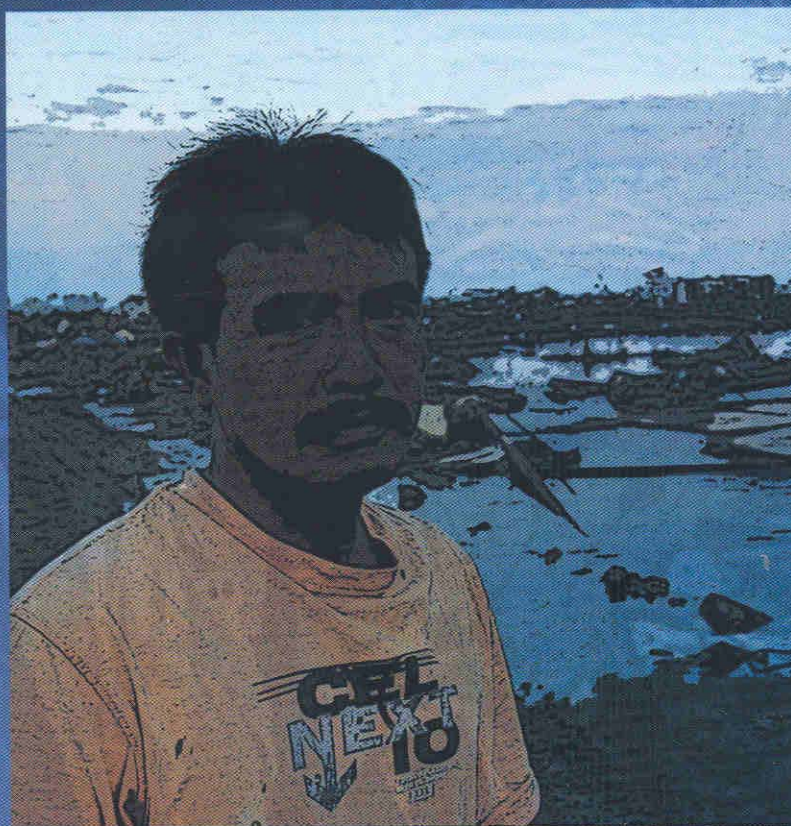




GUIDING PRINCIPLES



Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in Aceh

The Case for Sustainable
Economic Reintegration



Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in Aceh The Case for Sustainable Economic Reintegration

Guiding Principles

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Foreword

Following the December 2004 Tsunami that hit Aceh province and caused terrible losses and sorrow, the challenges for rehabilitation and reconstruction are overwhelming. At the same time, this disaster has at least partly triggered the agreement now reached between the Government of Indonesia and the Aceh Free Movement (GAM) for a durable resolution of the conflict that has plagued Aceh for too long.

One essential component of the peace process is the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programme for the GAM and its members. This DDR programme must strike a careful balance between fulfilling the commitments made in the Helsinki MoU while at the same time laying the basis for the sustainability of reintegration and economic recovery, which coincide with the large-scale rehabilitation programme resulting from the Tsunami.

The Government of Indonesia requested the ILO to help the affected civilians and GAM members covered by the amnesty. They need to be assisted to participate in daily development activities. In short, they need to have jobs and possess appropriate life skills. The Government of Indonesia recognises that the ILO has ample experience in this specific area-preparing the affected civilians and ex-combatants to labour market. A working guideline for this purpose is required.

The Government of Indonesia is grateful to the ILO Jakarta for putting together this guideline, which are to a large extent adapted from an ILO manual on reintegration that will be published by the ILO Crisis Response Programme in early 2006.

The Government of Indonesia

Jakarta, December 2005

Glossary

Business Development Services	A wide range of non-financial services used to help entrepreneurs operate and develop their businesses
Capacity building	Improving the skills, experience, technical and management ability of organisations and institutions
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 ¹
Community	A socio-cultural and eventually political entity, such as a village or settlement
Cooperative	An autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise ²
Decentralization	The transfer of political, fiscal and administrative powers to sub-national governments ³
Decent Work	Work that meets people's basic aspirations, not only for income, but also for security for themselves and their families, without discrimination or harassment ⁴
Disability	A physical, sensory, intellectual or mental impairment of one form or another ⁵
Disarmament	Collecting arms from combatants and/or communities. The weapons are handed over to the authorities, who are responsible for their safe storage, redistribution or even destruction
Demobilisation	The opposite of recruiting (mobilising) combatants for an armed group; disbanding an armed unit, reducing the number of combatants in an armed group, or an interim stage before reassembling the entire armed force, be they regular or irregular ⁶
Combatants	All persons who directly support armed forces in their combat, not only those individuals carrying a gun ⁷
Economic reintegration	The process by which an ex-combatant changes his/her identity and earnings from military to civilian
Ex-combatants	Those combatants who were officially demobilised through DDR programmes, and who "auto-demobilised" or "self demobilised". The definition varies between countries.
Gender	The socially and historically constructed roles ascribed to women and men, as opposed to biological and physical characteristics. In this, one can distinguish between masculinity and femininity
Human security	Rather than the traditional exclusive focus on state security, the concept takes the individual human experience of security as its essential referent. If carried out in a sustainable manner, DDR programmes can contribute to reducing human insecurity for the ex-combatant and the society as a whole ⁸
Informal economy	Business activities that are not recognized or protected under the legal and regulatory frameworks

1 Cape Town Principles, 30 April 1997.

2 ILO Recommendation 193 (2002) concerning the promotion of cooperatives (see: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/empent/empent.portal?p_prog=C&p_subprog=&p_dodid=TRANSLATIONS&p_prog=C)

3 See: <http://www1.worldbank.org/wbiep/decentralization/>

4 ILO: Decent Work, Report of the Director-General (Geneva 1999).

5 ILO/UNESCO/WHO: CBR. A Strategy for Rehabilitation, Equalization of Opportunities, Poverty Reduction and Social Inclusion of People with Disability, Joint Position Paper 2004 (Geneva, WHO, 2004).

6 Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration. A Practical Field and Classroom Guide, op. cit., p. 15.

7 Specht, Irma: "Jobs for Rebels and Soldiers", in: Eugenia Date-Bah (ed.): Jobs after war. A critical challenge in the peace and reconstruction puzzle (Geneva, ILO, 2003), pp. 73-110.

8 UNDP: Human Development Report (New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994); Specht: Jobs for Rebels and Soldiers, op. cit.

Local	A sub-national area that goes beyond the community
Local Economic Development	A participatory process that encourages partnership arrangements between the main private and public stakeholders in a defined territory, enabling the joint design and implementation of a common development strategy, by making use of local resources and competitive advantages in a global context. Its final objective is creating decent jobs and stimulating economic activity
Micro-enterprise	A business often employing less than 5 people and that can be based in or out of the home ⁹
Microfinance	The provision of financial services to people with low incomes, encompassing services such as micro-savings, micro-insurance, micro-leasing, payment and remittance transfer services ¹⁰
Public-private partnership	A close relationship between representatives of the public and private sectors and eventually of civil society, to achieve and jointly implement commonly identified objectives and activities
Receiving communities	Those communities where ex-combatants will live and work; not always their communities of origin
Reconciliation	In the framework of DDR, it refers to the process of acceptance between communities and combatants and between opposing groups (e.g. ethnic, political, religious, military, age, gender)
Reconstruction	Rebuilding the social fabric and economic, physical and political structures and institutions after the conflict. It should not necessarily imply a return to the pre-conflict situation since that very situation may have triggered the conflict
Small business association	An organization of small entrepreneurs or workers that is member-based, democratic, representative, and aims at collective benefits or advances a common goal ¹¹
Small enterprise	A business employing between 11 and 50 people ¹²
Targeting	Programmes and policies that treat one group—like ex-combatants—differently from other (war-affected) groups, such as conflict-affected families, female-headed households and communities. This might include providing them preferred access to services or giving them separate support for their social and economic reintegration ¹³
Territory	The area where one finds a critical mass of inhabitants, resources and organizations representing public and private sectors as well as civil society. Depending on the country-specific context, the territory can be a municipality, district, province or a region
“Vulnerable” or “special” group	A group that does not automatically benefit from the opportunities around it, and is at risk of socio-economic exclusion

9 ILO/UNHCR: Introduction to microfinance in conflict-affected communities (Geneva, 2002).

10 ILO/UNHCR: Introduction to microfinance, op. cit.

11 ILO: Guide to managing small business associations, IFP/SEED draft (Geneva, 2003).

12 ILO/UNHCR: Introduction to microfinance, op. cit.

13 Specht, Irma and Carlien van Empel: Enlargement. Targeting ex-combatants or all war-affected people? A challenge for social and economic reintegration, the Liberian experience, Paper (Geneva, ILO, 1998).

Acronyms

BDS	Business Development Services
CAFF	Children Associated with Fighting Forces
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
DDR	Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IDDRS	Integrated DDR Standards
IAWG/DDR	Interagency Working Group on DDR
ICC	Interim Care Centre (for demobilised children)
ILC	International Labour Conference
ILO	International Labour Office
ILS	International Labour Standards
LED	Local Economic Development
LEDA	Local Economic Development Agency
NCDDR	National Commission (or Committee) on DDR
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
SBA	Small Business Association
SHO	Self-Help Organization
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SALW	Small and Light Weapons
VET	Vocational Education and Training
WAFF	Women Associated with Fighting Forces

1. Introduction

Objectives and Definitions

In general, post-conflict peace building is a complex task that involves achieving a secure environment, strengthening a legitimate government, fostering economic and social revitalization, and promoting societal reconciliation. The additional challenge is that institutions, organizations, and programs often have to work in an environment of weak political and social structures, power competitions, uncertainty and insecurity. The DDR programmes of Aceh should ultimately contribute to an improved security situation in a society that is moving towards peace and development. Failure to complete demobilization and reintegration, and failure to make reintegration sustainable, can jeopardize peace as ex-combatants may resort to violence as a familiar way of making a living.

Disarmament and demobilization entail the short-term processes of separating combatants from their weapons and military structures, whereas reintegration is a more complex and lengthy process. It assists ex-combatants with their socio-economic inclusion into their communities of origin, or new communities. The key for successful DDR lies in the integration of these short- and long-term goals as part of the overall conflict-to-peace transition. While disarmament and demobilization are supposed to provide a secure and stable environment initially, the sustainability of DDR depends on prospects for the long-term social and economic development of ex-combatants, the affected civilians and the province as a whole.

The specific objectives of a DDR process differ from country to country and should be made explicit as they determine what reintegration will “look like” and how much funding will be available for reintegration. Some actors promote the idea that DDR is only a security concern and should be limited to that. However, if the sole objective is security, then DDR is limited to “getting potentially dangerous elements out of society”. In that approach child soldiers, teenage mothers, ex-combatants with disabilities and other “potentially less violent” groups will not receive the attention and funds required to support their reintegration. It is important to achieve a balance between the security and socio-economic objectives, which should be determined by the specific social, political and economic context of Aceh. It is crucial to clarify what the exact objectives of the DDR programme in Aceh must be, and ensure that military, humanitarian, development actors and donors will all contribute to the same goal.

Promoting Decent Work

It is widely understood that economic reintegration, or finding jobs, is one of the key challenges but also the determining factor of successful DDR. The post-conflict and post-tsunami context of Aceh is marked by high levels of unemployment and underemployment, and rapid declines in employment conditions and incomes. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the other hand promises employment for 3,000 ex-combatants, 2,000 released political prisoners and 25,000 affected civilians. Creating an enabling environment where more and better jobs can be created is a major challenge in Aceh. This calls for extensive and coordinated efforts on the part of the Government of Indonesia (GoI), its partners and the donor community. Indeed, employment creation should be at the core of a comprehensive strategy for achieving lasting peace, including the DDR strategy for Aceh.

The ILO defines Decent Work as work that meets people’s basic aspirations, not only for income, but for security for themselves and their families, without discrimination or harassment.

Decent work is a basic human right. But securing decent and productive employment for men and women, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity, is also a potent antidote to tensions, social divisions and unrest, instability and conflicts. It integrates essential enabling rights that allow people to develop and enhance their capabilities to be productive, climb out of poverty, and help their families and communities to do likewise. As such,

it is a solid foundation on which to build peace.¹⁴ The reintegration strategy for Aceh should therefore not only focus on finding jobs, but on creating decent work for ex-combatants, affected civilians and all job seekers in Aceh.

Promoting equality and other relevant standards

Human rights and socio-economic international legal standards are a necessity, rather than a “luxury” or a “constraint”. Particular efforts are needed in post-conflict contexts, where they tend to be diminished by other concerns and priorities, while fair processes and treatment are key to reducing tensions and stimulating socio-economic and political recovery. International standards should be promoted right from the early stages, when conflict settlements are being negotiated, before the implementation of DDR.

Although many standards are relevant to the rebuilding of Aceh, the International Labour Standards and some other legal instruments below are particularly useful for economic reintegration. At the core of Decent Work is the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, adopted unopposed in 1998 by ILO member governments and employers’ and workers’ organizations. This constitutes the core of Decent Work. Its four areas and the Conventions most closely linked to them are:

- ♦ Freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining (C87 and C98)
- ♦ Elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour (C29 and C105)
- ♦ Effective abolition of child labour (C138) and the worst forms of child labour¹⁵ (C182)
- ♦ The elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation (C100 and C111¹⁶).

All stakeholders in the DDR processes should commit themselves to implementing and advocating these basic principles and rights in their individual activities and those of their organizations.

Other relevant International Labour Standards for DDR:

- ♦ C107 Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 and C169 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989
These Conventions are particularly relevant for ex-combatants from indigenous and tribal populations but also for indigenous and tribal communities who have been affected by war through fighting and destruction in their areas.
- ♦ C117 Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) Convention, 1962
This broad Convention can be applied to both ex-combatants and the receiving communities. It includes the stipulation that “all possible steps should be taken by appropriate international, regional and national measures to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage earners and independent producers, the protection of migrant workers, social security, standards of public services and general production”.

Socio-economic reintegration

Reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants (and their dependents) enter into civilian life and rejoin civil society through their (old or new) communities. Reintegration programmes therefore have to focus attention on both the ex-combatants and the receiving communities. Creating employment opportunities has proven to be a key means to achieve success, although a challenging one, since the absorption capacity of the local, war-torn economies is extremely limited. It should be coupled with efforts to improve the employability of ex-combatants, so they may benefit from the jobs created.

It is also important that all ex-combatants have the opportunity to develop a new sense of identity, unlinked to the war. A healthy civilian identity can be encouraged through vocational training and constructive work, which contribute to individual and community well-being. Training and work activities can also contribute to the re-establishment of values, behaviour and norms that regulate and give meaning to family and community life. While such comprehensive psycho-social rehabilitation is by no means simple, a well-planned and funded socio-economic reintegration process

¹⁴ Loretta de Luca: Business and Decent Work in Conflict Zones. A “Why” and “How” Guide (Geneva, ILO, 2003).

¹⁵ C182 makes exclusive reference to the prohibition of child participation in armed conflict.

¹⁶ Applying C111 to DDR programs means avoiding “any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation.” (Art. 1).

will enhance the ex-soldiers' self-esteem and thus also contribute to community's capacity to increase socio-economic recovery and development.

In addition, economic reintegration needs to have a component for the "receiving communities", including local economic recovery, job creation and development. Economic reintegration is the focus of this booklet, but needs to be complemented with the more psycho-social components such as awareness raising, reconciliation, psychological assistance etc. Further, reintegration programmes offer an opportunity to build more just and equitable societies that do not exclude any ethnic, gender, health or age group. DDR programmes have the potential to help reduce human insecurity for ex-combatants and society as a whole.

Integrated DDR

Cooperation and coordination among all national and international stakeholders are indispensable. For instance, since the blueprint for DDR is already set out in the MoU, it is crucial that those national, provincial and international actors responsible for reintegration should also be involved at a very early stage.

Complex emergencies require more and more complex responses, such as integrated UN or EU peacekeeping missions. Contemporary peacekeeping operations are multifaceted, with DDR being just one component of a much broader mandate that includes peacekeeping, peace building and reconstruction. In the setting of Aceh, with an EU peacekeeping operation, the advantage is that potentially more coordination and integration is possible. However, DDR processes normally require continuation beyond the timeframe of the mission, which brings the risk of having a reintegration period which is too short to be sustainable. This is another reason why the GoI should take the lead in the process.

At the international level, an important development towards effective interagency cooperation is the establishment of the Interagency Working Group on DDR (IAWG DDR) in 2005, of which ILO is a member. This group has developed Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS)¹⁷ that will be helpful in creating a common vision and approach, and which are integrated UN DDR programmes.

One of the most complex challenges is that the reintegration component of DDR programmes should be closely linked with broader socio-economic recovery and reconstruction processes. Integrating DDR with the broader plan for the socio-economic recovery and reconstruction of Aceh will allow for the harnessing of important economic multiplier effects and the capacities they generate for the wider goals of development.¹⁸

This calls for integration between DDR actors and the whole labyrinth of relief and development organizations on the ground to ensure not only the sustainability of reintegration schemes for former GAM members, but also that the economic impact of such initiatives (e.g. employment creation, vocational training, microcredit, etc.) can contribute to the broader process of economic revitalization and recovery. This implies that the GoI will set up an effective coordinating mechanism that includes all ministries that are relevant for reintegration, such as labour, education (including training), commerce, infrastructure etc.

Finally, coordination with and among donors has proven crucial. The total budget for DDR should be determined from the very beginning. DDR processes are generally well-funded. Sustainable reintegration aspects, however, are often neglected in the financial framework and receive a relatively low percentage of the overall budget. This is striking because disarmament, demobilization and "payments of compensation" mainly concern logistical issues whereas sustainable reintegration is a more complex, costly, and long-term endeavour, usually taking 2–5 years.

Moreover, DDR funds often arrive late, leading to delays in delivery. These delays have actually put several DDR programmes and the overall peace processes in jeopardy! Another important question, therefore, is how to ensure the timely delivery of funds for immediate as well as longer-term reintegration efforts.

Timing of DDR activities

The fact is that DDR programmes have often been prepared in a rushed and uncoordinated manner. There is a tendency to sit and wait until the disarmament and demobilisation process is finalized before starting to prepare for the huge challenges of reintegration. This is hardly appropriate. Much more can be done to start assisting the government, the institutions on the ground and the private sector in the preparations. One of the failures of many DDR efforts is that disarmament and demobilization are completed without there being any real reintegration options already prepared.

¹⁷ This guide is in line with the IDDRS standards.

¹⁸ Integrated DDR Standards, op. cit.

Developing ex-combatants' employability and creating jobs is not done overnight. Readapting vocational training centres, which includes renewing premises, retraining trainers etc., takes at least six months, and can only start after serious labour market analyses, which take another 3–6 months. Boosting the private sector, increasing the economic absorption capacities of communities and all the other issues related to job creation take time, too. Much of this work can and should start immediately. A related need is that resources should be available to start this preparatory phase.

Thus not only the planning but also the preparation for reintegration should start as early as possible. Delays in reintegration amount to nothing less than confronting ex-combatants, who are potentially dangerous but also vulnerable, with their increasing frustration. This frustration might easily lead to violent behaviour in the conflict-affected communities whose societal structures have been disrupted and who may reject ex-combatants for their behaviour, or just because they view them as competitors for the already scarce jobs, resources, land, services etc. A waiting period for reintegration should be avoided at all costs to reduce the risk of a renewed outbreak of violence.

2. Context of Reintegration

Armed conflict erodes the productive assets of both rural and urban, and formal and informal economy operators. They destroy workplaces and weaken labour markets, training and other labour-related institutions. They destroy crops and can even reduce available productive land due to anti-personnel landmines. They also cause considerable damage to physical, social and economic infrastructure, hampering productive employment and income-generating activities. Trading networks are interrupted and public and private sector investment declines. Logically, employment opportunities are reduced. Further, working conditions tend to deteriorate and violations of workers' rights and the potential for inequitable employment practices grow. The macroeconomic instability that characterizes conflict and post-conflict contexts further limits the opportunities for decent work. In Aceh, these effects are multiplied due to the effects of the tsunami.

Conflict also disrupts local economies and communities in various ways. Local businesses suffer from disrupted supply chains, devastated economic and productive infrastructure (marketplaces, warehouses, water, communication and energy facilities), changes in land ownership, lost markets and productive assets (equipment, cattle, raw materials, destroyed workshops, etc.). The lack of technological investment during the conflict results in rapidly in obsolete machinery, equipment and means of production.

Common to almost any conflict is the lack of social cohesion in communities. In peaceful circumstances, social cohesion drives the economy. Trust, inclusion, exchange, cooperation and coordination favour economic activity, stimulate entrepreneurship and attract investors. In the aftermath of conflict, social cohesion is often quasi-nonexistent. Conflict changes the social setting in communities. Newcomers (refugees, IDPs, combatants), returnees (including ex-combatants) and victims of sexual and other war crimes have difficulty (re)creating their place in society. Also, communities can be affected by outflows of youth that have joined the armed forces. Besides changing the composition of the local labour force, disintegration hampers economic exchange and relations. People will not go beyond the level of survival activities without trust in a better future. Consequently, entrepreneurs require investment capital and new technological skills, and need to adopt new production methods to regain competitiveness, provided, naturally, that the economic sector in which they operate is still a viable option.

Many post-conflict societies have to cope with large numbers of ex-combatants who have considerable potential, but also suffer high economic and social vulnerability. The sense of alienation and marginalization of these jobless frustrated people results, in many post-conflict contexts, in violent behaviour, juvenile delinquency and in their (re)recruitment into gangs, armed groups and forces. If not properly addressed, these behaviours can jeopardize a relatively frail state of peace.

Therefore, Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes are often the first programmes implemented in countries emerging from armed conflict in order to create the level of security and stability needed for the recovery and development processes. Among the main challenges are: finding and creating jobs for ex-combatants in economies that have been seriously affected by conflict; catering for this target group while balancing it with assistance to the other war-affected groups; and implementing such programmes in societies with high social tensions, traumatised populations and often a hatred or distrust towards combatants.

Currently, post-conflict recovery programmes do not sufficiently emphasize promoting employment and increasing employability. At the same time, the reconstruction and recovery of Aceh requires large numbers of skilled persons. The planning, design and delivery of reintegration assistance that responds to the profiles of the ex-combatants and labour market demands has proven complex. The volatile environment, lack of systematic and reliable labour market information and the number and capacity of training providers and other labour market institutions are among the main challenges of the socio-economic (re)integration programme.

However, failure to tackle the enormous employment challenges of DDR is likely to weaken the sustainability of peace. The low labour absorption capacity of post-conflict economies and the limited opportunities available to ex-combatants is challenging reintegration programmes. An additional complication is the lack of skills and experience of

most ex-combatants, putting them in a disadvantaged position to compete for existing or new jobs. Generally, no easy solutions can be found, and no one major sector can possibly absorb all ex-combatant job seekers.

What is needed is a coherent and timely approach, with a set of policies and measures that will put the economy and society as a whole on the path of growth, development and peace. More emphasis is needed on maximizing labour absorption at the local level and enhancing people's employability. In particular, ex-combatants should be equipped to become part of the reconstruction and peace-building process. While demobilized combatants need immediate alternative income, the sustainable socio-economic reintegration of ex-combatants is a long-term process, and considerable time and resources have to be invested in it.

Although the devastating effects of armed conflicts are known, the transition from conflict to peace also offers opportunities to break with social inequalities and bring new and positive change. One aim of international assistance such as DDR should be to assist in the creation of more equal societies, in which all political, ethnic, age and gender groups find their place and feel represented.

In addition, necessity can drive people to innovative coping strategies. For example, women can develop entrepreneurial skills or take jobs that were traditionally assigned to men; and refugees return to their home country with new skills, professional experience and networks gained in their host country. Post-conflict investments can enable "jumps" in the technological innovation path; that is, after a period of non-investment, entrepreneurs can skip certain intermediary technologies and acquire the newest and most appropriate technology right away. This is also true for major private and public investments.

The end of conflict is also a fertile period in which to bring about more radical economic and social reforms that address some of the root causes of the conflict, like poverty, inequality or unemployment. A high proportion of the population is likely to support such strong interventions if they are carried out in a transparent and accountable way. Policies to (re)build labour market governance can, for instance, play a socially healing role by including sound labour legislation that provides for the equitable treatment of workers.¹⁹ Opportunities to build a more stable, peaceful and just society are too rare to miss.

DDR in the context of peace building and reconstruction

The reintegration process in Aceh has to deal with emergency as well as development issues since it encompasses both. Even more, it has to bridge the gap between the short-term emergency response and long-term development, a well-known challenge in post-conflict reconstruction processes. Long-term development objectives should therefore already be reflected in the short-term emergency approach.

Capacity building of national, provincial and local structures is the key to ensuring sustainability. Ultimately, the services that are needed to address the immediate needs of ex-combatants should be organized in such a way that they will become available to other groups in the future. For example, if the ministries responsible for employment and training are strengthened under the DDR programme, they will be able to provide services to any young job seekers in the future.

The reintegration programme should promote a broad civil dialogue between governments, actors in the security sector, GAM, civil society, the private sector and international humanitarian and development actors. Based on thorough analyses, funds for DDR should also be used to address some of the conflict's root causes through social dialogue, voice and representation. The major challenge is to provide immediate reintegration assistance to ex-combatants and to ensure that this will have a permanent, positive impact on the communities.

Ex-combatants versus other war-affected groups²⁰

Before singling out ex-combatants as benefit recipients, the GoI should question whether this promotes their long-term reintegration and contributes to peace building. As funds are limited, there is in every DDR programme the debate around the question of whether or not there should be programmes exclusively for ex-combatants at all, when there are other groups in society that may be equally, or even more, in need of assistance.

Ex-combatants can play a critical role, both positive and negative, in post-conflict peace-building. They get easily frustrated by delays in demobilization benefits, or by lack of training and employment opportunities, especially in the

¹⁹ Date-Bah: Crises and Decent Work, op. cit.

²⁰ Specht: Jobs for Rebels and Soldiers, op. cit, pp. 95-97; Specht/Empel: Enlargement, op. cit.

fragile period immediately after the end of conflict, and can easily decide to take up their arms again. Therefore, many agree that ex-combatants should be targeted as a separate group, especially in post-conflict periods.

Yet, as shown by past DDR experiences, focusing too exclusively on ex-combatants can cause frustration among other people who are equally affected by the conflict. Moreover, public opinion often does not accept such absolute prioritization of ex-combatants. Finally, in the long run it can have a negative impact on reintegration, as it does not stimulate an identity change. The reintegration strategy for Aceh should therefore take these experiences into account and try to enlarge the scope of the programme by addressing the needs of ex-combatants together with those of the other conflict- and tsunami-affected groups. Targeting ex-combatants and other war-affected populations simultaneously in one project/program has been found to lessen distrust and increase tolerance between the different conflict-affected groups, and thus to support the reconciliation and reintegration processes.

The problem with this inclusive approach is that, with limited funds available, there is the risk that only a small proportion of ex-combatants will receive assistance, leaving large numbers in society uncatered for. As for donors, their preference is often for narrowly targeted programmes that are more straightforward, less expensive, less complex and with results that can be measured much more easily.

A solution to this dilemma could be to devise targeted programmes that would ultimately benefit a larger target group. This can be achieved by focusing more on building lasting local capacity. Providing reintegration assistance to ex-combatants involves a range of local actors such as vocational training centres, employment offices, mental health service providers, credit institutions, the key ministries such as the ministries responsible for labour and youth, as well as other major national players. DDR programmes should strengthen the capacities of these local actors in adapting to the post-conflict challenges. If assistance for ex-combatants under a targeted programme is used to develop national reintegration capacity, service providers will then be able to deliver this assistance to other war-affected groups and ultimately to job seekers in general. No real harm will then be done by serving ex-combatants first.

In general, it is important to bear in mind that the definition of target groups during the disarmament and demobilization phase has a direct impact on the way the reintegration phase will be implemented and the way the programme is perceived by ex-combatants and the general population. The process of defining and targeting is complicated and has strong political dimensions. It is not possible to give generic guidance on whether Aceh should adopt a narrow, targeted or an inclusive approach. This should be determined by local conditions, including political, economic and socio-cultural considerations, and also the exact promises made in the MoU.

Economic integration and security concerns

DDR programmes usually operate in an extremely tense security context, since governments' ability to rule and maintain order and stability is normally weak in conflict-affected countries. Therefore, DDR programmes generally lack enforcement measures because no local police forces are in place yet at the time of DDR. This obviously has very serious consequences for reintegration assistance. One example is that small businesses are among the first targets of armed groups and gangs. Without some level of local security it makes little sense to help ex-combatants start their own businesses. It would probably be better to have Security Sector Reform (SSR) completed before starting DDR; however, this rarely happens.

Establishing a minimum level of rule of law and security is essential to revive local economies. Impunity perpetuates violence and theft and needs to be addressed by enforcement of the law. Workers need to go to their work places without fearing for their lives, and work in safety. Farmers and the business community require safe and timely transport of goods, without improvised roadblocks and "taxes" imposed by armed groups. Respect for the law also contributes to building trust among local, national and international investors and businesses. Security therefore enhances trust in the present and the future, and therefore, the willingness to invest locally.

Although DDR programmes tend, by their very nature, to contribute to a number of security concerns, they do not automatically cover the whole spectrum of human security concerns. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) introduced the concept of human security in its Human Development Report 1994²¹ as a more holistic alternative to the existing military concept of physical security. Human security covers seven basic human needs: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. It is essential to ensure that the reintegration assistance provided to ex-combatants and their communities responds to the whole spectrum of human security dimensions. Ex-combatants need promising alternatives to their prior military lives, including decent jobs, healthy bodies and minds and a sense of pride in what they are doing.²² Further, they need to have a voice and feel represented in the new society.

21 UNDP: Human Development Report, 1994.

22 Specht: Jobs for Rebels and Soldiers, op. cit.

3. Economic Reintegration Challenges

Tackling the employment challenges

Absorption capacity of the labour market

A major challenge is to find and create more and better jobs; decent jobs for ex-combatants in economies that have been seriously affected by conflict and some also by the tsunami.

Due to a usually high share of youth in conflict-affected countries, *more* jobs are needed to accommodate the large number of new young entrants into the labour market on top of the existing numbers of unemployed and underemployed. While a large labour force may be an asset in economies where there is also large capital investment, this is not the case in most conflict-affected economies. Prolonged periods of conflict cause widespread damage to the economic and social infrastructure. Due to the scarcity of jobs in the formal economy, many people find work only in the informal sector and face less than ideal working conditions. But even the informal economy's ability to absorb and provide employment for the ever-increasing number of people, especially youth, has declined steeply. The initial situation will be characterized by a marked excess supply of labour in relation to available jobs.

The quality of jobs deteriorates, too. The weakness of governance leads to a lack of labour market regulations, creating potential for inequitable employment practices. Working conditions worsen, threatening the health and safety of workers, seriously undermining their rights as workers and their capacity to earn decent wages, and child labour violations increase.

While it is unrealistic to expect a quick development of capital investments and new employment opportunities in Aceh, some measures to promote employment can and must be taken as quickly as possible now the conflict has ended. The population must be helped to take up or create new income-earning activities. The ex-combatants, former prisoners and conflict-affected civilians urgently need jobs. Although no miracles can be expected from war-torn economies, major efforts for employment creation should be put into the DDR programmes.

Employment creation in war-torn economies

Employment creation is a central means of facilitating the socio-economic reintegration of ex-combatants. The importance of creating employment in post-conflict situations through all available micro- and macroeconomic initiatives is often underestimated. Political reforms, democratic elections and/or rapid disarmament of combatants are sometimes given priority, while considerations for the economic survival of war-affected populations is neglected. Yet there are few chances for political stability and security if employment creation is not given a high priority, namely through labour-intensive public works projects, skills training and small enterprise development. Besides providing income, meaningful employment is, to a great extent, a guarantor of social development, post-conflict rehabilitation and healthy community life, as well as political stability and national security. If employment opportunities are not created, the DDR programmes will fail.

Capacity of labour market actors

Both public and private labour market actors usually suffer considerably as a result of the conflict. The government institutions that remain are rarely able to provide comprehensive support to their public and private business communities. In most cases, Ministries of Labour, Finance, Industry, Trade, Communication, Transportation, etc. must be rebuilt and staffed with new and less experienced personnel. Underfunding of government services, especially in education, is a major stumbling block for DDR and post-conflict reconstruction.

Private entrepreneurs struggle with political uncertainty and the resultant high risk in post-conflict environments that undermines private sector development with disruptions in production and trading systems, insecurity and the displacement of populations. For instance, in areas of intense fighting, most pre-conflict small and micro-enterprises are non-operational.

Existing vocational training providers usually lack resources, trainers, facilities and organizational capacity to absorb the tens of thousands of potential trainees. In order to satisfy the immediate demand, training institutions of varying quality are emerging. In particular, the lack of qualified trainers who can effectively increase the employability of their students and make them ready for the world of work limits their chances of finding gainful employment. This has proven to be a severe obstacle in the DDR process. In most cases, such as Aceh, it will be necessary to increase both the quality and the quantity of vocational training providers.

A good labour market information (LMI) flow is a strong need shared by all labour market actors, including governments, businesses, workers' and employers' organizations and vocational training providers. In many DDR contexts, the flow of labour market information was already insufficient in pre-war society. Further, due to destruction and loss of human resources, post-conflict LMI is extremely hard to obtain and is rarely shared among labour market actors. Labour markets have changed dramatically due to the war and will remain dynamic for a long period due to large population movements. LMI is, however, key to guiding ex-combatants and other war-affected people looking for jobs or opportunities to start businesses. With changing demands for skilled labour, such as through job opportunities arising from physical reconstruction and the restarting of economic activities, LMI is also essential in order to be able to adapt the training offered.

Establishing or re-establishing national and provincial structures for LMI gathering is therefore a crucial starting point for devising the socio-economic reintegration programme.

In addition to collecting information, capacities to refer ex-combatants and affected civilians to the jobs available has proven complex. Ex-combatants have often been out of society for many years and have difficulties finding their way in the labyrinth of civilian services and organizations. Therefore, capacity building for information sharing has high priority in reintegration programmes. The employment service providers, if present at all in the pre-conflict society, are mostly non-operational in the aftermath of conflict. Therefore DDR programmes should invest in (re)starting this capacity which can build essential bridges between job seekers and employment opportunities. New services or approaches may have to be established where no previous services existed or where present services are inappropriate. Recognizing that employment services are an essential element of a growing economy, the challenge for DDR programmes is to rebuild these services in a sustainable manner, making them available to ex-combatants, but also to other job seekers. These services, public and private, are essential to ensure information flow and can become the entry point for ex-combatants to get information not only on job opportunities, business opportunities but also on learning opportunities that will improve their employability.

Employability of combatants

In an already tight labour market, ex-combatants are normally in a disadvantaged position to compete for the few remaining job opportunities. In addition to their lack of education and relevant vocational and work skills, many have yet to become accustomed to their new civilian lifestyle. Having become used to quick and easy cash, fighting, recognition, status as warriors and possibly having become addicted to drugs, they may be tempted to return to their old routine.

Many communities also refuse to accept ex-combatants due to the image of violence which they represented in a conflict. Depending on local pre-war customs and traditions, and perhaps because of war-time experiences (taxing, pillage, rape, kidnapping, etc.), ex-combatants are sometimes rejected by the civilian population. Similarly, employers may be reluctant to hire ex-combatants, fearing the bad publicity for their businesses. At times, former combatants who have become permanently disabled in combat are also discriminated against or abandoned by their families because they are regarded as a burden on communities that are often already poor.

Thus, if reintegration programmes are to increase the employability of combatants, they must also effect a change in attitude and behaviour, both among ex-combatants and their communities. It is true that this target group usually needs skills upgrading and psychological assistance to change from soldier to civilian employee, but employers and society as a whole often underestimate ex-combatants' potential and the role that positive attitudes towards them can play in achieving that change.

Educational and skills profile of ex-combatants

Ex-combatants tend to be at a disadvantage in the hard competition for scarce jobs. The group largely consists of young men at the peak of their physical potential. Because of the time spent in GAM, many of them have not acquired skills that are useful in civilian life and the world of work. On the other hand, they have proven to be very effective in

the reconstruction of roads, bridges, hospitals and in works converting military premises for civilian use. They often display strong discipline, team spirit and a sense of loyalty, enabling them to complete difficult tasks as a group.

Ex-combatants' prior lives in the fighting forces should not be discounted. When helping them identify training and employment opportunities, it is necessary to have an open mind, taking into account their ambitions, frustrations and potential, and recognizing the skills learned during and before their combatant period.

Turning to the immediate need for skills training, as mentioned earlier there is often a lack of qualitative and quantitative capacity to provide training in the short term to thousands of ex-combatants and other returnees like refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Training providers usually rely on scarce resources and depend on donor funds. In this context, it is crucial to improve the quantity and quality of training, namely through training of trainers' courses and supply of training materials (equipment, tools, manuals). A real opportunity may involve using the traditional but informal system of training through apprenticeship. The types of courses provided have to respond to the local market and should take into account the specific features of the local context in terms of availability of raw materials, access to markets, purchasing capacity of communities and appropriate technology.

Overall, educational and skills profiling should be based on the individual's specific situation and context. Training providers have to be creative in offering new skills that are not on the market yet, as for these young and inexperienced job seekers competition will be extremely tough.

Ambitions, frustrations and potential of ex-combatants

The educational and skills profile of ex-combatants represents only a partial image of their identity, leaving out their ambitions, frustrations and potential. Even if basic needs are met, the ex-combatant's individual perceptions and experiences will eventually determine whether he or she "chooses" to fight or not. It is thus crucial to understand what ex-combatants strive to achieve in their lives beyond earning an immediate livelihood.

Likewise, reintegration programmes should be familiar with the type of situations that cause ex-combatants to become frustrated and eventually angry. Having been accustomed to expressing discontent by violent means, frustration arising from long delays in reintegration assistance, for example, should be avoided.

Similarly, awareness programmes for disarmament and demobilization should not create expectations for reintegration assistance that cannot be fulfilled. Some of these programmes have been so obsessed with increasing the number of weapons turned in that they made ex-combatants unreasonable promises, including immediate vocational training for all. Since there were, in fact, few possibilities, especially in the short run, ex-combatants soon became frustrated and highly susceptible to engage in violence again. Thus while part of the social reintegration process may consist of teaching ex-combatants how to manage frustrations and conflict constructively, potential triggers of frustration should be avoided.

Finally, ex-combatants' negative and positive potential cannot be solely deduced from normal educational and skills indicators. They might have gained skills in terms of leadership, management, driving, construction, logistics, human resources and risk management, which their record does not reflect. Conversely, they may also have considerable negative potential, like a vengeful mindset, addiction to drugs, or a lack of social skills, which also do not appear in the educational and skills profile. Reintegration programmes should recognize all these dimensions of the ex-combatant's human profile, including all negative and positive attributes, and move beyond the more traditional skills profiling only.

It is important that ex-combatants find a post-conflict-time equivalent of the role they played during the conflict. If they have a position that gives them a stake in the post-conflict social order, they will help to support this order instead of acting against it. Viewing the ex-combatant as an individual, with ambitions, frustrations and potential thus enhances the chances of devising more suitable reintegration programmes.

Reintegration of special groups

Socio-economic inclusion of all ex-combatant groups

Ex-combatants are not a homogeneous group. A number of specific groups among ex-combatants are particularly at risk of socio-economic exclusion. Programmes should explicitly ensure that assistance packages reach these groups and that they cater for their specific needs. At the same time, however, caution should be exercised to avoid creating additional stigma for these groups by isolating them even further. Special attention to these groups should be mainstreamed into all programmes, to facilitate their integration as full members of society.

Groups with special needs differ considerably from one country to another and their specific risk of socio-economic exclusion should be assessed properly. These groups might include women combatants, elderly and sick combatants, combatants with disabilities, drug-dependent combatants, combatants from the “losers” side, minority group and indigenous combatants, children and youth, etc.

Child soldiers and their families

The greatest casualties of the violence are the children of war-torn countries. They are often deprived of schooling and normal childhood, given drugs and arms, used as pawns and sexual slaves, and exploited in many other ways. In some countries children constituted as much as 40% of some factions’ armies. Many others grew up during the war years and have no experience of peaceful surroundings. This generation of children has been infiltrated with hateful ideologies, lost the protection of their family or community, and often has little means to sustain itself.

Special efforts are required to ensure coverage of child soldiers. Child soldiers themselves can be divided into subgroups. The most vulnerable are often those facing difficulties in being accepted by their communities, and in readapting to village life and parental authority. This tension is aggravated if parents do not have enough income to support their returning children, for instance because they are already economically stretched caring for their younger children.

International law has considerably strengthened in recent years to prevent and stop the recruitment of children for use in armed conflicts. In particular, ILO Convention No. 182 and Recommendation No. 190 on the worst forms of child labour, adopted in 1999, oblige States to prohibit and eliminate them, including the “forced or compulsory recruitment” of children under 18 in armed conflicts. The Convention calls for effective measures of enforcement, including penal or other sanctions; monitoring mechanisms; programmes of action; and measures to prevent children from engaging in the worst forms of child labour, to remove them from these situations and to offer appropriate rehabilitation and social reintegration. It also calls upon Member States to help one another in giving effect to its provisions through international cooperation or assistance.

For children and youth who have been demobilized, it is important to map out the reasons why they have entered armed forces. While some of them could have been physically forced to join armed forces (e.g. abduction), others might have joined for “voluntary” reasons. Collecting detailed information on their motives will help to devise appropriate programmes to reintegrate child soldiers into their communities and preventing their return to armed combat. A recent study on young soldiers’ perception of their own reasons for enlisting with armed groups reveals a number of key risk factors, which are especially strong when several of them combine.²³ A major conclusion is also that the motives of girls and boys for joining armed forces differ considerably, calling for flexibility and adaptation in programming a response.

Tackling the factors that push or pull children into armed forces represents a major contribution to the prevention of armed violence and these assessments could also be conducted in societies or regions where there is potential for outbreaks of armed violence. Therefore, learning about their reasons for recruitment makes it possible for DDR programmes to address the environmental factors and reduce the chances of child re-recruitment and also child participation in armed conflict in the long term.

The discussion about targeting ex-child soldiers exclusively is important. According to UNICEF and ILO in Aceh, a non-targeted approach to these children is called for.

Combatants with disabilities

Most countries emerging from armed conflict have a higher than average percentage of their labour force that is disabled, whether due to the war directly, or to inadequate access to medical care in that period. These individuals, women and men, generally have difficulty in becoming economically self-reliant. This difficulty can be exacerbated if their homes, public buildings and proposed places of employment in their communities are not accessible to them. Nevertheless, productive and decent work is essential for the social and economic integration of individual women and men with disabilities.

The social and economic needs of former combatants with disabilities are not so different from those of able-bodied ex-combatants. Yet they are too often segregated. While many people with disabilities do need medical and psycho-social rehabilitation, they also want and need to benefit from reintegration programmes in the same manner as all their ex-combatant peers. In planning and operating rehabilitation and reintegration programmes for ex-combatants with disabilities, the goal should be an even-handed dissemination of information on the assistance, benefits and pension schemes that are made available by official and non-official agencies; and ensuring them equal access to opportunities for education, vocational training, employment assistance and entrepreneurship support as their colleagues.

23 Brett/Speccht: *Young Soldiers, why they choose to fight*, New York, 2004.

An inclusive and community-based reintegration is suggested for this target group. Many ex-combatants with disabilities can and should benefit from the same programmes and services made available to non-disabled ex-combatants. Service providers should be assisted to adapt their premises and ex-combatants might need assistance to access vocational training centres, microfinance institutions and other services. In short, they should also have access to a fair share of formal job opportunities.

Workplaces can be adapted (often with very minor changes) for workers with disabilities. The ILO has developed a handbook on tools adaptation²⁴ for this purpose, and actively advocates hiring people with disabilities. Its approach promotes a full economic integration of ex-combatants and civilians with disabilities, and saving the existing limited special rehabilitation centres for those persons too severely disabled to join mainstream programmes.

To be able to take advantage of mainstream opportunities, ex-combatants with disabilities may require “technical aid and assisting devices” such as crutches, wheelchairs, glasses, white canes, hearing aids, as well as adapted equipment for communication, including Braille typewriters and sign-language interpretation. Some ex-combatants with disabilities will require long-term medical care and family support.

Recognizing that disability is also the result of environmental barriers, communities can also play an important role in ensuring that ex-combatants with disabilities become active contributors to the community and society at large. They should adapt their structures and procedures to facilitate their inclusion, rather than expecting them to change to fit in with existing arrangements. For example, policies or laws may contain provisions that work to exclude people with disabilities. Likewise, prejudices may exist regarding their ability to work in certain professions. They should take responsibility for tackling barriers to the participation of girls, boys, women and men with disabilities in economic and social activities. When the community carries out changes to increase access for people with disabilities, it makes life easier for everyone in the community too.²⁵

Women associated with fighting forces

Women are increasingly actively engaged in armed conflict, constituting in 2005 one-tenth to one-third of armies, guerrilla forces or armed liberation movements in 55 countries, including in Aceh. This includes a large number of women who have supporting roles (cooks, porters, messengers, etc.) or are dependents of combatants (wives, widows, daughters, etc.). When considering their disarmament, demobilization and socio-economic reintegration, it is crucial to avoid restricting programs to those who can hand in weapons, and thus excluding those who have gone through the same kind of experiences in supporting roles, have self-demobilized, or were disarmed by their superiors. It should be recognized that in many contexts very few female combatants were mentioned on the commander's lists.

Female combatants often do not go to assembly sites and do not take advantage of demobilization benefits. It is important to understand why women and girls are not exercising their right to demobilize and take the assistance associated with the process. Some female ex-combatants are reluctant to confront their past as combatants, or fear social exclusion as a result of their history as combatants, or are kept away by male soldiers and commanders.

Woman Associated with Fighting Forces (WAFF) who actively participated in the fighting might be confronted with additional difficulties in their reintegration process due to preconceived notions of femininity. In particular, they challenge the image of the peaceable, passive and domestically oriented woman that prevails in many traditional societies. Although their role as combatants may have been tolerated in armed forces during the conflict, societies may consider women's military activities “unsuitable”, particularly when the conflict has ended. As a result, many women face rejection by their families and in-laws upon return from combat, and they risk being excluded from traditional community-based social support systems.

These more restrictive gender roles also trap WAFF, who may have been men's equals in the armed forces, into a narrow range of industries and occupations, which are generally lower-skilled and lower-paid. In addition, WAFF have to take care of their children besides earning a living, often without a husband to support them, leaving them no time to participate in reintegration assistance such as catch-up education and training.

Just like their male counterparts, WAFF do not constitute a homogeneous entity but can be divided into distinct sub-categories. Women can thus also be combatants with disabilities, sick and elderly, from minority groups, child soldiers, youth, educated/uneducated, skilled/unskilled, etc. Girl combatants, for instance, are one of the most vulnerable groups in DDR processes but hardly figure as a target group in their own right. They generally have lower levels of education than their male counterparts. This puts them at a disadvantage in the struggle for the few training and employment possibilities that are available in the immediate post-conflict period. Young women also face even greater discrimination than adult women in the labour market, as it is believed that they will soon get married and leave their employment or become less productive.

24 ILO: ILO Handbook - Accessibility and Tool Adaptations for Disabled Workers in Post-Conflict and Developing Countries (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

25 CBR Joint Position Paper, op. cit.

In fact, DDR programmes that had explicit emphasis on gender sensitivity mainly did so by clustering women as a homogeneous vulnerable group in need of protection. The major differences among the roles women have played in the armed forces, as wives, sex-slaves, cooks or fighters or even female commanders, should be recognized. In general, it is critical to be sensitive to the changing gender notions and relations in post-conflict societies, and reflect them in DDR programs and policies. DDR programmes should build on the strength and determination of women and mobilize them to become key actors in peace building and economic recovery processes. Efforts should be geared to understanding, acknowledging, developing and building upon the potential of the different groups of WAFF. It should be stressed that, provided with the appropriate opportunities and support, women can be engines of socio-economic reconstruction.

4. Key Assessments for Economic Reintegration

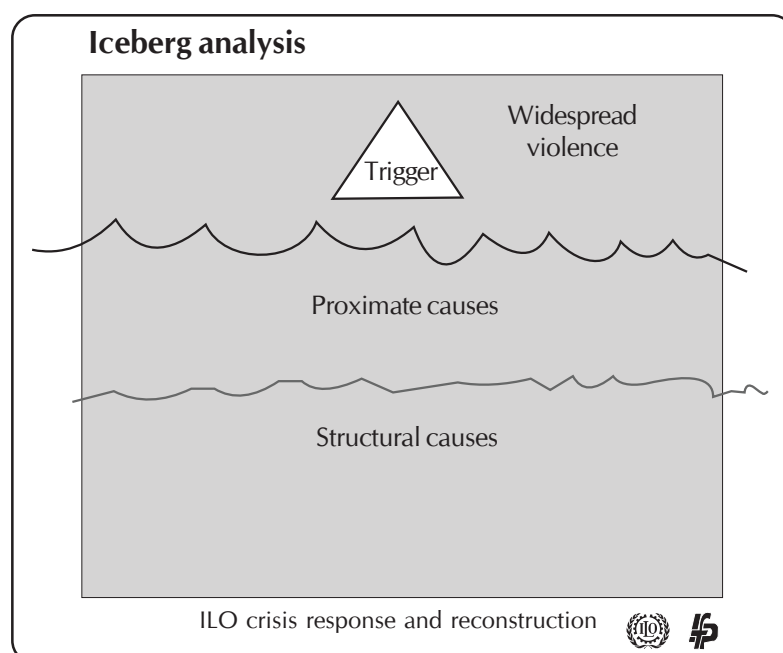
Assessing conflict and peace

The distinction between structural and proximate causes is crucial to understand a conflict, as they call for different interventions in terms of time and resources. DDR programmes tend to focus on quick solutions and so far have hardly tried to address the structural causes of conflict and combatant enrolment. Short-term and relatively low cost actions, such as food aid, elections, disarmament and reinsertion packages, can remedy proximate causes. Sustainable reintegration processes, however, need to take account of, and—to a certain degree—address structural causes, and require long-term development-oriented solutions like economic development, better governance, and more equitable distribution.

One specific focus area of a conflict and peace analysis for DDR is to understand the causes of combatants' enrolment in the armed forces. Especially for children and youth who have been demobilized, DDR should seek to discover what motivated their previous turn to armed violence. It should then be possible to address these structural and proximate factors and reduce the chances of re-participation in armed conflict in the future. While socio-economic reintegration programmes for ex-combatants and other affected groups have to take place quickly, they must also address the deeper causes of the conflict in order to prevent a resurgence of violence and the ensuing (re)recruitment of (ex)combatants.

While structural causes create the conditions for violent conflicts, proximate causes are merely symptoms or manifestations of deeper problems that trigger or accelerate tensions and violence. For example, poverty and inequality are structural causes that can lead to a lack of education and employment opportunities in (parts of) a given country. A sudden economic crisis and decline, a proximate cause, will further reduce job opportunities and cause frustration. The trigger is the event/specific moment where conflict erupted and/or people decided to join armed groups. That trigger could be a sudden political vacuum, the violent repression of a demonstration, etc. The trigger is incidental and can be neglected in the analysis.

The following graph illustrates structural causes, proximate causes and triggers. Only the tip of an iceberg surfaces above the water, but the ship sinks (i.e. the conflict breaks out) because of what is underneath the water.



Obviously the structural and proximate causes are context-specific and might even differ in the different regions within one country. The conflict analysis must go deep enough to understand the structural causes of the conflict and DDR programmes should address, and definitely not reinforce the structural causes of the conflict and the enrolment of ex-combatants.

Actions

- ♦ Undertake a thorough analysis to understand the causes of the armed conflict, using all knowledge sources available including national, regional and international universities and research institutions.
- ♦ Distinguish between structural and proximate causes to gain insights on the time and actors required to address the issues.
- ♦ Determine how the reintegration programme can address or at least neutralize these causes.
- ♦ List all the causes of ex-combatants' joining armed forces by reviewing existing literature, consulting with research institutes, interviewing ex-combatants, etc. and divide them into clusters of structural and proximate causes. This data is essential for strategy development for sustainable DDR.
- ♦ Highlight the causes the reintegration programme can address.

Pre- and post-conflict mechanisms of social exclusion

The marginalization of certain groups and layers of society or regions can be one of the root causes of armed conflict. Political leaders or warlords can exploit existing feelings of injustice for their mobilization efforts. DDR programmes should understand and be sensitive to these exclusion mechanisms. This is especially important as post-conflict situations, where goods, jobs and services are scarce, are at high risk of excluding certain groups.

Therefore

- ♦ Identify pre-conflict mechanisms of social exclusion that create or strengthen discrimination against religious, ethnic, age and other groups, that could hinder ex-combatants' socio-economic reintegration. Include a gender focus. In Sri Lanka, for example, large-scale youth un- and underemployment in the 1980s and 1990s prevented youth from becoming full members of their societies. Many of them felt that only by joining the army could they achieve better education and employment opportunities.
- ♦ Identify post-conflict mechanisms that create or strengthen discrimination against religious, ethnic, age and other groups, that could hinder ex-combatants' socio-economic reintegration. Include a gender focus. For example, communities may reject women ex-combatants because their role as fighters conflicts with the communities' traditional notions of femininity.

Current and future economic opportunities and challenges

Reintegration actors should have a clear image of both the current and future economic opportunities and challenges before moving into the transition process. This analysis will also help them to justify the resources required.

A frequent mistake in DDR is to design programmes, such as on vocational training, taking into account only the demand side or only the supply side. Clearly, providing ex-combatants with skills that are already largely available in the labour market will not improve their chances of finding a job. Therefore, a careful understanding of and balance between demand and supply are needed. For instance, in most post-conflict countries there is a big demand for carpenters and other construction-related jobs. However, often thousands of experienced jobless carpenters are looking for jobs. The newly trained ex-combatant might then be trained in a skill which is obviously in demand, but still does not find a job due to the harsh competition and because he has no or little experience.

The reverse is also true. If the focus is limited to the supply side (rehabilitation of vocational training centres, restart of standard vocational training programmes, etc.), programmes and policies will miss out on matching the actual demand, or other local realities such as local availability of raw material and input supplies for the future business.

Therefore

Assess Aceh's pre-conflict:

- ♦ macroeconomic situation;
- ♦ labour market demand;
- ♦ labour market supply;
- ♦ wages or earnings;
- ♦ infrastructure, e.g. roads, bridges, schools;

- ♦ trade and movement of goods in the conflict zone;
- ♦ informal vs. formal economy;
- ♦ employment opportunities for different groups of the population;
- ♦ child labour practices;
- ♦ women's labour market participation.

Actions

- ♦ Conduct rapid assessments of current local and national labour markets, concentrating on the following areas:
 - Demand for skilled labour;
 - Potential sectors for employment creation;
 - Job opportunities for ex-combatants in formal, informal, rural and urban economies;
 - Demand for goods and services in receiving communities;
 - Labour market and community needs;
 - Analysis of labour and skills supply.
- ♦ Specifically identify labour markets for DDR:
 - Promising sectors for employment appropriate to ex-combatants and/or affected civilians;
 - Estimates of the jobs that will be created by the DDR programme itself and the related other assistance programmes for reconstruction and recovery;
 - Practices of child labour and mapping of appropriate school, training and employment opportunities for children;
 - The current situation and needs of businesses, including skills needs;
 - The socio-economic exclusion of specific groups such as minority groups, people with disabilities, women, etc.

Gender analysis

Male and female ex-combatants experience war differently, and this affects their societal roles and relationships after the war. By fighting in a war, men are reinforced in their roles as warriors or protectors of their societies. This can lead to an increase in domestic violence and crime when men return to civil life and try to re-establish their male status. On the other hand, communities may stigmatize women because they have served in armed forces, a privilege traditionally reserved to men. In particular, women ex-combatants are at odds with most society's notions of femininity. What has been acceptable during conflict may become objectionable in the aftermath.

By neglecting gender concerns, ex-combatant reintegration programmes run the risk of reinforcing gender stereotypes and inequalities that generally disadvantage and marginalize women. For example, women ex-combatants must often take care of the household and the children. Many struggle with severe physical and mental disorders from sexual, physical and verbal violence. These burdens may prevent them from participating in the reintegration programme.

On the other hand, a gender-sensitive approach can also utilize the changes and fluidity of gender relations in armed forces. Having once crossed gender divisions, women ex-combatants may find it easier to enter traditionally male-occupied professions, thus opening up more and better employment opportunities. Overall, gender analysis can help promote greater gender equality in socio-economic reintegration because it recognizes men and women's distinct vulnerabilities and capacities.²⁶

Therefore

- ♦ Compare women's traditional role with their role as ex-combatants.
- ♦ Identify the impact of ex-combatants' participation on notions of femininity and masculinity and relations between men and women.
- ♦ Examine whether and how changed gender roles impact education and career opportunities for ex-combatants.

Actions

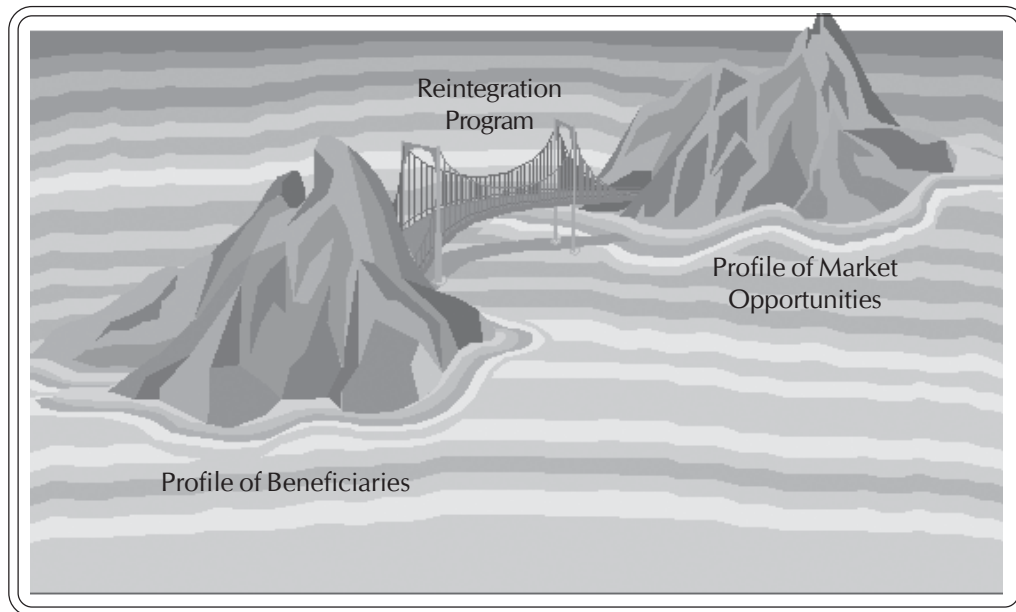
- ♦ Create awareness about gender concerns among actors involved in DDR.
- ♦ Generate and analyze gender-disaggregated data to understand the situation of female ex-combatants compared to male ex-combatants.
- ♦ Complement this quantitative data with community-based participatory surveys to learn about their notions of femininity and masculinity. A woman's and a man's role are usually determined at the local level and within the community.

²⁶ Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council on Women and Peace and Security and UN Resolution 1366 on the Role of the Security Council in the Prevention of Armed Conflict call for gender mainstreaming in all UN conflict prevention and resolution, peace building, peacekeeping, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

- Can women work next to their housework?
- Is it acceptable for a woman to fight?
- What occupations are acceptable for women?
- What kind of education do women and men receive?
- Does the possession of guns symbolize masculinity? What other symbols can substitute for it?

Profile assessment of ex-combatants

Ex-combatants rarely fit the normal job seeker profile. They have been trained for fighting in armed conflict and earned their money by killing. The market, on the other hand, has no demand for this training or employment. As shown in the picture below, a reintegration programme should build a bridge between current profiles of combatants and the identified market opportunities. Thus, designing effective assistance programmes requires first a thorough knowledge of ex-combatants' profiles.



Actions

Assess profiles of ex-combatants, including the following elements:

- ♦ Age.
- ♦ Background: education, work and experience.
- ♦ Aptitudes, skills and competencies.²⁷
- ♦ Special needs due to disability.
- ♦ Access to land and assets.
- ♦ Health status, including eventual drug addiction.
- ♦ Family structure and number of dependants.
- ♦ Expectations and ambitions.

Educational and training needs of ex-combatants

Assessing ex-combatants' skills and competencies allows for the offering of education and training programs that matches labour market demand.

Many DDR programs tend to focus only on providing skills training for immediate income-generating activities. Yet to improve the long- and short-term employability of ex-combatants, both the educational and training needs should be determined. This is particularly important as Aceh has experienced protracted conflict, and many young people have missed out on (secondary) education. Having been enrolled in the army or armed groups, ex-combatants are particularly likely to have been left aside.

²⁷ Skill is a (usually learned) ability to perform actions. Aptitude is a natural skill. Competency is an ability to perform a fully identified labour activity successfully.

A thorough assessment should also identify skills and competencies which have been acquired through informal learning and might otherwise not be taken into account.

Actions

- ♦ Determine ex-combatants' level of formal education, including educational periods as refugees, and their level of motivation to "catch up" on their education.
- ♦ Assess ex-combatants' competencies, which may include formal training certificates, skills acquired through apprenticeship, armed forces and/or informal training.
- ♦ Include an assessment of life skills, including their personal capacity to adjust socially and reconcile tensions.

Capacity assessment of labour market actors

Typically, DDR programmes put unrealistic expectations on the existing labour market actors. Thousands of low-skilled ex-combatants swell the ranks of job seekers in a war-torn economy where labour market actors might have seriously damaged capacities, are completely new and may lack coordination among themselves.

Labour market actors include employment services and agencies, training institutions, statistical institutions, the Ministry of Labour, workers' and employers' organizations, credit institutions, and other actors affecting the labour market.

The assessment of labour market institutions identifies their current qualitative and quantitative capacity to meet the particular demands of the reintegration programme. This assessment should help identify what is needed to make the content and organization of the services appropriate to the current demands of the DDR programme, including labour market demands.

Actions

- ♦ Undertake institutional capacity assessment among the actors that will be relevant for delivering reintegration services. This should be done as early as possible, because this assessment will determine what is needed in terms of resources and time to build appropriate capacities of service providers in order to make reintegration successful, and because capacity building can take months/years.
- ♦ The capacity assessment should cover:
 - the extent and nature of existing labour market institutions and the range of their services;
 - the amount and quality of pre-war services;
 - the level of destruction of premises;
 - the decline in human resources;
 - the loss of equipment;
 - the appropriateness of existing services; and
 - the information flow among labour market actors.

Training capacity and needs assessment

Reintegration programs require a training system that offers services to a large number of people, including ex-combatants, in a short period of time. Given that conflicts have a devastating impact on training systems, the demand for training created by the DDR programme typically exceeds the supply of qualitative training. Thus, before devising training plans, the capacity and needs of existing training providers should be assessed, to identify gaps that need to be addressed.

A clear indication of the number of people that can realistically be trained in the first year after demobilization should be the basis of any sensitization campaign informing combatants on the assistance they will receive. The waiting time between demobilization and reintegration has often led to frustration and the reoccurrence of violence, largely caused by promises made to combatants, while training providers did not yet have the capacities to deliver.

Actions

- Analyze those training institutions that are potentially relevant for ex-combatants and affected civilians, such as vocational and business training institutes, focusing on:
- ♦ Relevance of training curricula to the demands of the market.
 - ♦ Entry requirements, such as school degrees, literacy and costs.
 - ♦ Capacity of training providers (quality and quantity of training offered).
 - ♦ Communication and coordination mechanisms within the training system.
 - ♦ Quality standards and course certification.
 - ♦ Communication and coordination with other labour market actors.

Assessment results should be ready before planning the training component of a reintegration programme. Among other things, early assessments allow for the setting up of appropriate measures to strengthen the capacity of training providers and of the training system. Therefore, this is one of the first activities to develop in order to prepare for reintegration in Aceh.

Availability of apprenticeship places

While reintegration programmes sometimes offer young people apprenticeships after completing their vocational training, an apprenticeship also constitutes a form of vocational training that can compensate for the lack of formal training places available. In many conflict-affected countries, traditional apprenticeship is the largest provider of skills for the—mostly informal—labour market, far surpassing the number of places in formal training institutions.

Therefore

Assess:

- ♦ Traditional practices and regulations of apprenticeships;
- ♦ Quality/results of apprenticeships in the past;
- ♦ Number of places available;
- ♦ Willingness of employers to accept ex-combatants;
- ♦ Adaptations needed to fit ex-combatants' profiles/needs;
- ♦ The modalities of transmission of skills;
- ♦ The competence of masters; and
- ♦ Protective measures needed to avoid abuse of apprentices by masters.

Actions

- ♦ Consult with employers on their experience with apprenticeships and their willingness to take on ex-combatant apprentices.
- ♦ Organize discussion groups with key actors such as the chamber of commerce, business associations, relevant ministries, etc. Discuss with them the modalities and results of the existing apprenticeship systems and how to adapt them for ex-combatants.
- ♦ Consult with workers' organizations to seek their views.

Local Economic Assessments

Territorial diagnosis and institutional mapping

A good understanding of the local socio-economic environment is the foundation for relevant and demand-driven (re)integration interventions. (Re)integration workers as well as local communities need to be aware of the socio-economic resources and development potential of the territory. The number and scale of humanitarian and development organizations can easily overwhelm conflict-affected communities. External organizations risk overlooking existing human, physical and natural resources, especially when pressure for quick impact is high. Frequently, (re)integration initiatives overlap and opportunities for synergies are not seized. A clear picture of what is available locally and who is doing what, will help in preventing this. Territorial diagnosis and institutional mapping enable local and external actors to get the picture right.²⁸

Therefore

- ♦ Use territorial diagnosis to gain an overview of available resources and dynamics in the area. This comprises information on the pre-conflict and present situation in the following fields:
 - Macro-economic statistics (including average income per capita, minimum wage, inflation and devaluation);
 - Population (including ex-combatants, urban, rural, ethnic composition, skills);
 - Employment and self-employment (wage earners, underemployment, survival activities, employment by economic sectors, etc.);
 - Socio-economic dynamics (clusters and supply chains, interaction between public and private actors, occupational status of ex-combatants, etc.);

28 This section draws on ILO manual on Local Economic Development in Post-crisis Situations, Geneva 2003

- Infrastructure (roads, market places, communication, electricity, etc.);
- Natural resources and environment (water, climate, agricultural land use, natural parks, etc.);
- Legal and regulatory framework (decentralization, private sector promotion, banking legislation, special provisions for ex-combatants, etc.).
- ♦ Use institutional mapping to gain an overview of “who is doing what” in the area. This comprises information on governmental agencies, local government, institutions, associations, national and international organizations and UN agencies that are present in the area.
- ♦ Information on this wide range of stakeholders must include:
 - Profile (mission, objectives, field of action, target groups, geographical coverage, etc.);
 - Territorial organization (municipal structures, composition of decentralized governmental agencies);
 - Ongoing and planned (re)integration and other development initiatives; and
 - Coordination, networks and partnerships among the institutions.

Actions

- ♦ Identify experts and local stakeholders who will carry out the territorial diagnosis and institutional mapping.
- ♦ Determine the “territory”. On the basis of the names of the receiving towns and communities, one should determine the territorial scale for data collection, taking into account geographical closeness, administrative boundaries (provinces, districts) and economic, social and cultural links between communities.
- ♦ Collect data through desk study and interviews.
- ♦ Analyze data in participatory forums.
- ♦ Disseminate data.
- ♦ Update data regularly.

Territorial diagnosis and institutional mapping take place in preparation for the design of (re)integration strategies for ex-combatants in receiving communities. Once the receiving communities are known, data collection and analysis should start.

Communities’ current absorption capacity

Assessing the current absorption capacity in communities is important in order to respond effectively to a rapid return (or installation) of ex-combatants. The assessment of current economic integration opportunities informs the (re)integration program in preparing services for skills development and business support. The identified opportunities can be temporary but could be sustained in the long term with the further development of the local economy.

Therefore

- ♦ Focus on immediate needs for goods and services in the community (which is a smaller entity than the territory).
- ♦ On this basis, establish an integration profile for the community.

Note that this is a quick and mainly qualitative assessment, complementing the more analytical data collection carried out through the territorial diagnosis and institution mapping.

Actions

- ♦ Carry out informal discussions and conduct interviews to collect data on the community’s current absorption capacity. Organize focus group discussions depending on the size of the community.
- ♦ Collect information on:
 - ♦ Current *demand* for services and goods from individual customers as well as institutions such as schools or health centres:
 - Where do people buy, at what price, and are they satisfied with the quality of services and products?
 - ♦ Current *supply* of services and goods:
 - Is there a lack of a particular product or service?
 - What would be needed to improve the provision of that product or service? Is there a growth potential for existing businesses or can start-ups be envisaged?
 - What would be needed for business extension or start-ups? (skills, input supplies, working capital, productive investments & infrastructure)?
- ♦ Pay attention to the following issues when analyzing the data:
 - The likelihood that the lack of productive infrastructure, roads, business support (credit and non-financial services), and input supplies will put constraints on activities becoming immediate integration opportunities;

- The level of organization among producers and entrepreneurs. Cooperatives, small business associations or community-based enterprises and/or organizations can be an entry point for the socio-economic integration of ex-combatants. Technical assistance can be addressed to organizations absorbing ex-combatants rather than assisting ex-combatants individually;
- The purchasing power in the community (the transition from mainly self-subsistence communities towards money-based purchases usually takes time); and
- Social sensitiveness regarding ex-combatants: Would people buy from ex-combatants? Would existing entrepreneurs employ ex-combatants, would they be willing to receive ex-combatants as apprentices?

Prospects for employment creation in local economies

Integration opportunities at the local level are likely to change over time. The countries' reconstruction and development efforts change investment patterns and impact on local economic growth opportunities. Many such changes can be anticipated as reconstruction and development programmes are planned in advance and usually take time before the actual implementation starts. Therefore, assessing prospects for employment creation in local economies, also in the long term, should be part of the situational analysis. This will enhance the preparedness of local economic actors and facilitate seizing employment creation opportunities in the near future.

Therefore

- ♦ Identify potential growth sectors.
- ♦ Identify potential for new businesses.
- ♦ Assess appropriateness of these potential opportunities for ex-combatants.
- ♦ Assess whether the opportunities are hazardous for ex-child soldiers.

Actions

- ♦ Use data from territorial diagnosis, institutional mapping as well as the integration profiles from several communities that are part of that local economy.
- ♦ Study national and international development policies and initiatives that will impact on the local economy, such as construction programmes, private sector development programmes and the national poverty reduction strategy.
- ♦ Determine upcoming national and international development initiatives.
- ♦ On that basis, identify economic sectors that are likely to grow in the short term.

Example of employment creation at the local level

A rehabilitation programme for schools and training centres would require skilled labour in the construction sector (brick making, carpentry, etc.). The Integration Programme would need to sensitize national actors and international organizations for the use of labour-intensive methods and involvement of local enterprises, local labour and construction materials. In parallel, the Programme would support capacity building in adapting tender procedures to small enterprises, in preparing entrepreneurs to participate in tenders, in organizing the work and in the development of construction skills. Where possible, local training providers, producers and entrepreneurs should be assisted in developing and delivering their services and goods. One should also anticipate needs that would derive from such activities, like catering, transport and lodging.

Prospects for local employment creation can be identified when relevant, basic information has been collected through the territorial diagnosis, institutional mapping and community absorption capacity profiles.

Job creation in rural and urban areas

Although in Aceh, agriculture and fishery would be among the most promising sectors for reintegration, not all ex-combatants might be willing to go "back" to the countryside. This problem also has cultural roots, but it seems that if working conditions and potential for growth are improved, many young ex-combatants would be willing to return to rural areas.

In order to find attractive reintegration opportunities for ex-combatants in rural areas, it is important to identify some of the major sub-sectors that can potentially absorb them. An early assessment of employment prospects in the rural areas is crucial as one of the objectives of DDR programmes is to avoid the ex-combatants remaining in towns where employment opportunities are already extremely limited.

Actions

- ♦ In rural areas, assess:
 - Numbers of farm and fishing job opportunities and the willingness of ex-combatants to become farmers;
 - Connection to markets;
 - Average revenue from farming;
 - Job opportunities deriving from the chain of work in the agricultural sector for processing, marketing, transport, selling etc.;
 - Access to education, training, lending systems and health services in rural areas; and
 - Rules and regulations governing land or property, including gender analysis concerning access to fertile land.
- ♦ In urban areas, assess:
 - Opportunities for labour-intensive reconstruction projects to (re)build houses, roads, schools, health centres, youth centres, etc.;
 - Potential reconstruction projects in cities that will create employment opportunities but will also improve living standards, such as city slum development;
 - How national urban policies and laws can reduce the negative impact of urbanization; and
 - The existence and capacities of youth organizations.

Opportunity mapping for emergency employment

It has proven to be very difficult to ensure that reintegration assistance is available immediately after ex-combatants are demobilized. Leaving them idle and without a source of income might create social problems within communities. This period between demobilization and reintegration is often referred to as “reinsertion”, “transitional reintegration” or “the gap”. As the terms clearly express, this period should be as short as possible.

At this point in time, it is crucial to map a number of emergency employment opportunities that will benefit the ex-combatants as well as the community. These emergency employment programs should have immediate impact, but also set the scene for the reintegration process.

What is needed are temporary jobs—for instance, collective assignments like labour-intensive reconstruction works in which the ex-combatants (and civilians) can earn a living and where the first mix of ex-combatants and communities can take place. Besides their economic benefits, these jobs will improve the social status of ex-combatants, who are often seen as destructors, and will also get ex-combatants used to civilian life.

Actions

- ♦ Identify infrastructure needs with immediate economic benefits (access roads to markets, markets, training centres, etc.).
- ♦ Identify infrastructure needs with immediate social benefits for the receiving communities (schools, health centres, roads, bridges, etc.).
- ♦ Identify projects with immediate environmental benefits (waste collection, forestation, water supply, etc.).
- ♦ Determine whether a labour-based approach is appropriate in the specific country, region or community.
- ♦ Combine mutual benefits of ex-combatants, community infrastructure but also peace building.

5. Economic Reintegration Strategies

Identifying gaps, opportunities, risks and responses

Reintegration processes are ambitious and complex endeavours. Opportunities might be limited, social tensions high and political climates sensitive. Moreover, reintegration assistance requires the involvement, coordination and cooperation of multiple actors, including national and international organizations, NGOs, the private sector and other service providers. A sound strategy allows these actors to avoid duplication of efforts, profit from comparative advantages, seize synergy opportunities, gain coherence in programming and account for potential risks.

Therefore

Identify:

- ♦ *gaps* that the programme needs to address, e.g. lack of training and employment opportunities, lack of programmes for people with disabilities, deficiency in labour market information flows.
- ♦ *opportunities*, e.g. potential for employment creation, skills and capacities of ex-combatants, cross-border trade.
- ♦ *risks* of programme intervention e.g. a rise in tensions between community and ex-combatants as a result of targeted assistance, dependency of national actors on external assistance, frustration linked to delayed assistance.
- ♦ *responses* to gaps, opportunities, risks, e.g. support of childcare facilities to enable ex-combatant women to participate in training programmes; opening up of micro-credit programmes for ex-combatants to other community members to prevent tension; promotion of international labour standards to prevent former child soldiers' recruitment into exploitative work and prostitution.

Employment creation in potential sectors

Creating employment and income opportunities on a large scale and at relatively low capital cost is one of the greatest challenges of DDR programmes. Employment opportunities are usually scarce in the immediate post-conflict economies where DDR takes place. On the basis of the assessments (see above), employment promotion should explicitly become part of DDR and national post-conflict economic reconstruction schemes. The challenge is not only to rehabilitate and re-launch critical economic and social services, but also to revive local markets without which all efforts to revive the economy and stimulate employment will be blocked.

Therefore

- ♦ Promote and support the private sector of the economy, both in rural and urban areas. As can be seen in most countries in the industrialized and the developing world, small and medium-sized businesses provide the largest number of jobs.
- ♦ Launch labour-intensive projects in areas of high return of ex-combatants. Projects should preferably be chosen that have multiple benefits, such as job creation, improving cash flow in the local communities, and social benefits and direct economic benefits for the community.
- ♦ Enhance the employability of ex-combatants through training and education in order to upgrade their profile to current and future demands of the labour market.

Actions

- ♦ Use the Local Economic Development (LED) approach. LED enables local stakeholders to jointly design and implement a development strategy by making use of the local endogenous potential and the competitive advantage of the area.
- ♦ Provide the private sector with contracts within the DDR programme.
- ♦ Build capacities by having local government, small contractors, and communities execute labour-based projects.
- ♦ Adapt national policies and regulations to create an enabling environment for business development.

Combining targeting with an area-based approach**Ex-combatants within communities**

Ex-combatants ultimately have to be accepted by their communities. DDR programmes which focus on ex-combatants without taking the rest of the conflict-affected population into account might trigger and aggravate social tensions. DDR assistance that only targets ex-combatants might be perceived as rewarding violence and unfair, considering the large numbers of other conflict and tsunami-affected people.

The social and economic strains put on the entire society during the conflict make it impossible to discount communities during ex-combatants' socio-economic reintegration. However, with high security concerns and limited funds available, some targeting might be needed. The level of exclusiveness or, respectively, inclusiveness depends on the local social, political and economic context. Careful examination is required to determine the appropriate level of targeting in the Aceh-specific DDR context.

Therefore

- ♦ Try to strike a balance between addressing ex-combatants' specific needs and favouring them at the cost of neglecting other groups.
- ♦ Make services available to other war-affected groups and community members wherever possible.
- ♦ Increase communities' ability to absorb ex-combatants.
- ♦ Create direct benefits for the communities through the DDR assistance.
- ♦ Create lasting capacities during the DDR process which will also benefit other people in need of integration assistance.
- ♦ Ensure that benefits provided to ex-combatants are balanced by benefits provided to other groups under different programmes such as returning refugees and IDPs.

Local Economic Development strategies

An area-based approach aims to ensure that the design of an integration strategy for ex-combatants takes full account of the social and environmental characteristics of the local economy, its potential as well as its limitations. Therefore, the national integration strategy for ex-combatants would need to rely on local realities and priorities. These change from area to area, and local actors are in the best position to define LED strategies for their area. The success of integrating ex-combatants will largely depend on the inclusiveness of the participatory design and the consensus behind the LED strategy as well as on its reliance on local assets and resources.

Local economic development is a participatory process that encourages partnership arrangements between the main private and public stakeholders in a defined territory, enabling the joint design and implementation of a common development strategy, by making use of local resources and competitive advantages in a global context with the final objective of creating decent jobs and stimulating economic activity. LED strategies focus on the creation of an enabling environment. Therefore, capacity building of key stakeholders in planning, dialogue and service delivery is key. However, in the aftermath of conflict, communities need a rapid response to the most urgent needs, and visible results. The revival of local economies is a prerequisite for the successful integration of ex-combatants. A short-term strategy focusing on quick impact initiatives should therefore be combined with medium and long-term strategies.

Measures for special groups

Some groups of ex-combatants will not automatically have access to the services provided under a general DDR programme. Special groups of combatants are therefore at higher risk of social exclusion. They may require focused measures to allow them to benefit from reintegration programmes. Designing a DDR strategy should take into account the outcomes of the above mentioned assessments. On that basis,

Therefore

- ♦ Remove obstacles to special groups so they can fully participate in reintegration programmes.
- ♦ Make efforts for the reintegration of special groups of ex-combatants more employment-focused to allow them to grow out of their vulnerability.
- ♦ Structure assistance programmes for special groups so they can build up capital and become self-sufficient and independent.
- ♦ Make the DDR strategy more gender sensitive and programmes equally appealing to and appropriate for women as they are for men. Use the gender analysis to find out women combatants' specific needs and wishes.
- ♦ Recognize the specific situation and needs of children:
 - Devise protective measures during and after disarmament and demobilization;
 - Examine which job opportunities are appropriate for the (older) children, etc.; and
 - Avoid paying cash to children in transition periods as this makes them more vulnerable to manipulation, jealousy, etc.

Include additional services such as transport for people with disabilities and childcare facilities for ex-combatant parents but also measures that ensure that ex-combatants from all ethnic and minority groups will benefit equally from the services. Include indicators for monitoring on special groups in order to early identify problems and adapt.

A youth-based approach

DDR programmes have increasingly been confronted by contexts where the majority of former combatants are young people. The UN defines youth as those between 15 and 24 years of age.

Young women and men can make important contributions to the reconstruction and recovery of a war-torn country or province. They are often at the forefront of social movements, calling for and promoting change and a more equitable society. Their energy and capacity for innovation are priceless resources that no country can afford to squander. Although they have considerable potential, young people also suffer high economic and social vulnerability. The sense of alienation and marginalization of jobless frustrated young people results, in many pre- and post-conflict contexts, in violent behaviour, juvenile delinquency, and in their recruitment into gangs, armed groups and forces. If not properly addressed, these behaviours can jeopardize a relatively frail state of peace.

So far, armed youth has been regarded as the most problematic group of combatants to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate and has been treated as the group providing the highest security risks. DDR programmes must, however, deal with youth as victims, as potential spoilers, but most importantly, as potential economic and social actors. Their energy and ability to mobilize themselves and other sections of society can and should be channelled towards recovery and peace building. Youth must be integrated into the reconstruction, peace and long-term development process of Aceh. It is crucial to involve them throughout the DDR process, as one of the biggest frustrations of young people is that they are seldom asked or heard, yet they are expected to be "the future" of their societies. DDR programmes have to be founded on a solid understanding of the Aceh-specific needs, ambitions and potential of youth.

Therefore

- ♦ Make DDR more youth-focused, building on the potential, strengths and ambitions of this age group.
- ♦ Respond to young ex-combatants' diverse needs, experiences and disadvantages, which differ depending on age, gender, ethnicity, social class, household size, education and training levels, disability, etc.
- ♦ Lay the ground for long-term national youth development policies and strategies.

Actions

- ♦ Invest time and resources in creating an enabling environment for youth integration.
- ♦ Initiate youth-focused capacity building of service providers.
- ♦ Boost the private sector and local development initiatives that are likely to create opportunities for youth.
- ♦ Stimulate activities/processes to socialize young ex-combatants in their receiving communities.
- ♦ Ensure that DDR as a whole and all its various components take into account and build on youth potential

and ambitions: giving them a voice and making sure they are and feel represented in the DDR process, the reconstruction process and of the new society is the key to successful DDR.

- ♦ Train and empower youth organizations to become active in the DDR processes.
- ♦ Provide assistance that will be of direct benefit to the young people while addressing their long-term goals, such as employing youth to rebuild schools, hospitals and sports facilities in their communities.
- ♦ Assist young ex-combatants to catch up on missed education and training opportunities.
- ♦ Assist young ex-combatants to start their own businesses.
- ♦ Make available to young ex-combatants a set of key services, such as medical and social assistance.
- ♦ Identify gaps in youth development policies and strategies and devise ways to fill them.

Strategic partnership for mainstreaming employment

Instead of treating employment as a separate sector, it has proven essential to establish partnerships with each group of actors and stakeholders so that they fully participate in mainstreaming employment into DDR. The GoI has to play the coordinating role in ensuring that a maximum number of jobs, temporally and lasting, are being created.

International organizations

The international community is well aware of the fact that the success of DDR largely depends on finding and creating sufficient job opportunities. Employment should not be regarded as a sector in itself, but is, in fact, at the core of all reconstruction activities. All reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes, including DDR, have enormous potential to create large numbers of temporary but also lasting jobs. Integrated peace missions and international organizations that do not have a specific focus on employment activities are rarely aware of their potential contributions to providing jobs for ex-combatants and their conflict-stricken communities. Specific measures are required to raise this awareness and to make interventions, including tsunami relief operations, as employment-focused as possible.

Therefore

- ♦ Connect and seek partnerships with employment-related national actors, NGOs and the private sector to mainstream employment creation into DDR and broader reconstruction efforts.
- ♦ Affirm the centrality of employment creation in post-conflict situations, especially for reintegration efforts.
- ♦ Advocate making all DDR and other reconstruction activities more employment-focused.
- ♦ Generate more post-conflict socio-economic data on issues such as land tenure and industry revitalization, to adequately devise reintegration programs.
- ♦ Recognize themselves as a major employers, especially in the context of tsunami relief efforts.
- ♦ Boost the private sector and local communities by providing them with sub-contracts.

Actions

- ♦ Elaborate common strategies within the UN and EU coordination mechanisms and other coordination mechanisms
- ♦ Use assessments (see above) to sensitize relevant international organizations to their role in mainstreaming employment.
- ♦ Buy (almost) all food and non-food items needed for the DDR programme and the mission itself locally.
- ♦ Spell out the respective roles and responsibilities of pivotal international organisations to avoid duplication of efforts or waste of resources.

Employers' and workers' organisations

Employers' and workers' organizations are important partners for creating and mainstreaming employment. They also provide a unique entry point in countries where government structures are weak or absent.

Social dialogue should be promoted within DDR programmes to channel society's needs and expectations peacefully and constructively, detect problem areas related with the DDR programmes in society and help to address them swiftly. Furthermore, social partners need to be involved to bring together the protagonists of the world of work. This can help restore confidence in ruling institutions, so society may consent to sacrifice and effort with the assurance that they are necessary and equitably distributed.

Therefore

Recognize the potential role of employers' and workers' organizations in furthering the reintegration of ex-combatants into the labour market and mobilize that potential.

Actions

- ♦ Involve employers' and workers' organizations in regular consultations of employment-related DDR activities. Among other things, they can:
 - Provide information on potential growth sectors of the economy, vocational training agencies, workplace issues and proposed legislation;
 - Help identify good practice examples for organizing and recruiting ex-combatants;
 - Mediate between the government, workers and employers;
 - Promote a set of national core competencies or curricula and create a system for national recognition;
 - Provide apprenticeship places; and
 - Organise business support services for starting entrepreneurs.
- ♦ Undertake capacity building to increase the capacities of employers' organisations and trade unions, as they are often heavily affected by the conflict.
- ♦ Organize awareness-raising campaigns with them to promote compliance with international labour standards and the decent work concept.
- ♦ Convene meetings between business people and employers' and workers' organizations to encourage business people to employ ex-combatants and discuss possible obstacles to ex-combatants' employment.
- ♦ Invite them to participate in and contribute to training workshops for vocational training agencies.
- ♦ Ask them for monitoring and evaluation indicators for DDR programmes that account for employers' and workers' perspectives.

Donors

DDR programs are resource-intensive. However, as they often start at a time when peace is still fragile, donors might be reluctant to invest. Further, sustainable reintegration programs usually receive less funding than disarmament and demobilization programmes. Among the reasons for this neglect of the reintegration component are its need for long-term commitment, the lack of quantifiable and visible results. Insufficient funding for reintegration programmes may, however, undermine the success of the entire DDR process.

For reintegration programmes to become effective and sustainable they require adequate funding for capacity building and employment creation. There is usually funding available for the provision of direct services, including cash payments, rebuilding of basic infrastructure, providing (catch-up) education and training opportunities, establishing referral services, sensitizing communities etc. In contrast, adequate financial support for holistic and long-term assistance, such as employment creation, has proven more problematic.

Therefore

- ♦ Urge donors to take a long-term and holistic approach to DDR, putting it in the wider context of long-term development. Strengthening communities' capacity and creating employment cannot be achieved within the typical funding period of six months to a year, but require years of commitment of resources and staff.
- ♦ Clarify with donors and advocates of special groups early on how much reintegration assistance should be allocated to fill these groups' special needs.
- ♦ Develop rapid response mechanisms such as small pools of money for immediate use to bridge possible delays.

Actions

- ♦ Confirm arrangements among the parties in a memorandum of understanding—the sequence of steps, division of responsibilities, timeframe and expected outcome.
- ♦ Set up mechanisms, such as an independent Financial Management and Procurement Unit, to increase donor confidence.
- ♦ Explore the full range of financial support possibilities for DDR activities and reintegration in particular: assessed contributions, voluntary funding raised through consolidated appeals, special trust funds, parallel financing from bilateral programs or regional organizations, cash or in-kind contributions from national institutions. Strong bilateral support can be a vital tool for ensuring the availability of funding for DDR programming.

Civil society

The World Bank defines NGOs as “private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development” (Operational Directive 14.70). Normally, a distinction is made between operational NGOs that design and implement development-related projects, and advocacy NGOs that defend or promote a specific cause. Both of them can foster ex-combatants’ reintegration. Both types of NGO are relevant for mainstreaming employment. Since they work in close cooperation with local people concerned, they can give crucial insights on how to implement employment-related policies and programs for ex-combatants on the ground in communities. Their independence from governments increases their credibility among local communities so that advocacy NGOs can be useful in sensitization and/or advocacy projects. Operational NGOs can help avoid dependencies on (international) external assistance and help with vocational training, microfinance, income-generation projects, etc. In many war-affected countries, government presence in rural areas is limited. National NGOs can be mobilized as service providers to the ex-combatants once settled in the communities.

Therefore

- ♦ Recognize the potential capacity of NGOs in furthering the reintegration of ex-combatants in the labour market and mobilize that potential.
- ♦ Recognize NGOs’ capacity to provide:
 - expertise and advice on problems, opportunities and risks in the reintegration of ex-combatants, e.g. perception of receiving communities,
 - methods to ensure the full participation of special groups in the communities’ social and economic life,
 - vocational and life skills training. Youth organizations could also offer language, computer and skills training programmes,
 - Opportunities for self-employment through projects related to community development, small-scale business promotion and community-based infrastructure works.
- ♦ Check which NGOs deliver quality training and are accountable to donors.

Actions

- ♦ Encourage NGOs’ participation in forums and meetings dealing with employment-related issues affecting ex-combatants.
- ♦ Mobilize NGOs to support employment creation.
- ♦ Encourage international and national NGOs to employ ex-combatants.
- ♦ Facilitate cooperation and coordination among the various civil society actors on training and employment of ex-combatants by promoting NGO forums and/or consortiums.
- ♦ Assess the quality, neutrality and capacities of national NGOs by encouraging regular checks through workers’ and employers’ organizations.
- ♦ Develop standards and guidelines for NGO service delivery in training programs and hold NGOs accountable to them.
- ♦ Involve NGOs throughout the DDR process and share information with them.

6. Components of a Reintegration Programme

The economic reintegration programme should generally have two entry points:

1. Increasing the absorption capacity of the labour market, especially in the local economies, and
2. Providing assistance to the target group to ensure access to the job-opportunities that arise.

Increasing absorption capacity

Creating socio-economic conditions for (ex-combatants) integration aims at enabling the environment to absorb the large numbers of combatants once they are demobilized. This phase of the process is a precondition to the operational phase of providing direct services to combatants and receiving communities. It covers a broad field of action and rests in particular on a broad consensus.

The informal economy

In many conflict-affected areas, the informal economy grows while the formal economy is generally at a standstill, or shrinking. Ex-combatants in particular are likely to find employment in it, partly as a result of their lower education. Targeted assistance to increase the informal economy's potential to offer more and better jobs for ex-combatants is therefore essential.

Job creation for ex-combatants in the informal economy should revolve around three points: increasing productivity and the labour absorption capacity, improving working conditions and creating incentives to "formalize" informal activities.

Increasing the absorption capacity of the informal economy and promoting decent work requires a complex set of measures at the policy, programme and project level. Urban labour-intensive projects can be effective, especially if they combine job creation with training and focus on rebuilding infrastructure with economic benefits.

In order to create employment opportunities for ex-combatants in rural areas, incentives can be offered for commercial farming, introduction of appropriate technology, introduction and improvement of irrigation and other water-sources, improved access roads to markets, training of farmers and introduction of food processing techniques in the rural sector.

Furthermore, the barriers for informal economy actors to enter the formal economy should be reduced, and international labour standards in the informal economy enforced.

Actions

- ♦ Transfer appropriate technology to the informal economy, organise related training and give them access to support services and (micro)credit.
- ♦ Simplify the regulatory framework for doing business, apply rules and procedures transparently and consistently and reduce transaction costs in the formal economy.
- ♦ Combat exploitive labour and child labour in the informal economy, especially its worst forms.
- ♦ Grant specific support to women employed in the informal economy; they are typically assigned low-income jobs and face the worst conditions.

The formal economy

Formal job opportunities are generally extremely limited in post-conflict economies. In addition, ex-combatants seldom have the profiles to compete for the limited vacancies. However, as part of preparing the ground for DDR and overall reconstruction and recovery, governments and businesses should receive assistance to (re)start essential activities as soon as possible. Among the ex-combatant population, there are often senior managers, IT specialists, medical doctors, engineers, etc. who could fill a number of these vacancies if appropriately (re)trained.

In addition, there are normally a relatively high number of jobs in the new security forces such as the police and the army.

Therefore

- ♦ Match job opportunities and training requirements for ex-combatants with demands on local labour markets.
- ♦ Organise targeted training for ex-combatants to teach them relevant skills and/or provide them with relevant education.
- ♦ Assist national and local governments as well as private enterprises to re-staff their offices by recruiting ex-combatants.
- ♦ Create incentives for hiring ex-combatants (if appropriate in the given context).
- ♦ Provide national medium-sized and large companies with contracts in the DDR programmes.
- ♦ Examine whether requirements/entry levels for jobs in the security sector, such as in the police and the new army, fit ex-combatants' profiles.

Actions

- ♦ Organize meetings where local employers (businesses, local government, public support agencies), training institutions, local employment offices and organizations representing the interests of unemployed ex-combatants can discuss how demand and supply on the local labour market can be matched best.
- ♦ Cooperate with employment centres to create an accessible database with profiles of job-seeking ex-combatants.
- ♦ Announce vacancies through local radio stations, and boards in busy places, such as local government offices, markets, community centres and churches.
- ♦ Enable potential employers and unemployed ex-combatants to get to know each other (ex-combatants visit premises of potential employers, internships, etc.).
- ♦ Provide targeted training to facilitate the inclusion of a number of ex-combatants into the new security forces.

Boosting the private sector

In the past couple of decades, governments have been withdrawing from productive activities as part of a variety of structural reform programmes. The role of the private sector in job creation has consequently increased, but is still too weak to tackle the immense problem of unemployment, especially in the aftermath of conflict. Designing and implementing policies and programmes to boost the private sector is probably the most urgent and effective measure to prepare the ground for DDR and overall recovery.

Therefore

- ♦ Review and adapt national legislation in relation to business development.
- ♦ Assist pre-conflict businesses to restart.
- ♦ Upgrade and reorient technical skills and develop management capacity for existing businesses to expand and stimulate their labour absorption.
- ♦ Assist the private sector in creating an enabling environment for reintegrating ex-combatant youth and other war-affected children and youth. The majority of youth will need to be trained through apprenticeships and employed in existing and new businesses.
- ♦ Strengthen capacities among existing business people to provide training.
- ♦ Rehabilitate or build key infrastructure that will have direct economic benefits such as access roads to markets, market places etc. In addition, these projects result in improved infrastructure for businesses, temporary employment and training opportunities for ex-combatant and other local populations, temporary cash flow in the communities due to salaries which has a direct positive impact on local markets, and training and strengthening of the small contractors sector by provision of contracts combined with training.

Actions

- ♦ Arrange meetings with relevant ministries such as employment and commerce, employers' and workers' organizations to identify obstacles for businesses to restart and expand their activities.

- ♦ Contract the building of encampment sites, access roads, etc. to local private sector actors. Make it a condition to employ a certain percentage of ex-combatants.
 - ♦ Equip business people to deliver training to ex-combatants. This can include apprenticeships, on-the-job training and retraining and providing business support services to the new (ex-combatant) entrepreneurs.
 - ♦ Initiate infrastructure rehabilitation projects based on the local economic assessments.
- The review of national policies in relation to business can be done immediately.

The private sector actors can become key partners in the DDR processes, meaning that they would get involved before DDR starts in order to deliver the required services such as building disarmament sites, access roads, producing food and making furniture for the camps, etc.

As soon as the security situation allows for it, labour-based projects focussing on economic benefits can start. They should be fully operational before the combatants go home.

Forging private-public partnerships

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) involves a wide range of stakeholders representing the public and private sectors as well as civil society. PPP is based on the rationale of pooling resources, know-how and expertise to improve access to and quality of information, infrastructure, services and products. This form of cooperation can be highly beneficial for ex-combatants' reintegration and for the social cohesion of post-conflict societies in general.

Therefore

- ♦ Forge PPP in areas that are most suitable for the reintegration of ex-combatants, such as infrastructure and basic services, social inclusion and employment and small business promotion.
- ♦ Include ex-combatants owning a business, ex-combatants who are employed by a business or ex-combatants who are organized in a community-based organization.

Actions

- ♦ Assist with the establishment of PPPs with leading representatives of the industrial sector, academia and regulating bodies with the aim of making the education and training of ex-combatants more conducive to the labour market. Domestic and/or international firms can assist in providing vocational training for ex-combatants.
- ♦ Encourage local governments to rationalize the management of public services such as solid waste collection or water supply by privatizing them, involving local companies and community-based organizations,
- ♦ Explore options for PPP in the DDR and national reconstruction programmes, involving foreign and/or domestic companies as funding and implementing partners. They could bring in additional investment and technology.
- ♦ Set clear and measurable objectives for a PPP to facilitate its monitoring and evaluation (for example, the creation of 250 jobs for ex-combatants in the construction sector).
- ♦ Train employment service staff in employer relations and job canvassing in order to build cooperative working relations. Employment services (ES) staff can use the information generated by labour market assessments as an asset in developing these relationships since employers are interested in this information for business purposes besides hiring.

Linking national policies and local development

National policies and local development are closely linked. Ideally, it is a two-way dynamic. National policies broadly orient local development and provide a corresponding legal and regulatory framework. In turn, local development initiatives feed into national policy formulation. They indicate what works locally and what does not and specify local development priorities. In practice, many hurdles need to be overcome to establish balanced interaction between the national and local levels. Especially in post-conflict countries, the weak institutional and policy environment, lack of capacity of national and local actors as well as limited means and resources hamper a healthy interaction between the two levels.

Actions

- ♦ Raise awareness among national and local actors on the importance of a two-way (national-local) dynamic in ex-combatant integration efforts.
- ♦ Facilitate dialogue and exchanges between national policy makers and local development actors.
- ♦ Build capacity of national and local actors in planning, public-private dialogue, LED, etc.

- ♦ Strengthen the implementation capacities of local service providers (e.g. microfinance organizations, vocational training institutes, local government, business service providers, etc.), and make services accessible to ex-combatants

National and provincial capacity building

In the aftermath of armed conflict, weak national structures compel international actors to assume functions that national actors or communities normally perform. In the framework of DDR, international organizations provide, for instance, information on the labour market, organize vocational training and ensure that children's rights are being protected. These necessary interventions can, however, result in dependencies that incapacitate national actors and agencies far beyond the emergency. It is thus paramount to build national capacity as early as possible to the advantage of ex-combatants but also the wider population.

For enhanced training centres, employment and social services, childcare facilities and other aspects of the reintegration programme ultimately also benefit other parts of the population. This inclusive approach thus counteracts sentiments that international efforts overly favour ex-combatants. Overall, respecting and strengthening national policies, laws and agencies can help local actors prepare for continuing the reintegration process long after international actors have left.

Therefore

- ♦ Ensure that the international assistance offered is in line with the national reintegration strategy.
- ♦ Strengthen provincial capacities such as training institutions, employment services, statistical capacity, business associations, local communities, health services, microfinance providers and civil society.
- ♦ Strengthen national capacities of:
 - relevant ministries;
 - employers' and workers' organisations;
 - Organisations coordinating vocational training;
 - Labour market institutions such as training, credit and employment service providers;
 - Social service providers including those involved with health, drugs and trauma;
 - Civil society actors such as youth and women's organisations, veterans' associations, associations of people with disabilities, associations of HIV-AIDS patients; and
 - Child protection agencies and services.
- ♦ Depending on the situation, provide legal advice and reform, assist security sector reform and labour law reform, adapt economic and social policies.

Actions

- ♦ Establish an inter-ministerial national (or provincial) commission/committee for DDR (NCDDRs) to coordinate and oversee the DDR process.
- ♦ Include sufficient reintegration-related ministries in this commission, particularly ministries dealing with employment and vocational training, education, gender or women, infrastructure, youth, health and rural development.
- ♦ Based on prior assessments, build capacities by:
 - training staff on ex-combatant-specific issues;
 - providing equipment, including IT and vehicles;
 - building, repairing and upgrading premises;
 - adapting services such as curricula;
 - initiating coordination mechanisms; and
 - conducting gender analyses and training.
- ♦ Advocate corporate social responsibility among enterprises, explaining how enterprises can ultimately benefit from reintegrating ex-combatants and what they can do to help.
- ♦ Facilitate the exchange of information, experiences and best practices with national actors of DDR in other countries.

Service providers should start receiving resources, technical and other needed support in the earliest post-conflict phases, so as to be operational in time. Many DDR programmes have failed because the reintegration aspects were not ready for ex-combatants, leading to frustration. Early preparation would help reduce the dangerous "waiting time" after demobilization. The capacity building of service providers should actually be planned and started before the disarmament starts.

Preparing vocational training

Vocational training is a major component of all DDR programmes, as boosting ex-combatants' employability is key. The challenges of upgrading the vocational training system so it can deliver the quality and quantity of courses needed by ex-combatants are enormous. Much depends on the pre-conflict capacity of the system, and the level of destruction caused by the conflict. Invariably, though, large amounts of time and funds are needed. In addition, the training system should be built in a sustainable manner, ensuring that other target groups can also benefit from the services.

In Aceh it is crucial to increase the qualitative and quantitative training delivery capacity. An early start should be made to ensure that there are sufficient quality places available for DDR.

Therefore

- ♦ Determine the preparation needed for vocational training.
- ♦ Ensure funding for training capacity building.
- ♦ Provide assistance to training providers to rebuild their premises and update their equipment.
- ♦ Assist providers to adapt their curricula to current demands for skilled labour.
- ♦ Facilitate vocational education and training (VET) coordination structures to become operational.
- ♦ Build capacity to include literacy and life skills elements into the training courses.
- ♦ Assist the ministry responsible for vocational training to initiate certification and quality control mechanisms.

LED in receiving communities

Local Economic Development (LED) is an appropriate approach to target receiving communities in Aceh. The process is built on dialogue and cooperation among local stakeholders such as the local government, SME support agencies, training institutes, NGOs, small business associations and organizations representing ex-combatants. The LED process offers a great opportunity for consolidating peace and reintegrating ex-combatants by introducing a dialogue and creating employment opportunities while addressing the recovery needs of the wider community.

Therefore

- ♦ Start *Quick Impact Initiatives* (part of the short-term strategy) to lessen tensions in the communities and increase confidence and commitment.
- ♦ Start *short-term interventions* to prepare the social and economic segments of the community for the integration of ex-combatants and longer-term development efforts and to initiate the dialogue among key stakeholders.
- ♦ Start *medium- to longer-term initiatives* to make local reintegration and economic development initiatives sustainable undertakings.

Actions

Examples of Quick Impact Initiatives:

- ♦ Promote income-generating activities through in-kind grants (e.g. toolkits, seeds), in-kind revolving schemes (e.g. cattle) or micro-credit schemes.
- ♦ Rehabilitate houses and communal infrastructure, where possible relying on local labour (ex-combatants) and materials.
- ♦ Promote services and products for which there exist an obvious and immediate demand (e.g. bakeries, grocery shops).

Examples of short-term interventions:

- ♦ Support for organizing consultation and dialogue among key stakeholders in an LED Forum. The Forum identifies development priorities and formulates strategies and interventions in support of the reintegration of ex-combatants into the local economy.
- ♦ Sensitize local actors on the importance of integrating ex-combatants and the local employment and development opportunities, and disseminate territorial data.
- ♦ Support re-organizing production in key economic areas through reinforcement of cooperatives or small business associations, where possible involving ex-combatants.
- ♦ Support labour-based (including ex-combatants) reconstruction of secondary infrastructure.

Examples of medium- and longer-term interventions:

- ♦ Facilitate access to territorial information, finance and business development services (BDS) for ex-combatants and other groups.

- ♦ Institutionalize the LED Forum through embedding it in an existing structure or legal framework.
- ♦ Reinforce existing service providers (local government, training institutes, business consultants, NGOs, microfinance institutions) or create new structures (e.g. Local Economic Development Agency, labour market information centre).
- ♦ Lobby and advocate on local development priorities at national level and at the level of international organizations present in the country.

As demonstrated above, LED interventions should respond to local needs and priorities that change over time. To reflect this, LED strategies are usually phased into quick impact, short-term, medium- and long-term interventions. The time span of each phase depends on the local situation.

Community-driven initiatives

The World Bank is increasingly applying the Community-Driven Development (CDD) approach in conflict-affected countries. This is an approach that gives control over planning decisions and investment resources to community groups. Through support for collective action and enhanced accountability relationships among communities, local government and the private sector, CDD operations aim to strengthen local governance, local service delivery and social capital.

CDD approaches in the context of DDR programmes provide a common incentive to rebuild trust, confidence and relationships that have been destroyed through war. Collective action for the common good serves to enhance interdependence, heal the divides, provide hope, and thus support the reintegration process. Local ownership engendered through the CDD process furthermore helps develop practices of accountability and transparency.

CDD's demand-driven approach to community recovery includes dual platforms as an efficient mechanism for addressing community needs and an instrument for building empowerment. These platforms lend themselves to receiving communities where both physical and social structures have deteriorated and institutional capacity is minimal. Combining LED with CDD seems an appropriate method to be applied in Aceh.

Therefore

- ♦ Meet urgent needs, offer a tangible peace dividend, give hope, establish a foundation for inclusive decision making and develop essential capacity.
- ♦ Ensure ex-combatants' protection and inclusion.
- ♦ Especially discuss projects with economic/employment benefits such as access roads using public works, in particular employment-intensive infrastructure works.
- ♦ Emphasize speedy, cost-effective support to communities while laying the foundation for building a governance structure that stresses local choice and accountability.
- ♦ Increase attention to inclusiveness, including a review of community membership and council leadership, and gradual strengthening of abilities as absorptive capacity increases.

Actions

While the potential benefit of CDD in conflict contexts is high, evidence shows that the quality of CDD program design is critical. Programme failure in the delicate DDR context can be particularly destructive as it may undermine hope and commitment to the peace process. CDD faces a number of unique challenges in conflict-affected countries that underscore the need for conflict-specific community-driven approaches to address the particular issues associated with such environments.

- ♦ Establish realistic and foundational methods and goals that support quick wins while building a platform for more substantive processes. For example, during DDR communities engage in an abbreviated planning process, receive training in only the essential elements, and design relatively small projects that benefit all their members.
- ♦ Focus on renewing opportunities for legitimate income generation by linking local economic development (LED) approaches to CDD approaches.
- ♦ Emphasize speedy, cost-effective support to communities while laying the foundation for building a governance structure that stresses local choice and accountability.²⁹
- ♦ Undertake quick assessment, design and implementation in order to ensure rapid dispersal of subproject funds.
- ♦ Build baseline capacity and emphasize community capacity building.
- ♦ Consider protection issues, especially for young soldiers and including teen mothers.
- ♦ Target communities with relatively high return of ex-combatants.

29 See Sarah Cliffe, Scott Guggenheim, Markus Kostner: Community-driven reconstruction as an instrument in war-to-peace transitions, CPR Working Paper No.7 (Washington, DC, The World Bank, August 2003).

Assistance to people with disabilities

The armed conflict and the tsunami left behind large numbers of injured people, civilians as well as fighters. Disabled ex-fighters, be they rebels or government forces, are all victims of armed conflict. They have special needs and may require special care as well as measures to ensure their successful reintegration. Ex-combatants and affected civilians with disabilities typically receive some form of medical assistance and government ex-soldiers may receive a pension. However, it is very rare to find assistance for disabled ex-combatants who were part of a rebel movement. Although some targeted medical assistance might be needed, many ex-combatants with disabilities can and should benefit from the same economic reintegration programmes and services made available to able-bodied ex-combatants.

Therefore

- ♦ Provide ex-combatants with disabilities access to mainstream vocational training and other skills acquisition programmes, micro- and small business development opportunities and resources, employment services and a fair share of formal job opportunities.
- ♦ Remove barriers to the participation of ex-combatants with disabilities in economic reintegration programmes; these may be discriminatory attitudes, policies and laws, but also difficulties in accessing services and premises.
- ♦ Organize special employment support services.
- ♦ Encourage local communities to promote and protect the right to work of ex-combatants with disabilities.

Actions

An inclusive approach towards this subgroup should be adopted in the implementation of ex-combatant economic reintegration assistance programmes.

- ♦ Identify the specific needs of ex-combatants and affected civilians with different types of disability, in order to provide for them in programme design and implementation. For example, the requirements of wheelchair users and blind ex-combatants are very different.
- ♦ Promote and assist the economic integration of disabled ex-combatants and affected civilians through mainstream training and income-generation programmes. Use existing and limited special rehabilitation centres for persons with significant disabilities.
- ♦ Provide rehabilitation and support services at community level, including information and referral systems, counselling and peer support, skills training, accessible transport, etc.
- ♦ Adapt tools and workplace accessibility to make it easier for people with physical disabilities to be more productive when working in agricultural and other manual jobs. A handbook on the adaptation of tools has been developed for this purpose,³⁰ and the ILO actively advocates the recruitment of workers with disabilities.
- ♦ Provide “technical aids and assistive devices” such as crutches, wheelchairs, glasses, white canes and hearing aids, as well as adapting equipment or communication methods, including Braille typewriters and sign-language interpretation.

Direct economic reintegration assistance

First assistance

In most DDR programmes combatants are gathered into demobilization camps or assembly areas to be demobilized. When they leave, they are civilians and go to the communities where they will settle. First assistance packages are needed to ensure that demobilized combatants have the means to travel to these areas and sustain themselves until reintegration assistance is provided at the community level. Some have started calling this gap between demobilization and reintegration the “reinsertion phase”. This phase is considered critical because it first confronts ex-combatants with their communities at a time when most of them still feel more attached to their military past than to their current life as civilians. It is this transitional period that challenges them to find a job, adjust their behaviour to community life, overcome war-related trauma, and earn society’s respect by non-violent means. If DDR is well-planned, however, this rather problematic “phase” can be avoided and reduced to the provision of first assistance packages, including the “compensation” as outlined in the MoU.

30 ILO Handbook. Accessibility and Tool Adaptations, op. cit.

“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, short-term employment and tools. While reintegration is a long-term, continuous social and economic process of development, reinsertion is short-term material and/or financial assistance to meet immediate needs, and can last up to one year”.³¹

Delays in providing first assistance quickly lead to frustration among combatants, and on several occasions have resulted in violence or even a return to conflict.

Therefore

- ♦ Fulfil promises made in the MoU on “compensation”.
- ♦ Cover the basic needs of ex-combatants and their families.
- ♦ Secure short-term employment for ex-combatants through Quick Impact Programmes QUIPs. Next to the economic benefits, they can also help connect ex-combatants to their communities again.
- ♦ Mobilize and strengthen self-help initiatives that can help ex-combatants cope with the situation. Ex-combatants can either join these initiatives or set them up themselves.

Actions

- ♦ Include transitional safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services and tools.
 - Adjust assistance packages to the specific context;
 - Buy them locally as one means of boosting businesses and to ensure that items are culturally “appropriate” and easy to buy for non-ex-combatants as well.
- ♦ Employ ex-combatants to rebuild basic infrastructure such as hospitals, schools, roads etc. but also for waste-collection, de-mining, forestry, etc.
- ♦ Distribute start-up packages with production assets like tools, livestock, etc.
- ♦ Set up QUIPs for rehabilitation works of social and economic infrastructure (on the basis of employment-intensive investment).
- ♦ Advocate the formation of self-help groups in communities and among ex-combatants at community meetings and counselling sessions with ex-combatants.
- ♦ Provide operational support to these groups to make them more professional organizations, e.g. basic education of group members, training of group leaders in organizational management skills and setting up revolving funds.

Employment services

Even when ex-combatants (and affected civilians) have skills in demand, finding a job can seem an insurmountable obstacle. Instead of being recruited for having one set of (military) skills, they now have to search actively for a job in a rapidly changing labour market. Employment services (ES) can be important bridges between these inexperienced job seekers and employment opportunities.

Yet DDR programmes should not expect ES to be fully operational. Some contexts may lack ES altogether; in others they may exist but be partly disorganized or ill-adapted to a post-conflict context, in terms of size or work approach. As a result of armed conflict, many have lost staff, premises, equipment etc. They require considerable support and resources to turn into result-oriented services that can cater to the ex-combatants’ needs.

Therefore

- ♦ Sensitize national and international authorities about the relevance of ES for their work, to obtain their support and commitment to the longer-term development of ES.
- ♦ Build, strengthen and/or adapt the ES developed for the tsunami relief project to conflict-affected areas.
- ♦ Make ES more appropriate for DDR through specialized counselling and referral services.
- ♦ Support ES in marketing their services.

31 Inter-agency Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Working Group: Towards a UN Approach to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (Geneva, 2005).

Actions

- ♦ Conduct briefings for national and international authorities to inform them about the relevance of ES for post-conflict reconstruction, including DDR.
- ♦ Build services for ex-combatants upon existing national employment services which normally fall under the Ministry of Employment. In Aceh, where these services are weak or non-existent, initiate and strengthen these national services.
- ♦ For the short term, set up temporary ES centres, where a small group of staff perform basic job-matching operations. Gradually transform them into more solid and more permanent employment services.
- ♦ Provide information and skills to adjust the usual counselling tasks to the specificities of ex-combatants and the post-conflict context. For example:
 - Conduct awareness-raising sessions for staff regarding specific issues faced by ex-combatants, including equal employment opportunities, human rights and gender issues;
 - Train employment counsellors to identify behaviour caused by war trauma and to refer these clients to specialized psychosocial counselling; and
 - Encourage ES to organize “civilian life” training/workshops;
- ♦ Establish links between the DDR programme, referral agencies and welfare support networks.

Referral systems:

- ♦ Put referral systems in place to provide information on:
 - job opportunities;
 - relevant training courses that may be starting up;
 - organizations/programmes dealing with self-employment, small-business development and access to credit; and
 - organizations/programmes providing psychosocial support services.
- ♦ Include registration and referral services for unemployed ex-combatants with disabilities.
- ♦ Advise eligible ex-combatants of access to any programmes offering funding assistance and help them develop proposals for assistance.
- ♦ Provide information and referral on special programmes for rehabilitation, skills training and employment for disabled ex-combatants and, in collaboration with other agencies, develop measures to meet their special needs.
- ♦ Develop and maintain a register of local service providers in the areas of small-business development, vocational skills training and education.
- ♦ Assess micro-credit possibilities and identify potential partners to support small business development initiatives.
- ♦ Provide information on employment-related options, including skills training and self-employment.
- ♦ Develop and implement procedures for ongoing monitoring and reporting on outcomes for ex-combatants.
- ♦ Working with other agencies, develop measures to meet the special needs of child soldiers in relation to education, training and employment.
- ♦ Include registration and referral services for unemployed ex-combatants with disabilities.
- ♦ Sponsor ES information campaigns and brochures on employment and training opportunities, expectations of employers etc.

Employment-intensive infrastructure works

Employment-intensive infrastructure works are particularly suitable for ex-combatants, who are mostly young men in the peak years of their physical potential. This workforce can contribute enormously to the huge reconstruction challenges in the post-war societies. In addition, these projects benefit the community as a whole through the reconstruction of health centres, access roads, etc., ascribe ex-combatants positive societal roles as “rebuilders”, and stimulate local economies.

Employment-intensive investments in construction and infrastructure works are also sustainable and competitive in low-cost economies when they encourage a judicious combination of the use of local resources and labour with light equipment. Employment-intensive investments are “projects or approaches where labour is the dominant resource for carrying out the work, and where the share of the total project cost spent on labour is high (typically 25–60%)”.³² Over the years, many ILO comparative studies have repeatedly demonstrated that, without compromising the quality of the infrastructure, the employment-intensive option:

- ♦ is between 10 to 50% less costly than more equipment-intensive options;
- ♦ reduces foreign exchange requirements by some 50 to 60%; and
- ♦ creates 2 to 4 times more employment for the same investment.

32 ILO: Employment-intensive infrastructure programmes: capacity building for contracting in the construction sector (Geneva, 1999).

This approach has been particularly recommended for the urgent repair and rehabilitation of damaged infrastructure and for the overall longer-term reconstruction of an economy emerging from armed conflict.

Therefore

- ♦ Adopt national policies for employment-intensive investment.
- ♦ Coordinate with international partners on employment programmes, in particular within the UN agencies, international organizations and NGOs.
- ♦ Determine the types and scope of infrastructure to be improved.
- ♦ Explore measures to ensure ex-combatants' participation.
- ♦ Create a maximum amount of lasting jobs, especially through the development of small contractors.
- ♦ Explore the potential for donor funding.
- ♦ Prepare agreements on specific interventions.
- ♦ Coordinate specific interventions.
- ♦ Include on-the-job training as part of the projects.
- ♦ Build capacity at all levels: capacity of the national authorities responsible for taking high-level decisions on investments, planning and monitoring capacity at central and local levels, capacity in implementing units at local levels.

Actions

- ♦ Focus on areas and projects where employment (and income) can be generated for demobilized combatants but also other war-affected and vulnerable groups.
- ♦ Determine the cost per workday and the number of workdays of short-term employment.
- ♦ Seek the approval by technical ministries and adoption by high-level decision-making bodies of labour-based technologies for rehabilitation as a preferred means for rehabilitation and reintegration of conflict-affected groups.
- ♦ Commit local business people to employ local workers and utilize locally available resources for investments.
- ♦ Decentralize responsibility for implementation.
- ♦ Ensure the participation of rural and urban communities in the investments and their future maintenance.
- ♦ Set up an agency responsible for the overall planning and coordination of labour-based works.
- ♦ Use community-based and community driven programmes when engaging ex-combatants in employment-intensive infrastructure works.
- ♦ Provide workers with relevant skills training.
- ♦ Cover training costs through contractors (their bids) and NGOs.
- ♦ Let community organizations arrange the training efforts.
- ♦ Train first-line supervisors in technical planning and implementation of works and people management.
- ♦ Train managers in business management and administrative skills.

Endow policy makers with a conceptual understanding of the potential usefulness of labour-based methods and the importance of an enabling environment; and ways of integrating economic investment with social/employment policy.

Vocational training

Vocational education and training (VET) plays a crucial role in the successful reintegration of ex-combatants into normal life, through increasing their employability and enhancing their chances to participate effectively in the labour market. Training can contribute to the deconstruction of military models and behaviour as well as to the development of values and norms based on peace and democracy. The acquisition of a set of "employable skills" and the willingness to work are instrumental to building ex-combatants' self-esteem and confidence, and respect and appreciation from the community. Both the design of DDR programmes and fund-raising activities should emphasize the positive impact of former soldiers' training on their labour market insertion and earnings, as well as the associated social benefits—for example, reduced anti-social behaviour, violence and crime.

Experience in DDR programmes has demonstrated that skills development is especially important for young combatants. Often child soldiers and young ex-combatants do not have previous professional experience and miss the so-called "life skills" necessary for a successful return to civilian life. Ex-combatants with disabilities and other combatants often need to be retrained to learn new skills to adapt to the changed economic context.

The reintegration programme in Aceh will be confronted with a variety of challenges: lack of coordination capacity, lack of certification and quality control, shortages of trainers, years of inactivity of training staff due to the conflict, and trainers who use rigid, supply-driven and instructor-oriented methodologies. Leveraging these human resources for enhancing employability and facilitating socio-economic reintegration could result in a quick-fix endeavour that has little impact or is even counterproductive.

DDR programmes have sometimes even used training as a means “to keep them off the streets”, providing them with skills that were not in demand. This has led to frustration and contributed to re-recruitment of trained but unemployed ex-combatants. Instead, vocational training activities need to be result-oriented. They need to be linked to assessments of the local labour market, economic potential and identification of business opportunities, as well as on the capacity, potential and ambitions of ex-combatants.

Therefore

- ♦ Collect relevant data such as the profiles of ex-combatants, skills providers and vocational guidance and information services.
- ♦ Conduct broad competency-based training programmes that meet the requirements of adaptability and flexibility in rapidly changing contexts to enhance the employability of ex-combatants.
- ♦ Ensure that programmes provide technical and financial support mechanisms (credit, training in management, tool kits, follow-up support services, etc.) for those trained to be able to set themselves up in self-employment businesses.
- ♦ Make vocational training objective-based, modular and leading to direct employment or self-employment.
- ♦ Incorporate life skills training in vocational training to address skills gaps which impede the economic (re)integration of those affected by the conflict. Equip ex-combatants with the information and skills to survive on the labour market and to recover from the effects of war.
- ♦ Use vocational training programmes as a window of opportunity to promote gender equality.
- ♦ Offer the opportunity to combine part time vocational training with catch-up education. This requires more planning and flexibility but will be of great long-term benefit to the trainees. It can double the amount of vocational training places (morning and evening courses).

Actions

- ♦ Design VET on the basis of ex-combatants’ profiles.
- ♦ At the community level, open vocational training courses to all local people with similar profiles and training needs. Reintegration is therefore already begun in the classroom.
- ♦ Train-the-trainer (TOT) programmes on how to design, deliver and evaluate skills development activities as well as methodological training for developing and implementing modular employment-oriented training may also be required. The role of the trainer involved in ex-combatant programmes should be that of a facilitator who promotes active learning, fosters team work and provides a positive “role model” for participants, particularly the younger ones.
- ♦ Combine institution-based with on-the-job training.
- ♦ Assist training providers to:
 - Adapt their curricula to provide vocational and employability skills (interpersonal relations, team work, etc.), including literacy skills and other remedial education;
 - Include job-search skills, self-employment training and assistance in business start-up and other follow-up support;
 - Devise learning strategies that foster interest, motivation and active participation. Learner-centred approaches empower individuals, their initiative and contribution as team members and active citizens. Allow participants to learn at their own pace and incorporate provision of communication and other employability skills to counter behaviours developed during the conflict in highly hierarchical structures;³³ and
 - Provide orientation, basic education, pertinent health messages, and social and basic management skills through life skills to peacefully strengthen survival capacities. Draw on the experiences of people being trained.
- ♦ Address the following shortcomings of vocational training systems and programmes that can inhibit the participation of and benefits for all ex-combatants but especially women:
 - Time and place of training may restrict the participation of women who are unable to travel distances (given domestic obligations, cultural restraints, travel costs);
 - Lack of crèche facilities;
 - Lack of job placement assistance and interview coaching;
 - Lack of follow-up and refresher courses;
 - Higher education eligibility requirements/assumptions of no skills;
 - Training periods too short to achieve a level of competence;
 - Training in fields unrelated to economic growth sectors; and
 - Shortage of women trainers, principals and planners.

Apprenticeships

Apprenticeships can provide large numbers of young people with quality education and training for recognized qualifications demanded by employers. Children and young ex-combatants are trained by craftspeople and local entrepreneurs. Skills are transferred through the observation and replication of tasks carried out by an experienced worker and training is limited to the practical skills of a trade. In some cases, the young trainee becomes a member of the master's craft family for the duration of the training period. Non-formal models of skills training are at times carried out within and by the family to enable the children to learn skills traditionally associated with providing for the family's economic security.

In contrast to the formal training model, apprenticeships usually do not require previous education, which often limits access to ex-combatants. It can also compensate for the lack of formal training places available in most DDR programmes. However, since the private sector in most DDR contexts cannot offer sufficient apprenticeships, the SME sector should be supported as a major provider of apprenticeships.

Therefore

- ♦ Review the quality and results/achievements of the existing partnership system.
- ♦ DDR programmes should lobby for and (if needed) subsidize apprenticeships.
- ♦ Develop and encourage apprenticeships where there are employment prospects in view.
- ♦ Ensure that apprenticeship programmes reflect the local tradition of apprenticeships in the country as much as possible to ensure their sustainability.
- ♦ Ensure that apprenticeship practices are in line with international labour standards; there is in many countries the risk that apprenticeships degenerate into cheap labour and exploitation.

Actions

- ♦ Recognize skills acquired during apprenticeships by introducing a national certification system.
- ♦ Provide stipends to the trainees so that they can sustain themselves and their dependants during the time of their training
- ♦ Include indicators in the monitoring system.
- ♦ Provide incentives, such as contracts in reconstruction efforts, to private sector actors with the preconditions to take on apprentices.

However, due to low activity of many private sector actors, places are limited. Therefore, during the DD period, private sector actors can be given contracts subject to the condition that they take on trainees.

Education

Education opportunities are an essential component of successful socio-economic to those who have not been able to attend school or had to interrupt schooling as a result of their time spent in the armed forces. Education allows them to access jobs more easily, and to plan their longer-term career path; but it also increases their feeling of self-worth, their capacity to participate in their communities more fully and reduces stigmatization. It prevents possible long-term stigmatization of those who have not been able to attend school as a result of their time spent in armed forces. Many young people who will enter a vocational training programme still need a thorough catch-up education.

Therefore

- ♦ Offer ex-combatant children and youth who missed out on education accelerated learning programmes (ALPs). These should be compatible with the regular system of education. These programmes are especially important in conflict-affected countries where schools have been closed for a long time and where children will have to enter grades that are normally for young children only.
- ♦ Organize vocational training and catch-up education simultaneously, on a part-time basis. This would open long-term career paths to youth beyond the income-generating activities of their short-term vocational training.

Actions

- ♦ Organise specific part-time catch-up education in existing schools.
- ♦ Ensure coordination with vocational training providers at the local level in order to guarantee that students can combine both.
- ♦ Open these courses to all youth, not only ex-combatants.
- ♦ Childcare facilities need to be established at all schools that target youth so young mothers are able to attend. They should be free of charge, including child feeding.

Business training

Most ex-combatants will start their own businesses, often in a group, or will initially work in a small enterprise, but dream of having their own one day. This is partly triggered by the fact that there are no jobs around, that ex-combatants' profiles are not sufficiently strong to access them, and that most ex-combatants have very little or no social networks that will lead them to jobs. Employers' reluctance to hire them makes it even more difficult to find a decent salaried job. More positively, many ex-combatants do fancy self-employment over working for a boss. The freedom and challenges associated with running your own business seem to fit many combatants' ambitions and characters, and resembles the freedom and sense of command or "being in charge" they had as combatants.

However, to become successful and set up sustainable businesses, they often need extensive training. For instance, on how to write a business plan, market their products and manage their time and resources.

Therefore

- ♦ Develop a programme or courses to enable ex-combatants and affected civilians to set up their own business. Key business skills include business management, business maths, business communication, customer service, motivation, negotiation, project management, time management, presentation, technical writing, marketing, etc.

Actions

- ♦ Expand the Start and Improve Your Business (SIYB) program, a business development methodology for business start-ups that creates local trainer capacity and is a sustainable and cost-effective method of reaching substantial numbers of small-scale entrepreneurs and business starters and equipping them with the practical management skills needed in a competitive environment. It has been successfully used in post-crisis situations for the demobilization of armed forces.
- ♦ In those contexts where the illiteracy rate is very high among the former combatants, other tools are available, such as Grassroots Management Training (GMT).
- ♦ Create a pool of certified trainers recruited from the private sector.

Business Development Services

Starting (and existing) entrepreneurs require access to appropriate Business Development Services (BDS) to address the non-financial constraints encountered by entrepreneurs, such as lack of education, inadequate technical skills, poor access to markets, lack of information and unreliable infrastructure. Their combination with—among other things—vocational training and microfinance schemes will maximize impact at local level.

Therefore

- ♦ Create or improve business development services.³⁴
 - Increase market access for businesses (e.g. marketing businesses, packaging);
 - Provide infrastructure (e.g. storage or computer services for businesses);
 - Offer training in policy advocacy;
 - Sponsor conferences on issues relevant for businesses;
 - Link small enterprises to input suppliers;
 - Facilitate the establishment of bulk buying groups;
 - Provide counselling and advisory services as well as management training;
 - Promote technology and product development (e.g. facilitating technology procurement, design services); and
 - Propose alternative financing mechanisms (e.g. factoring companies that provide working capital for confirmed orders, facilitating supplier credit).
- ♦ Raise ex-combatants' awareness of their need for these services as starting entrepreneurs.
- ♦ Subsidize BDS "wisely" to stimulate market functioning, linking clients and providers.
- ♦ Build and reinforce the capacity of service providers.

Actions

- ♦ Organize sensitization workshops on the provision of information and referral services ("what service do you need and where can you find it") to stimulate ex-combatants' demand for BDS.
- ♦ Set up, for example, a voucher scheme that offers start-ups the possibility to "buy" and test services with providers that are linked to DDR.

34 Mary McVay, Alexandra Overy Miehlsbradt: Background Reader Business Development Services. Developing commercial markets for BDS: can this give the scale and impact we need? (Geneva, ILO, 2001), p.2.

- ♦ Consider subsidizing the rehabilitation of premises and equipment, support for strategy formulation, and training.
- ♦ Promote BDS provision as a viable business opportunity for starting entrepreneurs.
- ♦ Strengthen Small Business Associations' embedded services (for example for purchasing equipment) and informal networks.

Microfinance

Ex-combatants' access to microfinance has proven problematic, due, among other matters, to their lack of collateral. Some microfinance providers even exclude ex-combatants on the basis of their past or the belief that their potential for pay-back is low. Their credibility as business persons (skills, etc.) may also be a problem. Microfinance is extremely important for ex-combatants who choose to start a business. The reintegration programme should answer this demand, but ensure that these persons are adequately screened and trained before they receive financial services.

Therefore

- ♦ Provide microfinance only on the basis of a validated business plan.
- ♦ Screen and train ex-combatants before including them in microfinance programs.
- ♦ Ensure they are not addicted to drugs.
- ♦ Examine whether traditional informal micro-finance practices (such as tontines, saving and lending among market women etc.) in the communities can be given one-time funding in order for them to restart.
- ♦ Matching funds could be explored as an option for savings and credit groups, without conditioning the inclusion of ex-combatants.
- ♦ Explore the creation of groups of ex-combatants who are willing to work together in order to provide a mechanism of social empowerment, training and access to finance by introducing savings schemes and training sessions that could lead to self-employment and group-based lending schemes.

Actions

- ♦ Strengthen capacities of microfinance providers.

Voice and representation

The perceived lack of voice and representation is one of the factors that has caused many ex-combatants to turn violent again. Particularly younger ex-combatants often feel excluded from decision-making processes that directly concern them, like education, employment and social protection. Fighting in armed forces may have given them a sense of empowerment that may starkly contrast with their marginalized position in the conflict's aftermath. For instance, some women ex-combatants who have earned the respect of their male comrades as fighters are usually faced with limited training and employment opportunities after conflict and a limited say in community and national decision making. This can generate identity crises, frustration and even lead to renewed violence. Meaningful participation is thus essential to avoid a renewal of violence but also to endow ex-combatants with a sense of ownership in (re)building their societies.

Therefore

- ♦ Promote GAM's direct and indirect representation and participation in the DDR process and in post-conflict societies.
- ♦ Encourage social dialogue that involves ex-combatants.
- ♦ Provide female ex-commanders with opportunities for management positions in civilian occupations.
- ♦ Promote social dialogue and include the reintegration of ex-combatants as an item for discussion.

Actions

- ♦ Make sure that all ex-combatant groups, including youth and women, are represented.
- ♦ Educate local and national actors on both the benefits of involving ex-combatants in decision-making processes and the dangers of excluding or marginalizing them.
- ♦ Set up, include, and strengthen organizations that consist of or include a large number of ex-combatants, like veterans' organizations or youth organizations. These can serve as an intermediary among ex-combatants, civil society and political organizations and actors. In addition, involvement in these organizations can also endow ex-combatants with some core professional skills such as management or communications.
- ♦ Make the inclusion of ex-combatants into civil society a factor for evaluating good governance and ultimately eligibility for credit and assistance programmes.
- ♦ Use the participatory approach of LED to include ex-combatants and other community groups in decision-making processes. LED forums can give a voice to and create linkages between ex-combatants and their communities, local institutions and top-level authorities.

7. Sustainability

Developing lasting capacities

A major challenge for the GoI is to provide reintegration assistance to ex-combatants immediately, while ensuring that it will also have a permanent positive impact on the society. Yet, as DDR starts in an emergency setting, long-term development and peace-building goals tend to be neglected. Therefore, serious efforts are needed now to ensure that long-term development objectives are reflected in the short-term emergency and “transitional reintegration” approach.

DDR should help build up the capacities of actors assisting ex-combatants and affected civilians now and in the future. Also, whenever possible funds should be invested to develop capacities and essential services that in the future could be of use to other groups in society. For example, if the ministries responsible for employment and youth are appropriately strengthened under the DDR programme, they will be able to provide services to any young job seeker in the future. It should be remembered that financial resources will only come once and should thus be invested prudently!

Regardless of the approach chosen, DDR funds should be used so that they contribute to lasting peace, economic recovery and sustainable development. The reintegration programme has to move beyond just “putting ex-combatants back where they came from” as this could render them easy prey to re-recruitment..

DDR programmes should be sustainable at several levels:

The peace process, in terms of lasting security;

Ex-combatants, so they become and remain productive civilians;

The population as a whole, so it moves towards recovery and development.

Therefore

- ♦ Use an area-based approach. An integrated and comprehensive reintegration approach can improve local security, create job opportunities and reduce poverty in the areas where ex-combatants will take up their civilian life (receiving areas). An area-based approach, with particular attention to the group of ex-combatants, is in line with the concern for sustainability.
- ♦ Link DDR to Security Sector Reform (SSR).
- ♦ Address the causes of availability of large numbers of people to become combatants.
- ♦ Build lasting capacity of national structures.
- ♦ Endow people with a sense of ownership for the reintegration process.

Actions

- ♦ identify the reasons that pushed combatants to join the armed forces/groups.
- ♦ Ensure that measures are taken to address these reasons.
- ♦ Use DDR to build national capacity to provide services to its people, beyond the group of ex-combatants. Strengthen the ministries responsible for employment and youth so they will be able to provide services to any young job seekers in the future.
- ♦ Promote a social and civil dialogue among governments, actors in the security sector and civil society, and international humanitarian and development actors to sensitize them about their role and responsibilities for the reintegration process and its long-term sustainability.
- ♦ Encourage active participation and reinforce capacities of people and communities. People should become development agents who are responsible for the development of their living and working environment.
- ♦ Actively involve the private sector in the implementation of DDR programmes.

Strengthening national, provincial and local government

The immediate need in Aceh is for a new system to regulate economic activity through the creation of appropriate laws and institutions. Different areas within Aceh face various economic and social conditions and related employment challenges. The sustainable economic reintegration strategy must take these economic and social specificities into consideration.

National and provincial government structures are responsible for formulating and implementing employment policies. The GoI has necessarily to be the main actor, at least at the initial stage. The GoI needs to review and adapt its macroeconomic employment policies as soon as possible. However, given the urgent needs created by the DDR programme, immediate actions to promote employment have to be developed simultaneously. Labour market measures need to be adopted without loss of time, for DDR cannot wait until the major economic policies are in place.

This requires both acceptance of its authority and the availability of adequate resources at its command. In Aceh, the capacities of the provincial government institutions are weakened while the challenges to steer the province towards peace and development are enormous. Therefore, appropriate and extensive capacity building is called for to ensure that the government structures of Aceh can design, implement and monitor effective, sustainable employment creation programmes. This is crucial for the successful socio-economic integration of ex-combatants and other job seekers.

Therefore

- ♦ Facilitate the exchange of information and coordination between different line ministries and other stakeholders who are involved directly or indirectly in the DDR process.
- ♦ Advocate national policies advantageous to all ex-combatants finding employment, particularly specific ex-combatant groups.
- ♦ Plead for national resources (money, staff, facilities) that help create an enabling environment for DDR and increase ex-combatants' employability.
- ♦ Ensure that the Ministry of Labour and employers' and workers' organizations are part of the commission or working group on DDR.

Actions

- ♦ Facilitate regular meetings between national governments and employers', workers' and ex-combatants' organizations at the national and regional levels to exchange information and experiences on national policies and programmes affecting ex-combatants.
- ♦ Set-up an inter-ministerial committee for DDR. Include ministries relevant for employment such as the ministries governing labour, commerce, finance, training, gender etc.
- ♦ Conduct briefings for government agencies, informing them on current progress of training and employment programmes for ex-combatants and how they can contribute to make them more effective. Sensitize them to the needs of specific ex-combatant groups such as child soldiers, young women and ex-combatants with disabilities.
- ♦ Review legislation to make sure that it provides adequate protection and support for child soldiers. There must also be a functioning enforcement mechanism in place and authorities where young people can safely turn to when their rights have been abused.
- ♦ Mainstream equal opportunities for young women and young men into all public policies, especially in education, training and employment. Governments should combat wage discrimination and sexual harassment policies, support young women's efforts to organize and ensure adequate protection against exploitation.
- ♦ Invite young people into decision-making processes and more importantly, listen and act upon their advice.
- ♦ Lobby for resources for public investment to improve infrastructure, irrigation systems, urban sanitation, schools or health centres. All these can have important effects on integrating ex-combatants and the creation of decent work for young people as well as local economies and communities.
- ♦ Invest in capacity building of provincial and local government structures.

8. International Lessons Learned

IDDRS

The IDDRS module 02.10, The UN Approach to DDR, sets out the overarching principles which relate to all aspects of DDR planning and implementation. These should all be referenced when designing reintegration programmes. Outlined below are key principles which are particularly important for ex-combatants' reintegration. These guidelines have been prepared on the basis of international lessons learned in DDR programmes throughout the world.

Clarify objectives and expected results with all parties

The objectives and expected results of the reintegration programme should be clearly defined from the outset, particularly with regard to the number of beneficiaries, their composition, and the criteria for their selection. All parties to the conflict must commit to an agreed framework, together with a timeline for the execution of activities.

Start planning for reintegration as soon as possible

Frequently, disarmament and demobilization is carried out effectively, but then reintegration fails, jeopardizing the DDR programme and the wider security situation. A variety of factors have contributed to this failure, including lack of recognition by key stakeholders of the importance of reintegration; lack of resources; lack of community involvement, or loss of confidence in the reintegration process by demobilized ex-combatants after long delays in implementation. These failures often point to a lack of adequate and timely planning and budgeting. UN practitioners must begin preparing for reintegration *at the outset* of any future DDR intervention.

Ensure national ownership

National ownership is fundamental to the success and sustainability of DDR programmes. The primary responsibility for the outcome of DDR programmes rests with the national and local actors who are ultimately responsible for the peace, security and development of their own communities and nation. National ownership is both broader and deeper than central government leadership: it refers to the participation of a range of state and non-state actors at national, provincial and local levels. It is important to ensure the participation of groups traditionally marginalized in DDR and post-conflict reconstruction processes, in particular representatives of women's groups, youth representatives, children's advocates, persons living with disability and chronic illness, and minorities.

Ensure community participation

The success of reintegration programmes depends on the joint efforts of individuals, families and communities. It is therefore essential that reintegration programmes are designed through a *participatory process* which involves ex-combatants and communities, local and national authorities and other non-government actors, in planning and decision making from the earliest stages.

Develop national capacity

Reintegration programmes should seek to *develop the capacities* of receiving communities as well as local and national authorities. In contexts where national capacity to implement DDR is weak, care should be taken to ensure that the UN does not act as a substitute for national authorities in the management and implementation of DDR, but instead temporarily fills the capacity gap, under strong national policy oversight, whilst also working to strengthen national capacities.

Consider regional implications

Successful national capacity building for the reintegration of local combatants may become more complex when the conflict has regional dimensions. It is important to conduct careful assessments in the planning stages to determine whether foreign combatants and/or mercenaries will have to be repatriated to their country of origin, and to develop mechanisms to do this if these are not specified in the peace accord. Inter-agency cooperation is essential in cases of cross-border repatriation. Particular care must be exercised when repatriating combatants with families so that accompanying wives, husbands and children are registered and given official forms of identification that will protect and assist them in the country to which they relocate. Women in marriages recognised by customary or national law who wish to remain with their husbands will need particular assistance to integrate into their new country of origin.

Engage donors

The lack of timely and adequate resources has in the past hampered the ability of the UN to implement sustainable reintegration programmes. DDR programme managers should engage donors in discussions on the scope and focus of the reintegration programme as early as possible.

Engage potential “spoilers”

Management of the interests and expectations of *key warlords* and *military leaders* is often the cornerstone of sustainable peace processes and agreements. However, a certain number of military leaders/warlords, especially mid-level commanders, may end up being left out of the incentive structure agreed to in the peace agreement. *Buy-in* to the process by these key players should therefore be one of the first considerations of DDR planning and programme design. Either the national government, supported by the DDR National Commission, should address their concerns directly, which is by far the preferable option,³⁵ or the DDR programme will have to devise a two-tier system of reintegration support, one for these commanders, whose expectations are usually quite high, and another for the rest of the fighters. Failure to address this issue may lead to these key stakeholders acting as “spoilers”, thereby jeopardising the overall DDR programme with implications for wider peace and security. Attention must also be paid to foreign fighters and mercenaries.

Situate reintegration within a wider recovery strategy

DDR is undertaken primarily as a security-enhancement intervention, in order to allow for post-conflict recovery and development to take root. DDR alone, however, cannot be expected to prevent further conflict and restore stability. DDR is a pre-condition, and not a substitute, for recovery interventions addressed specifically at vulnerable groups like IDPs, returnees and other victims of the conflict. It must be accompanied by other economic, political and social reforms, as well as wider development and recovery initiatives. Reintegration programming must therefore be conceptualised, designed, planned and implemented within, or at least in coherence with, the wider recovery strategy, which should include post-conflict rehabilitation, resettlement of displaced populations, reconciliation efforts, respect for human rights, rule of law, and improved governance.

Balance equity and security

Non-discrimination and equitable treatment are core principles in the design of UN-supported DDR programmes. The principle of equity is often applied when establishing eligibility criteria for entry into DDR programmes. However, it is also important to apply this principle to all war affected populations. In most conflicts, IDPs and refugees far outnumber ex-combatants. All three groups face similar reintegration challenges, and, *in principle*, they should be assisted equally in terms of access to reintegration opportunities. Offering special treatment to ex-combatants may trigger resentment among other groups who may view exclusive benefits to ex-combatants as an unjustified reward to the perpetrators of conflict. However, while adherence to the principle of equity will increase the chances of reconciliation and sustainable reintegration, the security situation often dictates that, in the *short term at least*, a specific focus on ex-combatants is required to assure enhanced security. The key issue is to ensure that the receiving communities are adequately *consulted and understand and accept* that targeted support to ex-combatants will enhance their own security. In this sense, reintegration support for ex-combatants must not be considered as an *entitlement* for ex-combatants, but rather as an *investment* in security for the population at large.

35 Due to the much higher expectations of these commanders than the rest of the fighters, benefits need to be tailored, which is not only time consuming, but also a very difficult balancing act that can easily backfire by creating jealousy among individuals or groups.

Ensure a timely transition from supporting individuals to supporting communities

Despite concerns that ex-combatants receive disproportionate benefits during post-conflict reconstruction, there is a growing consensus that a focus on former combatants within DDR programmes is necessary and justified in order to build *confidence and security* in war-torn societies. To achieve the *security objectives* of a DDR programme, support should be given for full *initial* reintegration of ex-combatants. However, in the context of *longer-term* reintegration, a balance must be struck between supporting ex-combatants' specific needs and the needs of the wider community in order to prevent resentment and a continued sense of difference between civilians and former military. Any focus on the longer-term reintegration of ex-combatants must be accompanied by complementary interventions that focus on both the families of ex-combatants and their respective communities, without whom sustainable reintegration cannot succeed. Emphasis should be placed on *moving quickly* from ex-combatant-specific programmes to community-based and national development programmes. Failure to do so will result in ex-combatants continuing to identify themselves as belonging to a special group outside society, retarding their reintegration into local communities and undermining reconciliation and restitution processes.³⁶

Be 'people-centred'

The primary focus of any UN-supported DDR strategy should be on people and communities. A 'people-centred' approach should recognise that there will be differences in the support required by both sexes and those of differing ages and physical ability. Determining culturally relevant and appropriate reintegration activities for each group, offering tailored health and psychosocial services, training and micro-enterprise support, will break down violent and socially exclusionary structures and ensure the sustainability of the reintegration programme.

Dos and don'ts of economic reintegration

Training

DO	DON'T
Be flexible in times and locations of vocational training and consult with participants, to respond to the constraints on women's and men's time and mobility. Some may have children, catch-up education or work in addition to the training.	Force ex-combatants to choose between education and vocational training. While they may need a skill to earn an income in the short term, they should not be "trapped into poverty" due to their lack of education.
Think about the tools and methods used for teaching. Make skills training as practical as possible and adapt them to individual needs and local circumstances.	Use advanced and expensive machinery, fertilizers, etc. and tools that are not adapted to the people due to use them. Tools should be adapted to the specific needs of workers with disabilities.
Train women in non-traditional areas. The lack of male labour and the necessity of taking on male tasks can ease the entry of women into formerly gender-restricted areas.	Organize courses with formal syllabi delivered to passive students.
Avoid training ex-combatants in areas that they might identify as their preference, but that do not relate to market demand. The feelings of frustration and helplessness that have caused people to take up arms initially increase when they cannot find a job after undergoing training, and thus make them easy prey to re-recruitment.	

36 The UNDP Report on the Reintegration of Demobilised Soldiers in Mozambique (1992-1996) recommends that "within three years of demobilisation, the demobilised soldiers should no longer be a specially targeted group, but should be included as an important group in sector or community-based development programmes." p. 28.

Targeting ex-combatants for reintegration

DO	DON'T
Design assistance programmes based on ex-combatants' profiles, but keep their services open for other community members with similar profiles.	Forget that services used by ex-combatants could also be useful for returning refugees, IDPs and later by all people needing them.
Include communities when making decisions on what type of DDR assistance should be offered to ex-combatants.	Forget that special support programmes for ex-combatants can generate mistrust because of the (perceived) privileged status of ex-combatants.
Consider that the necessary enlarged approaches, mixing combatants and non-combatants in the target group, is usually more expensive .	Reinforce existing inequalities in terms of access to land or productive resources.

Ex-combatant and communities

DO	DON'T
Design assistance programmes based on ex-combatants' profiles, but keep their services open for other community members with similar profiles.	Forget that services used by ex-combatants could also be useful for returning refugees, IDPs and later by all people needing them.
Include communities when making decisions on what type of DDR assistance should be offered to ex-combatants.	Forget that special support programmes for ex-combatants can generate mistrust because of the (perceived) privileged status of ex-combatants.
Consider that the necessary enlarged approaches is usually more expensive.	Reinforce existing inequalities in terms of access to land or productive resources.

Gender

DO	DON'T
Promote an equitable, just and inclusive society.	Impose notions of how gender roles and relations should be that do not relate to the specific socio-cultural context.
Depart from habitual ways of working on gender and always question your assumptions.	Avoid making a trade-off between gender concerns and speed of action.
Devise policies and programmes for socio-economic reintegration based on social economic and demographic information.	Consider women or men as homogeneous groups; they also belong to other groups (ethnic, religious, political).
Recognize the skills that women possess.	

Profiles of ex-combatants

DO	DON'T
Understand ex-combatants' ambitions.	Underestimate that their expectations might be unrealistic.
Have gender sensitiveness.	Trap young ex-combatants into poverty by denying them access to (remedial) education.
Have sensitiveness to regional differences within the country.	Underestimate attitudes.
Acknowledge non-formal skills.	
Assess and acknowledge the skills acquired as ex-combatants (e.g. leadership, organization, mechanical maintenance/repair, precision work).	

