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 purely as family members. The definition includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms.”


- **Youth.** A large number of ex-combatants are between 15 and 24 years old. Many have not been socialized by their families and communities. They may also have missed education and employment opportunities. DDR programs ought to consider the special needs and potential of this group (for example, substance abuse treatment, youth clubs, etc.).

- **Women.** Female ex-combatants, supporters, and dependents ought to be formally included in the DDR process and receive assistance specifically designed for their needs and aspirations (for example, separate shelter and sanitation facilities, treatment for sexual and gender-based violence, reproductive health services, childcare, and other gender-specific services). Female combatants who have achieved equality on the battlefield may find it difficult to
return to more traditional female roles. This was true for female members of the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF).

**UN Security Council Resolution 1325**

UN Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) measures the advancement of women in all aspects of peace-building and “encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants.”


- **Disabled.** Disabled and chronically ill ex-combatants also require specialized assistance. This includes health screening to identify rehabilitation and treatment options and reintegration assistance to enable independent living and community-based care. In Uganda, about 17 percent of the ex-combatants suffered from HIV/AIDS, which led to the design of a specific health component within the DDR program.

Beneficiaries need to be involved in the design and implementation of the DDR program to ensure that their needs and aspirations are properly addressed.

**Disarmament:**

**Definition of Disarmament**

“Disarmament is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population. Disarmament also includes the development of responsible arms management programs.”


Disarmament is the first component of the DDR program. The separation of combatants from their weapons signals the end of their involvement in active combat. It also enables a secure environment where demobilization and reintegration can take place.

Disarmament often includes the following activities:

- **Information gathering and operational planning.** Information is collected on the size, profile, and deployment of the armed forces and the number, type, and location of their weapons. An information and sensitization campaign is also carried out to raise public awareness about the disarmament process.

- **Weapons collection.** Combatants are gathered at pick-up points, moved to weapons collection points or disarmament sites, and disarmed. This process must not be linked to the cash payments provided during reinsertion (see below). Otherwise, the program may be seen as an arms buy-back scheme, which can lead to increased arms flows to the country.

- **Stockpile management and weapons destruction.** Weapons, ammunition, and explosives are counted, stored, moved, and/or destroyed. Where possible, the UN encourages the immediate destruction of all collected weapons. Otherwise, as in Sierra Leone in 2000, they may be used to restart the conflict.

When more than one group is being disarmed, the principle of “proportional and fair” disarmament needs to apply. This ensures that all groups are disarmed at the same rate and avoids a sudden imbalance in military capabilities.
Demobilization:

**Definition of Demobilization**

"Demobilization is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups. The first stage of demobilization may extend from the processing of individual combatants in temporary centers to the massing of troops in camps designated for this purpose (cantonment sites, encampments, assembly areas or barracks). The second stage of demobilization encompasses the support package provided to the demobilized, which is called reinsertion." 6


Demobilization is the second component of the DDR program. The separation of combatants from their command and control structures marks their formal transition from military to civilian life. Whereas disarmament is primarily carried out by the military and supported by civilians, demobilization is primarily carried out by civilians and supported by the military.

There are two types of demobilization: static (cantonment or combatants are brought to demobilization sites) or mobile (demobilization services are brought to the combatants). DDR programs are increasingly using mobile demobilization as it tends to be cheaper, faster, and more flexible. Where cantonment is necessary, it needs to be as short as possible. Otherwise, combatants can become a serious threat to security. In Mozambique, for example, they got out by taking UN camp staff hostage, blocking roads, and appropriating vehicles.

Demobilization usually consists of the following activities:

- **Registration and documentation.** Eligibility is determined through a screening process; socio-economic data are collected to inform the design of the reintegration assistance (see below); and non-transferable identity documents (numbered, stamped, and with a photo) are given to each ex-combatant. In Cambodia, a market for counterfeit ID cards developed due to rumors of large benefit packages.
- **Health screening.** Ex-combatants are screened for chronic illness and/or disability. Voluntary counseling and testing for HIV/AIDS should also be offered. This is important because the combatant lifestyle (separation from spouse, opportunities for unprotected sex, tendency to take greater risks, etc.) increases the likelihood of contracting HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases.
- **Pre-discharge orientation.** Information on the DDR process is provided and the challenges of the transition from military to civilian life (rights and responsibilities) are explained. In Rwanda, inadequate pre-discharge orientation led to unrealistic expectations among ex-combatants.
- **Discharge.** Discharge documents that recognize military involvement, demobilization, and eligibility for reinsertion and reintegration assistance are given to each ex-combatant.

**Definition of Reinsertion**

"Reinsertion is the assistance offered to ex-combatants during demobilization but prior to the longer term process of reintegration. Reinsertion is a form of transitional assistance to help cover the basic needs of ex-combatants and their families and can include transitional safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services, short-term education, training, employment and tools. While reintegration is a long-term, continuous social and economic process of development, reinsertion is a short-term material and/or financial assistance to meet immediate needs, and can last up to one year."

To bridge the gap between demobilization and reintegration, DDR programs provide reinsertion assistance to cover the immediate and basic needs of ex-combatants and their dependents. This assistance needs to be appropriate to the socio-economic context. It can be in-kind or cash. When cash is provided, it needs to be paid in installments and can be linked to quick-impact community-based projects. This assistance may also include transport and/or cash for transport.

Reintegration:

Definition of Reintegration

"Reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income. Reintegration is essentially a social and economic process with an open time frame, primarily taking place in communities at the local level. It is part of the general development of a country and a national responsibility and often necessitates long-term external assistance."


Reintegration is the third component of the DDR program. The sustainability of the disarmament and demobilization processes depends on the successful social and economic reintegration of ex-combatants. This is a complex process where ex-combatants, many of them with no memory of family or community life, return to their communities and adjust to civilian life. The communities, many of them also transformed by the conflict, play an important role in the ex-combatants’ reintegration. In Rwanda, this was very difficult because many ex-combatants had lost their families during the genocide or came from neighboring countries and had no community to return to. Others had committed crimes in their communities or wanted to begin a new life in the city.

Reintegration assistance must be based on a detailed assessment of:

- **Beneficiaries.** A profile of the combatant (age, gender, marital status, dependents, education, health, needs, expectations, and areas of return) is developed before and verified during demobilization.
- **Areas of return and resettlement.** Based on the profile of combatants, an assessment is made of the economic and social potential of the areas of return (including information on its natural resources, infrastructure, security situation, social capital, and perceptions of and willingness to accept ex-combatants).
- **Reintegration opportunities and services.** A nationwide mapping exercise determines employment opportunities (in existing enterprises, self-employment schemes, etc.) and services (education, training, credit, community mobilization, etc.).

This assistance can include the following activities:

- **Information, counseling and referral.** General information is provided on the reintegration process and the opportunities available to all ex-combatants. Then, specialized counseling is provided to each ex-combatant based on his or her profile. Finally, ex-combatants are referred to support services within the DDR program (grant mechanisms, for example). They are also referred to other services such as health, education, training, jobs, etc.
- **Economic reintegration.** Education and training assistance includes “catch-up” education, vocational training, apprenticeships, and life skills development. This assistance ought to respond to the needs of the labor market, i.e., help ex-combatants find jobs. Livelihood and income generation assistance
consists of access to land (where possible), short-term public works, grants for small businesses, business development services, and temporary wage subsidies to businesses that hire ex-combatants. In Ethiopia, for example, assistance was organized around specific modes of subsistence: upland crop farmers received coffee, lowland wheat cultivators received draft animals, and city dwellers received training, apprenticeships, and microcredit.

- **Social reintegration.** Information and sensitization activities can reduce suspicion and rebuild trust between ex-combatants and the communities that receive them. Religious and/or other community organizations (e.g., Buddhist village associations in Cambodia, church-led repatriation committees in Namibia, and community development councils in East Timor) can play a role here. In addition, it is important for communities to benefit from the DDR program. For example, community-based mechanisms can be used to deliver reintegration assistance; public works projects can focus on community infrastructure such as roads and schools; and business development initiatives can include community members. Economic collaboration can be critical to social integration.

### Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Program (RDRP)

The government of Rwanda implemented the first phase of the RDRP between 1997 and 2001. About 18,500 government soldiers (including 2,500 child soldiers) were demobilized. This phase was financed by the government, various donors (through a trust fund), and UN agencies. The main achievements of this phase were demobilization, reinsertion, and referral to education and employment opportunities. Reintegration was hindered by the reduction in donor funding after the deployment of government forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In addition, there were a number of technical and management issues, including unrealistic expectations among ex-combatants due to inadequate pre-demobilization sensitization, a poorly implemented microcredit scheme, and an unsustainable village established for disabled ex-combatants. As a result of this experience, the government asked the World Bank to lead the redesign of the second phase of the program, provide financial assistance (a US$25 million credit), and coordinate donor support.

The overall goal of the second phase of the RDRP is peace in the Great Lakes region and reconciliation in Rwanda. The main objectives of the program are: i) demobilize another 20,000 government soldiers and 25,000 members of armed groups returning from DRC (including 2,500 child soldiers); ii) provide reinsertion assistance to 15,000 soldiers of the previous government; iii) socially and economically reintegrate all phase two ex-combatants and phase one ex-combatants who remain socio-economically vulnerable; and iv) reallocate government expenditures from the defense to the social and economic sectors. The inclusion of combatants from armed groups and the previous government in the program is considered an important reconciliation measure.

The second phase has five components: i) demobilization, including HIV/AIDS prevention and mitigation measures, ii) reinsertion, including the provision of basic needs kits (valued at US$91), iii) reintegration, including a reintegration grant (valued at US$182), access to land, and a vulnerability support window, iv) special groups (women, disabled, chronically ill and child soldiers), and v) institutional development and implementation support. Disarmament takes place outside of the program and is implemented by government forces in Rwanda and the United Nations in DRC. Members of armed groups are screened for crimes committed against humanity. Only those who have not been involved in the 1994 genocide participate in the program.

The total cost for the program (phase one and two) is about US$73 million (US$852 per beneficiary). The Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission and its Technical Secretariat are responsible for planning, coordinating and implementing the RDRP. They work with 30 District Reintegration Offices who are responsible for reinsertion and reintegration activities at the community level.
It is important to meet the urgent and specific needs of ex-combatants without turning them into a privileged group, which can create resentment in the receiving community. This means that reintegration assistance should be limited in time and scope and be delivered through community-based mechanisms. The Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration takes this a step further by suggesting that a parallel program be set up to directly address the needs of the affected communities.10

National and International Actors

DDR is a complex process that often requires information-sharing, consultations, coordination, and partnerships among a number of national and international actors. The overall responsibility for the planning and implementation of the DDR program, however, rests with national actors.

- **Governments.** Governments need to establish national institutions such as national commissions on DDR. They also need to ensure that line ministries and other government bodies responsible for national recovery and development strategies are represented in these institutions.
- **Armed forces and groups.** In consultation with other stakeholders, the armed forces and groups usually decide the combatants that will be downsized or disbanded. They can also participate in the development of DDR policies and institutions.
- **Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).** CSOs can play a role in the design and implementation of DDR programs, especially with respect to the social and economic reintegration component.
- **National media.** The media can inform the public about and build confidence in the DDR program. Hence, the development of a public information and communication strategy is important.

National actors often rely on technical and financial support from international actors. This is especially true in post-conflict environments where national capacity can be weak and international actors are seen as more neutral.

- **UN system.** The Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) is responsible for the UN system in countries with peacekeeping missions. He or she may also represent the UN in political negotiations on DDR. In other countries, the Humanitarian Coordinator (HC) or Resident Coordinator (RC) is responsible for coordination among the UN specialized agencies, including on DDR. A list of the 15 agencies working on DDR programs and involved in the preparation of the IDDRS is available at www.unddr.org.
- **Bilateral partners.** Bilateral partners can provide financial assistance to DDR programs. They may also consider using diplomatic pressure to remove political obstacles.
- **World Bank and regional development banks.** Development banks can provide technical and/or financial assistance to DDR programs, including the management of multidonor trust funds.
- **Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs).** Because NGOs have experience with humanitarian and development activities in countries where DDR programs take place, they are often chosen as implementing partners.
- **Research and policy centers.** These centers can contribute to the development, monitoring and evaluation of DDR programs. A list of national and international research and policy centers working on DDR issues is available at www.unddr.org.
Conclusion
The key ingredients for a successful DDR program are:

- political will, including commitment and pragmatism, throughout the process;
- careful preparation, including participatory methods to profile ex-combatants and assess the economic and social potential of areas of return;
- transparent and effective institutions, including i) delivering assistance simply, i.e., minimizing transaction costs and corruption and maximizing benefits to ex-combatants, and ii) coordinating at the central level but decentralizing implementation to communities;
- timely and adequate financing; and
- integration with ongoing and future humanitarian and development efforts.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Since 1991, UNDP has supported DDR in more than 20 countries in both peacekeeping and non-peacekeeping contexts. Its strengths are: i) presence at the country and regional levels; ii) coordination role; iii) experience in program design; iv) commitment to capacity development of national actors; and v) ability to mobilize funds among bilateral donors as well as multilateral financial institutions.

United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)
UNICEF takes a rights-based approach to ending the exploitation of children by armed forces and groups. Priority is given to the prevention of recruitment by identifying and responding to vulnerabilities that affect children living in zones affected by or prone to conflict. If and when children are demobilized, activities include family tracing, reunification, and the provision of essential services for their survival and well-being, such as reproductive health care and a community-based approach to reintegration which can contribute to their well-being and help prevent rerecruitment.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
Over the last decade, UNIFEM has assisted women in conflict situations and supported their participation in peace processes. This work is guided by international humanitarian and human rights standards, including Security Council Resolution 1325. UNIFEM’s work on DDR has been largely focused on articulating the differential impact of armed conflict on women and girls and advocating for an appropriate response.
Launched in 2002, the MDRP supports the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. The almost US$500 million program targets over 400,000 ex-combatants in seven countries: Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Republic of Congo (RoC), Rwanda and Uganda.

The MDRP helps establish standard approaches, coordinate partner initiatives, and provides financial and technical assistance for the demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration of ex-combatants. The program’s underlying principles are partnership and national ownership.

Financed by the World Bank and 13 donors, the MDRP collaborates with national governments and commissions, along with more than 30 partner organizations, including UN agencies and NGOs. The secretariat is based at the World Bank in Washington, D.C.

The MDRP supports national programs in Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, the RoC and the DRC, where they are implemented by national governments. In other countries, national commissions (Amnesty Commission in Uganda) and UN agencies (UNDP in CAR) have been used to implement programs. The MDRP also undertakes significant analytical work on cross-cutting issues such as gender and HIV/AIDS and supports regional initiatives such as facilitating the repatriation of foreign combatants based in the eastern DRC.

The largest MDRP program is in the DRC. The US$260 million operation (US$160 million from IDA and US$100 million from the MDRP) implemented by the government has demobilized about 150,000 combatants (including 30,000 children) and is supporting their social and economic reintegration. A number of special projects focusing on child soldiers have also been implemented by UNICEF, Save the Children, International Rescue Committee and others, and small-scale pilots have been implemented by UNDP.
**Recommended Reading:**


**Recommended Websites:**

- Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP) [http://www.mdrp.org/](http://www.mdrp.org/)
- Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration [http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/4890](http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/4890)
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1 This brief draws extensively on the United Nation’s Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS), a comprehensive set of policies, guidelines and procedures on DDR. The IDDRS are based on lessons learned by and best practices drawn from United Nations agencies involved in DDR.
2 See figure 1.1 on IDA/IBRD Demobilization and Reintegration Projects.
4 According to Operational Policy 2.30, the World Bank “does not engage in peacemaking or peacekeeping, which are functions of the United Nations and certain regional organizations. It also does not provide direct support for disarming combatants.”
5 Disarmament for regular forces can also be done in their barracks.
6 The World Bank considers reinsertion to be a separate component.
8 Other donors of the second phase include the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (see Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program), the United Kingdom, Germany, and the government of Rwanda.
9 The RDRP draws on the experience of and coordinates with the World Bank-supported Community Reintegration and Development Project.
11 The armed forces are a state’s military sector with a legal basis. Armed groups use force to achieve political or economic objectives but are not under the control of the state where they operate.