



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

Amongst Victims and Perpetrators

- A Study of Ex-Combatants' Re-Integration

Anna Lindhe

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the complicated process of re-integrating ex-combatants back into a post-conflict society following their dismissal from the army. To do so, the study explores the relationship between Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-Integration (DDR), and the fields of Transitional Justice and Trauma Theory, in order to develop a more holistic theoretical framework for re-integration. After relating the discussion to the post-conflict context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I argue that the social aspect of the re-integration process is seriously flawed, and despite the current lack of formal contact between the peacebuilding efforts, the process would highly benefit from their increased interaction.

Key Words: Ex-Combatants, Transitional Justice, DDR, Trauma, Re-Integration.

Characters: 64 187

Table of Content

1	Introduction	2
1.1	Purpose & Research Question	2
1.2	Previous Research & Contribution	3
1.3	Disposition	4
2	Towards a Theoretical Framework.....	5
2.1	Theoretical Overview.....	5
2.1.1	Transitional Justice	5
2.1.2	Disarmament, Demobilization & Re-Integration (DDR).....	7
2.1.3	Trauma Theory.....	8
2.2	Theoretical Framework for this Thesis	9
2.2.1	Transitional Justice & Trauma Theory incorporated	10
2.2.2	DDR & Trauma Theory incorporated.....	11
2.2.3	Bridging the Divide: Transitional Justice, DDR & Trauma Theory.....	12
3	Methodology & Material	15
3.1	Case Study	15
3.2	Methodological Critics.....	16
4	Re-Integration of Ex-Combatants	17
4.1	Context for the analyse: Bosnia and Herzegovina	17
4.2	Ex-Combatant Support in Bosnia and Herzegovina	18
4.2.1	Financial & Social Support in the DDR process	18
4.3	Ex-Combatants & Truth-Seeking	22
4.3.1	Ex-Combatants & Amnesties.....	24
4.3.2	Ex-Combatants & Victimhood	25
4.4	Consequences of Trauma & Failed Re-Integration	26
4.4.1	Domestic Violence.....	26
4.4.2	Peace Spoilers: War Veterans' Associations	27
4.4.3	Unemployment & Destabilized Society.....	28
5	Concluding Remarks.....	30
6	Bibliography.....	32

Acronyms

DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-Integration
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
EDRP	Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IOM	International Organization for Migration
PIU	Project Implementation Units
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RS	Republika Srbska
TAFS	Transitional Assistance to Former Soldiers
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

1 Introduction

Within the field of Peace and Conflict studies there is a common understanding that a conflict does not end with a signed peace agreement. As such, substantial attention has been given to post-conflict processes in order to gain knowledge on how to best deal with the continuation of war in peacetime, and thus avoid violence from once again rising. With the international focus increasingly shifting from *peacemaking* to *peacebuilding*, several processes and programs have been carried out with the purpose of aiding those whom been affected by war (Andrieu, 2010:539). However, in the mist of these efforts, there seems to be an underwhelming amount of work done on ex-combatants and their re-integration back into society (Bougarel, 2007). Despite the wide awareness on trauma related issues, an extensive framework of Transitional Justice and the establishment of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) initiatives in several post-conflict societies, ex-combatants continue to be a point of concern for an already fragile peace, and furthermore to the path towards recovery and development. As such, there is a great relevance to further examine these strategies for peace.

1.1 Purpose & Research Question

The purpose of this study is thus to critically examine the process re-integration of ex-combatants in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to draw lessons from it. Despite a substantial amount of Transitional Justice initiatives being undertaken in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, the processes of DDR have been held independently from these efforts for justice. By gaining deeper knowledge on the difficulties ex-combatants are faced with, and how these should be dealt with within the frames of Transitional Justice and DDR, this thesis aims to bridge the gap between these efforts, but also allow for an examination of the DDR process and an identification of its' flaws and perks. The added value of this is to obtain important knowledges on how to

make the re-integration process of DDR successful.

Therefore, this essay will ask the following question: *How has the psychological traumas of ex-combatants been incorporated in the re-integration process in Bosnia and Herzegovina?*

1.2 Previous Research & Contribution

With the many ongoing armed conflicts in the world there is a great relevance in understanding how to best approach the highly complex process of transforming a post-conflict society, and is as such a of high interest for Peace and Conflict research as well the many humans affected by it (Teorell & Svensson, 2007:18-19).

Since the end of the Cold War increased attention has been given the process of peace, moving the focus from the absence of violence to the underlying, structural problems (Andrieu, 2010). With this, the concept of Transitional Justice has become an important cornerstone in liberal peacebuilding, dealing with the mechanisms of acknowledgement, accountability and reparations (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2013). Parallel to this development, a growing concern for the destabilizing effect ex-combatants can have on the fragile peace in a post-conflict society has resulted in DDR programs, and re-integration in particular, gaining increased attention. Despite this, a surprisingly small correlation between DDR initiatives and successful re-integration processes remain. This has furthermore resulted in some scholars' call for a more holistic approach, where efforts of Transitional Justice and DDR are integrated. This change is for example made visible by the UN's IDDRS project, where steps have been taken towards a new integrated approach (Sriram & Herman,2009:462).

By incorporating previous research on ex-combatant trauma, and the difficulties this entails, within a Transitional Justice framework, this study will contribute to the research on re-integration of former combatants and hopefully help bridge the gap between Transitional Justice and DDR. The study of re-integration processes has therefore great importance, not only to the people affected, but also in the development of processes such as DDR and peacebuilding in general (Teorell & Svensson, 2007:18-19).

1.3 Disposition

This thesis will initially present a theoretical overview, this section will allow the reader to gain some insight on the relevant research for this study. This will then be followed by the theoretical framework developed for this thesis, a framework that consists of the integration of Transitional Justice, DDR and Trauma theory. It is furthermore through this framework that the analyse of Bosnia and Herzegovina's re-integration process will be constructed. The analyse will examine the support available to ex-combatants in the post-war setting, and how this could be expanded through a closer interaction between Transitional Justice, DDR and Trauma theory. It will also consider some of the consequences of trauma and a fail re-integration process before the concluding remarks.

2 Towards a Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this study will generate an analysing review of the process of re-integrating ex-combatants in a post-conflict society. The essay will be framed within the research field of Transitional Justice. Transitional Justice can be described as an interdisciplinary field (Corradetti, 2013:213) which contains mechanisms meant to re-build and reconcile a post-conflict society in order to prevent conflict from re-emerging. Possible mechanisms within Transitional Justice involve truth seeking and criminal justice, as well as methods for collective amnesia, in which a society collectively chooses to forget and move on (Andrieu, 2010:537-38).

The study will also be drawing upon trauma theory in order to achieve a greater understanding of the psychological difficulties of ex-combatants' re-integration. Trauma theory will be used explain why people experiencing traumatic events behave in a certain way, and what kind of adaptive problems do they face when moving in the post traumatic life (Clark, 2013; Köbach et. al., 2017; Pankhurst, 2013).

Through combining theories on trauma and Transitional Justice with the principles of DDR, a more complete framework on how to deal with the past will constructed and will further help identify how this has, or has not, been incorporated into the process of re-integration. In this sense, the thesis has a theory developing ambition. The following section will provide a literature overview of existing research, which will inform the theoretical framework that this study generates.

2.1 Theoretical Overview

2.1.1 Transitional Justice

With the Cold War ending, a shift of paradigm could be identified within the field of International Relations, where growing concerns regarding dysfunction post-conflict

societies led states and organizations to become increasingly engaged in efforts of peacebuilding (Andrieu, 2010:538-39; Reiter, 2017:35). This shift further led to the introduction of certain instruments that together make out the field of Transitional Justice, a research field which encompasses various legal, political and cultural mechanisms with the purpose of aiding a society in its' transformation from war to peace (Mihir, 2017:1).

The mechanisms of Transitional Justice can be instrumentalised in different ways and by a variety of actors, subsequently effecting the result of the efforts. The core of the concept is however grounded in the idea that post-conflict societies take great damage from 'historical amnesia', and approaching the past is thus considered a useful tool when building a secure peace. By addressing a violent past and providing justice and reparations, Transitional Justice can play an important role in dealing with the challenges of post-Cold War peace operations, such as creating a peace agreement that will renovate the society and prevent the reoccurrence of violence, as well as legitimizing the new political order through empowerment and inclusion (Andrieu, 2010:539; Mihir, 2017:1-2; Sriram & Herman, 2009:458).

It is in an attempt to achieve these objectives that mechanisms such as acknowledgement, accountability and reparations are implemented, with criminal justice often serving as a flagship. The concept of criminal justice builds on the idea that perpetrators should be held legally accountable for war-crimes committed. This notion has led to the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC), a legal tool to end impunity (Kerr, 2017:47-48), but also a form of normative power establishing an institutional narrative whilst entrenching the words 'never again' (Mannergren Selimovic, 2015:232).

There are however measures within Transitional Justice that do not strive for criminal accountability, but rather to unveil and acknowledge the truth. This is often achieved by the implementation of truth and reconciliation commissions, where the general idea is to, without criminal implications, create an arena for conversation, a space where perpetrators and victims can meet and share their stories (Andrieu, 2010:541-42; Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2013:205). This way of providing amnesty for perpetrators is often disputed, but remains a helpful tool when in search for the truth. Acknowledgement can however also be carried out through the establishment of memorials, official apologies as well as incorporation of narratives in literature and film (Mihir, 2017:4-7).

In addition to these mechanisms, Transitional Justice often involve restorative measures, which attempts to find a way of compensating for the past. This often entails economic compensation, but also the important work of exhuming mass graves, which holds the purpose of closure for victims and their close ones (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2013:206; Mihr, 2017:4-6).

It is by implementing these mechanisms, the hope is to achieve a deeper, entrenched peace that is not only characterized by a lack of physical, but also of structural violence (Andrieu, 2010:537-38; Galtung, 1969:183).

2.1.2 Disarmament, Demobilization & Re-Integration (DDR)

From its' emergence in the 1980s until present time there has been a growing consensus on the centrality of Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-integration (DDR) programs in post-conflict societies. The process is implemented during, or in the aftermath of, armed conflict with the purpose of providing initial stabilization for further recovery and development, and thus aid the transition from war to peace (Muggah, 2013:21-22). The concept of DDR is however lacking universal guidelines and can be implemented by regional, national as well as international actors, naturally affecting the outcome and level of success. The various processes of DDR do nevertheless consist of three steps, where the two first steps can be considered short term phases and centres around the collection, control and disposal of arms, along with the dismantlement of military troops, whilst the third phase constitutes the long term process of re-integrating former combatants back into society (Torjesen, 2009:412). This process is thought to be a crucial part of stabilizing a war-torn society since it provides a less militarized community whilst aiding the unemployed and traumatized former combatants, whom are considered a serious threat to a newly established peace (McMullin, 2013:29). The process of social re-integration is however lacking in emphasis to the extent that it is sometimes referred to as the "Achilles heel" of DDR processes (Shaw, 2010:113). Despite the evolvement of DDR programs in efforts to generate a more holistic approach, the problem of social re-integration remains and continue to be diminished to a financial aid (Cartagena DDR, 2009:15; Fisher, 2006:392-93).

2.1.3 Trauma Theory

Nobody is unaffected by war. It is today well known that exposure to combat is heavily linked to posttraumatic stress (PTSD) and other trauma-related symptoms, such as substance abuse and depression (Köbach et al., 2015:1). This linkage can be explained by the intense emotional blow that occurs when an individual experiences an event which he or she is inadequate to cope with, resulting in various forms of mental scaring (Köbach et al., 2015:1; Rasaili, 2012:14). The purpose of Trauma theory is thus to explain the behavior of those whom have been subjected to traumatic experiences and confront the adaptive problems they face when re-integrating back into society (Rasaili, 2012:14).

The interdisciplinary theory on trauma has held a place in history since the late nineteenth century, with a significant rise within the academia since the early 1990s, resulting in both consensus and lively debates. Whilst the relation between trauma and mental illness remains at the core of the matter, scholars place varying emphasis on memory versus amnesia, and the difference between *choosing* not to speak about the past and *not being able to*, a divide that consequently prompt the treatment plan (Pederson, 2014:334).

Contemporary trauma studies do however make the claim that trauma cannot be forgotten, and scholars have further established how trauma re-occurs in civilian life, thus allowing new treatments to take form (Pederson, 2014:334). In regard to ex-combatants, whom have been exposed to high levels of violence during their employment, trauma related illnesses are prominent with research indicating that up to 50% of the former combatant population display symptoms of mental health issues (Köbach et al., 2017:807). With the ordinary response to traumatic events being to try and banish them from consciousness, the trauma finds a way of expressing itself through other channels (Herman, 1992:1). Left untreated, trauma can thus cause issues such as depression, substance abuse, domestic violence, suicide and poor work performances, deeply effecting the ability to re-join society (Barrera et al., 2013:168-69; Ringel, 2011:4). This is often a result of one's sense of self or identity is fundamentally changed, altering the way you perceive the world and thus hindering the adaption to civilian life (Hunt, 2010:10).

There is furthermore a need for a growing awareness on 'delayed trauma'. Even though the affected individual can function well in the period following the

experienced trauma, symptoms can present themselves later on. This bears no meaning on the severity of the trauma, and the traumatized individual can experience the same level of serious mental illness symptoms as someone who presents symptoms in direct relation to the trauma exposure (Castro et al., 2015:308). This can be explained by the need to distance ourselves from the experiences of the war, however, when returning to civilian life morality kicks back in and without the tools to manage this transition, the risk for traumatic stress increases (Castro et al., 2015:308; Clark, 2009b:431, 435).

The preferred approach to trauma today consist of a variation of methods, however there is a common understanding that low social support is a predictor to traumatic stress, and individuals whom experience traumatic events and then lack social support are more likely to be traumatized (Hunt, 2010:3). Psychotherapeutic interventions and counselling addressing appetitive aggression and traumatic stress is thus considered important measures. This response can consist of both narrative therapy, in which the client narrates the experienced trauma, and somatic therapy, which is body-based and serves as an option for those whom are unable to verbally narrate and reflect cognitively. This can furthermore be helped through the prescription of psychopharmaceutic (Doak, 2011:269-272; Köbach et al., 2015:8; Ringel, 2011:8).

A last remark should be made on the success of these treatments. Studies show that ex-combatants are less inclined to respond positively to the treatments for trauma than other victims of trauma, a point of concern for researchers as former combatants can be a major source of destabilization in a post-conflict society (Köbach et al., 2017:808).

2.2 Theoretical Framework for this Thesis

In the following section of this thesis a revised theoretical framework for the study will be developed, where the efforts of Transitional Justice, DDR and Trauma theory will be integrated in order to establish how these important aspects of peacebuilding could complement each other, and thus cover the discrepancy currently existing in regard to ex-combatants and their re-integration. The added value of using these fields

is the perception of re-integration and reconciliation as dependent on each other in a post-conflict society, and there is thus a need for a closer integration of the two.

2.2.1 Transitional Justice & Trauma Theory incorporated

As previously described, Transitional Justice revolves around the concept of reconciling with the past, and is highly concerned with the well-being of not only the state, but also the individuals existing in it. Transitional Justice is often reviewed as a central aspect of contemporary peacebuilding and is rarely criticized for its' flaws (Sriram, 2007:582). Despite the claim of being a holistic approach, Transitional Justice struggle with questions on what it is for and whom it serves, whilst still entrenching the dichotomy between victim and perpetrator (Andrieu, 2010:541). However, we have learnt through Trauma theory that this dichotomy is rather ambiguous, and the concept of victimhood can be applied to those holding the weapons as well (Mohamed, 2015:1172-73). Through its' predominant focus on victims and the persecution of perpetrators, Transitional Justice risks leaving a gap where individuals whom have experienced trauma, but are neither classed victim or perpetrator, gets left out in the cold (Kerr, 2017:54). It might thus be beneficial to adapt the mechanisms of Transitional Justice so that traumatized ex-combatants can take better part in its' processes.

One such measure could be the implementation of a truth and reconciliation commission (TRC). This effort could result in an arena where all victims of trauma would have the opportunity to process the past through. It would here be of greatest importance to operate the truth and reconciliation commission without the evidentiary rules of a trial and thus avoid the creation of an institutional narrative which individuals are unable to relate to (Waldorf, 2009:112). Formal justice systems do not heal society, and they are often performed in a public and formal backdrop, which can hinder the ability to testify freely (Cartagena DDR, 2009:46; Doak, 2011:274). The creation of a secure space, which instead should serve as a humanizer where ex-combatant can remove both the stigma of being a perpetrator as well as the difficult role of a strong and emotionally stable war-hero, could make it easier to reach out for further help (Bougarel, 2007:485; Hunt, 2010:10-11; Reisman, 2016:627; Waldorf, 2009:112).

The implementation of this measure could furthermore aid the mechanism for reparation. If the commission is successfully operated without the threat of repercussions, ex-combatants can contribute with facts that could further lead to the exhumation of mass graves. This is considered an important aspect of Transitional Justice, not only because it can bring a sense of closure to the victims' near ones, but also because it could help improve tensions between ex-combatants and civilians, and maybe even between ethnic groups, whilst serving as a part of the process towards recovery (Waldorf, 2009:120). For this to work however, it is also of great importance to assure that the truth-telling initiative does not turn into a public platform for shaming and lying, but rather a safe place where various victims of trauma can try and 'make sense' of the war and their experiences (Waldorf, 2009:119-20).

2.2.2 DDR & Trauma Theory incorporated

As stated above, DDR programs are implemented in an effort to aid the transition from a militarized to a peaceful society. However, despite the affliction associated with psychological trauma, both on a national and individual level, DDR programs continue to centre its efforts around the economic rather than social aspect of re-integration (Fisher, 2006:392-93; Shaw, 2010:113). There is thus great relevance to incorporate a greater focus on trauma and its' psychological effects on individuals and furthermore the society.

The DDR initiatives, and the aspect of re-integration in particular, faces several political, social and economic challenges when implemented. One such deep running issue is that ex-combatants are mainly considered a source of insecurity and conflict, rather than the victims of said insecurity, an attitude that can affect the approach (McMullin, 2013:24, 29). Through the understanding that long-term exposure to violence and killings causes victims of trauma regardless of civilian or military status, efforts for re-integration could be altered and higher status given to the psychological treatments (Mohamed, 2015:1172-73). Measures as financial aid and employments are still highly relevant to the re-integration process however, without psychological stabilization the benefits from these efforts are difficult to reap since the various forms of psychological malfunctioning affects the ex-combatants' minds and bodies. This have furthermore damaging effects on both family and society since the psychological

issues tend to spill over into these spheres, diminishing the possibility for success in the DDR process (Barrera et al., 2013:168-69; Köbach et al., 2017:808).

There is subsequently an immense need for personnel with the right psychological competence, an aspect that today has proven to be challenging as there is a lack of availability (Köbach et al., 2017:808). This is also true in regard to programs available and ex-combatants willing to participate in them (Waldorf 2009:121). By providing better accessibility to trauma treatment, and individually tailored plans for the financial aspect of the re-integration process, better results could be achieved by DDR programs.

2.2.3 Bridging the Divide: Transitional Justice, DDR & Trauma Theory

Within liberal peacebuilding, there is a tendency to portray successful peace operations as a return to pre-war stability. However, a prominent theme is that the re-integration might be into a hostile society, a society that made war possible in the first place. This is further complicated by the fact that ex-combatants are to be re-integrated into the very communities in which they have perpetrated war atrocities, possibly leaving the community unreceptive and resentful (McMullin, 2013:3, 37). There is thus a great importance in taking action towards stabilizing and reconciling the society, something that could be achieved through the integration of Transitional Justice and DDR initiatives, as well as a greater awareness of trauma and its' effects on both individuals and society.

However, despite being a part of the liberal peacebuilding package, a divide between Transitional Justice and DDR programs remain, and even though both can be implemented simultaneously in the same region, they lack formal points of contact (Sriram & Herman, 2009:455). This can be explained by their at times contradicting priorities, often represented by peace and security versus accountability, where ex-combatants often oppose the Transitional Justice measures out of fear for persecutions, whilst Transitional Justice proponents hold the concept of justice prior to re-integration (Shaw, 2010:113; Sriram & Herman, 2009:462-64).

Despite this, efforts can be made in order to bring these concepts closer together. One such common ground is just the re-integration aspect of DDR, which relies

heavily on a functional and rather reconciled society that are both willing and capable to accept the former combatant population. The process of Transitional Justice and the social repair it can provide, might thus be a valuable complement to the DDR programs (Sriram & Herman, 2009:465-66; McAuliffe, 2017:92).

It is furthermore important for a post-conflict society to acknowledge that despite trauma often being considered the property of victimhood, and without equalizing the traumatic experience of offender and victim, combatants too experience trauma through the fear of death and the taking part in, or witnessing of killings (Mohamed 1172-3). Both Transitional Justice and DDR programs, when implemented independently, run the risk of failing to address this full complexity in a post-war society. To abandon traumatized ex-combatants without a proper plan for treatment and re-integration could result in grievances towards the state or community, and furthermore open up to the possibility that former combatants reach out for alternative support provided by nationalistic groups, becoming “spoilers” that tries to undermine the already fragile peace (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:32; Stedman, 1997:8). There is thus a need for both mechanisms of Transitional Justice and re-integration processes that involve not only financial support and employment, but also psychological aid that contributes to taking responsibility for the past as well as the insight that violence cannot be accepted as a mean (Fisher, 2006: 391) . It is here also of great importance to acknowledge the occurrence of ‘delayed trauma’, and thus have the capacity to not only offer support to the ex-combatants that present symptoms of trauma, but also to those whom appear healthy (Castro et al., 2015:300, 308).

As previously mentioned, truth and reconciliation commissions, if rightly executed, can be an important Transitional Justice mechanism for trauma processing. This is however neither a foreign concept within contemporary DDR scholars, whom argue that a commission can be linked to the re-integration process. Yet, in practice, truth-telling by ex-combatants has rarely played a role in most DDR programs (Waldorf, 2009:111). Truth and reconciliation commissions do however hold great potential for merging the efforts of Transitional Justice and DDR, but also trauma work. If constructed as an arena for vetting and counselling, the ‘fear’ of truth and reconciliation commissions amongst ex-combatants could be diminished, making it a powerful tool which further aids the reconciliation in society This could further be made possible by providing amnesties for ex-combatants, as this could increase ex-combatants in truth-seeking efforts since it would eliminate the fear of prosecutions.

(Shaw, 2010:131).

The integration of Transitional Justice and DDR programs, together with the insight of Trauma theory, could subsequently allow a more holistic approach to form, where the tailored support to ex-combatants could aid not only the re-integration process, but also the transformation of society as a whole.

3 Methodology & Material

To be able to give an answer to the research question I will be doing a qualitative case study with a theory building ambition, as this will allow greater insights on the matter (Gerring, 2004). A comparative case study would allow me to contribute with larger generalizations (George & Bennett, 2004:7, 19-20), however without any universal guidelines for the implementation of DDR, and the difficulty to obtain reliable information in the aftermath of a conflict, a deeper analyse of more cases lies beyond the scope of this essay (Höglund & Öberg, 2011:3).

Through integrating the essence of current research on Transitional Justice, Trauma theory and the DDR concept, a theoretical framework has been developed to further analyse the case in order to identify potential problems as well as possibilities. The material used to do so mainly consists of secondary sources, represented by scientific articles and case studies, as well as reports produced by NGOs. To avoid bias, no material from the NGOs in charge of the re-integration projects of the have been used to assess the results.

3.1 Case Study

With new methodological approaches established, case studies have been on the decline (George & Bennett, 2004:3), and despite the possibility of providing a deeper analyse, case studies are often criticized within the academia, one argument being that context independent knowledge is to be held prior to context dependent knowledge. However, I argue that a single case study will be beneficial to this study as it centres around societal and human processes post-conflict, and is therefore context dependent by default. A single case study will thus allow for a closer examination of the initiatives, rather than a comparative case study where each case has to be understood from its context at the time (Flyvberg, 2006).

This case will furthermore be focused on Bosnia and Herzegovina. This

selection of case is relevant to the entirety of the study and is based on several factors to avoid selection bias (George & Bennett, 2004:22-23). Since the theoretical framework of the study is centred around the concept Transitional Justice, the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly relevant as several initiatives have been undertaken in accordance with the mechanisms of Transitional Justice in the peacebuilding process. The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina has also been subjected to several phases of DDR and does therefore have a substantial amount of material to analyse (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a; Heinemann-Grüder et. al., 2003).

By closely examining one case I will be able to see what possibilities DDR can bring to a post-conflict society, but also what parts of the implementation, or even the framework in itself, can be problematic. Despite some scholars' argument that single case studies run the risk of indeterminacy and incorrect inferences, the possibility of providing a deeper analyse and testing the necessity and sufficiency in the implementation of DDR (George & Bennett, 2004:32-33).

3.2 Methodological Critics

The study's extent contains some limitations which needs to be mentioned, one of them being the reliance on fieldwork of previous researchers. However essential to the study these reports are, some caution needs to be applied since no guaranty can be made on the reliability of the results provided. The study could therefore benefit from an increased number of cases to study, which could help affirm, or contest, the result further. To hold a positivistic stance and strive for parsimony in the results is however challenging when examining a complex process that in many ways is context dependent (Flyvberg, 2006; Halperin & Heath, 2012:5-8). To take into account the complexity and context of several cases would call for a study with greater extent.

The study could nevertheless benefit from primary interviews with ex-combatants as this would allow for check whether the research reports is valid reflection of the expression of the respondents. However, it should be mentioned that there is an ethical downside to this method, as interviewing victims of trauma is a delicate task where caution needs to be applied in order to ensure that the extraction of information does not traumatize the interviewee further (Brounéus, 2011:141-43).

4 Re-Integration of Ex-Combatants

4.1 Context for the analyse: Bosnia and Herzegovina

In 1995, a three-year long war ended in Bosnia and Herzegovina, leaving a previously multi-ethnic region in pieces, tormented by the gruesome events of the war and more segregated than ever before. The war, which followed the break-up of Yugoslavia, is well-documented within the academia, and great efforts have been undertaken in order to make sense of how a previously prosperous and multi-ethnic region could be seduced by nationalistic propaganda and further shattered by one of the most macabre wars of modern time (Clark, 2009a:361-62). This have also resulted in numerous measures being implemented in an attempt to reconcile with the past and re-build society, with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) serving as the flagship for Transitional Justice. Parallel to the Transitional Justice mechanisms, three phases of DDR have been implanted, resulting in a substantial ex-combatant population. Despite these efforts, the nationalistic tensions continue to prevail in Bosnia and Herzegovina, leaving the region unreconciled with communities segregated along ethnic lines. This in combination with a traumatized population have furthermore resulted in high numbers of unemployment and a stagnated development(García-Godos&Sriram,2013:15).

It is within this context the analysis of this study will be constructed, where the various aspects of re-integration in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be analysed through the theoretical framework of this thesis.

4.2 Ex-Combatant Support in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina finally came to an end with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) in 1995. Desperate to put an end to the ongoing atrocities, but fearing that the different parties would walk away from the negotiation table, only the bare minimum for peace was agreed upon. The incorporation of measures for justice and DDR was thus left out of the agreement, leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina with a vague framework for future DDR processes. This did however not stand in the way of an initial downscaling of the ethnic armies, with 300,000 soldiers immediately demobilized (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:4, 11). The absence of any real plan for re-integration did however abandon these hundreds of thousands ex-combatants in a war-torn and haltering society, where they were independently forced to seek alternative employment in order to provide for themselves and their families. This was a transition into civilian life which they were left inadequately prepared for, with many ex-combatants lacking education and experience, whilst also suffering from psychological traumas (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:12; Pietz, 2004:32).

This initial demobilization phase has been followed by three waves of DDR, which over time have come to include a greater awareness on the importance of re-integration (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009b:2). The following sections of this study will analyse the various aspects of these phases through the theoretical framework previously provided in order to assess their problems and possibilities.

4.2.1 Financial & Social Support in the DDR process

The initial demobilization of the Bosnian armies, which was carried out simultaneous to the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, was detached from any re-integration efforts. The subsequent first DDR wave did nevertheless hold a re-integration aspect, however it mainly consisted of economic support to the ex-combatants. With the international community recognising the severity of not providing assistance to the former combatant population following their dismissal, the World Bank's International Development Agency's established the Emergency Demobilization and

Reintegration Project (EDRP). The purpose of this project was to provide educational services, job search assistance and training to ex-combatants in an effort to keep them from falling into unemployment, organized crime and violence (Kaufman & Williams, 2015:19). This design of the project drew upon the experience obtained in previous World Bank projects for economic re-integration, which was then adapted to the Bosnian context (Heinemann-Grüder et al., 2003:16).

The project established two Project Implementation Units (PIU), which had the purpose of facilitating demobilized combatants regionally (the project was implemented independently in FBiH and RS), a task that mainly consisted of job-finding services, but also a component for counselling. This small activity performed by psychologists provided an assessment of mental health and trauma related problems, with results revealing that 41% of the clients presented symptoms of PTSD and was thus hindered to take part in the bigger re-integration project. The psychologists urged for extended activities, as this aspect of the project included less than 200 individuals, however no additional projects of this kind was provided (Pietz, 2004:35, 37-38).

The project did thus neglect some key issues that were present in the newly established peace. Firstly, it failed to acknowledge the deep running effects trauma has on an individual's ability to normally function in society. Despite the fact that extensive research on the matter is lacking, scholars tend to argue for the plausibility of ex-combatants relying on their wartime skills to sustain them in the absence of other sources of income, possibly resulting in a path towards organized crime (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:13). When furthermore taking into account the adaptive problems traumatized ex-combatant suffer from, such as depression, abuse, adaptive aggression and the inability to perform in a regular workplace, this tendency appears increasingly plausible. The argument of the financial and job support approach is that a job is an important part of re-establishing yourself within the civil society. However, as trauma theory presents, there are adaptive problems standing in the way of trauma victims ability to perform in a workplace. It could therefore be argued that the assistance provided by the World Bank cancels itself out, since it provides jobs for a part of the population that are unable to work without the further support of trauma therapy.

Moreover, when examining the amounts of financial aid former combatants received through the project, research show that the sum falls well below the UNDP's

poverty line, indicating that it would be impossible to sustain a living on it, forcing the former combatants to seek alternative incomes (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:13).

Secondly, the project did not include any involvement of the Transitional Justice process. The aim of the project was to return demobilized soldiers back home and allow them to resume their pre-war employments or educations, something that proved to be a complicated task since the post-war society was unreconciled and more segregated along ethnic lines than ever before, resulting in a vast displacement of individuals unable to return to their pre-war homes (Pietz, 2004:31-34, 68). This situation speaks to the need for a closer interaction between mechanisms of Transitional Justice and the process of DDR. This first phase of DDR in Bosnia and Herzegovina had a focus on employment and economic aid, an important aspect of peacebuilding since it is crucial to get the economy running in a post-conflict society in order to re-build it (McMullin, 2013:244). However, without the efforts to reconcile and furthermore create a functioning society, there is not much to be re-integrated into. There is thus a need for more holistic approach, where ex-combatants can be provided with the psychological support needed to re-enter the work market, whilst simultaneously building an inclusive society where they can return to civilian life.

The second and third phase of DDR in Bosnia and Herzegovina did nevertheless have a change of focus, altering the model in order to provide better support in the re-integration aspect. The second phase, which was initiated upon the demobilization of combatants between the years 2002-2004, and the third phase, which targeted soldiers that was demobilized up until 2006-2007, provided the soldiers with a severance package, a service that was not provided in the previous phase (Heinemann-Grüder et al., 2003:26). The programs further included access to the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) Transitional Assistance to Former Soldiers Program (TAFS program). This program was implemented as an immediate response to the demobilization, with the objective "to facilitate the sustainable financial independence of the former soldiers; and to assist them in their transition to the civilian community and the workforce with as little economic and social disruption as possible" (Alexander et al., 2004:9.10).

The information about the program was spread through a marketing campaign which consisted of bill boards, posters and a radio jingle, the purpose of this method being to reach as many eligible participants as possible (Heinemann-Grüder et al.,

2003:26). This was then followed by interviews being conducted with ex-combatants, where IOM program officers assessed the needs and capabilities of the former soldier, and furthermore provided counselling and advice on how to move forward with the help offered (Alexander et al., 2004:11). The assistance provided by IOM did involve several measures for financial aid and job searching, as well as tools and equipment for agriculture. However, in contrast to the first DDR project implemented by the World Bank, the TAFS program had a clearer focus on re-integration and strived for a model that was formed around the needs of the ex-combatant. It also consisted of a lecture addressing human rights, democracy and civil society (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:15). This attempt to tailor a re-integration plan for each ex-combatant based on his or hers needs did nevertheless show an important development within the DDR process. With the effects of trauma exposure heavily varying amongst individuals, there is an immense call to assess each ex-combatant's need for assistance as its' own. This type of assessment and information gathering amongst former combatants can furthermore contribute to the development of future programs, but also aid other efforts for reconciliation.

It is by all means debatable whether these efforts can be considered enough in reference to the psychological suffering amongst ex-combatants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, in the war-devastated country there was a critical lack of governmental understanding and engagement for the psychological challenges former combatants faced when returning to society as a civilian, IOM was thus a place where they could seek refuge and obtain the support needed (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:28). Reports also show that the TAFS program, which was not separated along the lines of FBiH and RS, had a reconciling affect amongst the ex-combatant, with testimonies of former enemies from different ethnic heritage becoming friends (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:28).

These results have left the IOM's TAFS project with a positive sentiment, and it is often praised for its' efforts to instil a sense of trust towards the community amongst the former combatant population (Heinemann-Grüder et al., 2003:28). The notion of belonging, and having access to support is undoubtedly a crucial part of the re-integration process. With absence or low level of social support serving as a predictor to traumatic stress, an inclusive and safe arena, here the TAFS project, can serve as an important measure for financial, as well as social, re-integration.

The program did however contain a few shortcomings, the greatest being the

lack of funding. With IOM only receiving 20 percent of the funding needed to implement the project in full, demobilized combatants are still at great risk of being left without support (Pietz, 2004:64). This lack of funding was also a hinder to a potential expansion of the project, where further psychological competence and counselling could be incorporated. The lack of funding, and the insufficient amount trauma support, is telling as to the role ex-combatants hold in a post-conflict society, from being idealised and holding an identity of a hero, to being the naïve losers of a society that was both unwilling to, and incapable of, fulfilling their needs (Bougarel, 2007:485). The fundamental identity changes trauma exposure can lead to, can thus be worsened by this second blow to one's identity. This failure to extend support on a larger scale was further obstructed by the unwillingness amongst ex-combatants to register for the re-integration programs, this was mainly due to distrust towards the community and the fear of being prosecuted for the actions performed during the war (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:27).

4.3 Ex-Combatants & Truth-Seeking

As established in theoretical framework of this thesis, mechanisms for truth-seeking can be a powerful tool in aiding victims of trauma, and the concept has evolved into one of the principal mechanisms of Transitional Justice, whilst simultaneously being given increased attention by DDR researchers. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina however, little to no effort has been aimed at the concept of integrating ex-combatants in truth-seeking within the DDR process (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:27). The following section of this thesis will thus examine the role ex-combatants could play in truth-seeking efforts, and how this could benefit both the re-integration and reconciliation processes.

The truth-seeking efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina has mainly been represented by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), which was established during the ongoing conflict as a response to the gross human rights violations committed, and has had the main responsibility of collecting evidence with the purpose of establishing the truth and indicting war criminals in an attempt to avoid collective guilt amongst the three ethnic groups in the Bosnia and Herzegovina,

namely the Bosniaks¹, the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Serbs (Mannergren Selimovic, 2015: 232-33). Despite the extensive work performed by the ICTY, it has failed to establish any formal ties to the DDR processes, a contact that could have had a positive effect on both re-integration and reconciliation, but remains discarded because of the binary emphasis on justice versus peace, but also because of the ex-combatants' fear of prosecution (Witte, 2009:87-88).

There is however another mechanism for truth-seeking within the field of Transitional Justice, namely the use of truth and reconciliation commissions. Despite the avid use of this type of commission in many post-conflict societies, it has remained at large in the Bosnian case. Despite several initiatives to create a truth commission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has never been fully implemented and thus remains a missed opportunity to not only unveil truths, but also the possibility to establish closer ties between DDR and Transitional Justice (Dragovic-Soso, 2016:293; Waldorf, 2010:1). The failure to implement a truth and reconciliation commission have partially been explained by the inability to integrate the needs and wants of both victims and perpetrators, this is however mainly an organizational problem and not a critic of truth commissions per se, strengthening the claim that truth and reconciliation commissions could be a valuable measure to promote peace, but also to deepen the exchange between the processes of DDR and Transitional Justice (Waldorf, 2010:2-3). The value of this would not only be the possibility for victims to be acknowledged for their suffering, but also for ex-combatants to confront their experiences from the war and re-gain a sense of agency. Operating without the evidentiary rules of a trial, and without establishing a dominating institutional narrative, it could furthermore benefit the social re-integration and reconciliation. These processes could be additionally helped by the exchange between a truth commission and DDR programs, where the vast need to evaluate the ex-combatants' experiences and motives in order to provide them with the support needed to re-integrate, could be carried out within the commission, thus providing the DDR programs with the required information, whilst simultaneously promoting healing and reconciliation through the commission (Waldorf, 2009:112, 119-21).

¹ Bosniaks = Bosnian Muslims, ethnic group in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4.3.1 Ex-Combatants & Amnesties

The disputed concept of amnesties has been present in discussions regarding the truth-seeking efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the gaps in perception and practice remains an issue for concern within both DDR and Transitional Justice (Freeman, 2009:37). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, no amnesties for war crimes have been passed in the ICTY, which can be explained by the fact that the prosecution of war crimes is a post-conflict obligation (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009:16). This does however not necessarily rule out the use of amnesties in the DDR process and alternative truth-seeking mechanisms. The concept, which promotes legal immunity in exchange for testimonies, represents a barrier between the differing emphasis on justice within DDR initiatives and Transitional Justice, where DDR scholars have argued that the use of amnesties can provide an incentive for ex-combatants to take part in both re-integration and truth-seeking processes, whilst Transitional Justice experts are concerned with the effect this could have on future prosecutions and human rights (Sriram & Herman, 2009:467-69). It is here important to remember that amnesties should be considered as a last resort in the post-war processes. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the DDR programs have had difficulties attracting ex-combatants, amnesties could increase the participation in both the DDR programs and truth-seeking efforts, thus aiding the process for peace. This does however not mean that DDR proponents ignore the relevant question on amnesties and their relation to human rights, it rather makes the claim that amnesties and human rights do not necessarily contradict each other (Freeman, 2009:46, 63).

It should furthermore be said that the majority of ex-combatants are not war criminals, a fact that can be of importance when contemplating the use of amnesties. With the current unwillingness amongst ex-combatants in Bosnia and Herzegovina to take part in re-integration process and efforts for truth-telling, amnesties could provide the security needed for their participation, which could be more beneficial to the reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, than the prosecution of ex-combatants in the lower ranks.

4.3.2 Ex-Combatants & Victimhood

Another obstruction to the incorporation of ex-combatant in truth-seeking efforts is the general mistrust towards the society, and the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina was not an exception to this phenomenon. The feeling of being abandon by their own society instilled a substantial amount of distrust towards the state and the international community amongst the former combatant population. This resulted in a widespread hesitance to provide DDR officials with the information required for project participation (Bougarel, 2007:485; Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:27). However, in reality, prosecutors from the ICTY have stressed the limited value of DDR gathered information have in prosecutions, and this information is only said to be a useful tool in revealing new crime scenes and discover patterns in the conflict (Witte, 2009:91). This disconnection between ICTY and ex-combatants in the DDR programs can be considered somewhat paradoxical, since the concept of the ICTY contributes to establishing a victim/perpetrator dichotomy (Andrieu, 2010:541). It is furthermore this dichotomy that leaves ex-combatants on the side line, unable to identify fully with either side. This have not only a negative effect on the ex-combatants' social re-integration, but also on the truth- and justice-seeking efforts. This does moreover call upon the need for a deeper discussion on ex-combatants and victimhood.

As established in Trauma theory, the exposure to trauma does not discriminate between civilian and military, there is thus a great significance in acknowledging the ex-combatants as victims of trauma and not only as a potential source for insecurity in the post-conflict society. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, this aspect has often been sidestepped, which is demonstrated by the insufficient amount of support offered to ex-combatants (Bougarel, 2007:485). There is furthermore another dimension to the failure of not acknowledging ex-combatants' victimhood, namely the sense of having to embody the role of a strong and emotionally stable combatant. In the highly segregated Bosnian society, citizens tend to establish a life within the community of their ethnic belonging. This have often prevented ex-combatants from being stigmatized within their own community (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:28), which could have a positive effect on their need for social support. However, within western culture it is commonly viewed that the strength, violence and aggression found in war are masculine traits, and so it is fair to say that war in itself is generally perceived as a masculine practise (Wilmer, 2002:214, 223) This can create a sense of

taboo amongst ex-combatants, male in particular, to address their trauma as it can be considered a weakness, which could potentially have a worsening effect on the trauma. An increased awareness on this matter could thus improve both the ex-combatants' and the society's ability to deal with trauma and victimhood, and furthermore aid the processes of DDR and Transitional Justice, as well as the integration of the two.

4.4 Consequences of Trauma & Failed Re-Integration

The social re-integration of ex-combatants faces several critical challenges and untreated trauma and failed re-integration bears consequences that do not only affect the lives of the ex-combatants, but also have longstanding effects on society as a whole. Despite the three phases of DDR in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the country is still struggling with the consequences of trauma and failed re-integration. The following sections will thus examine how these consequences have come to express themselves in the post-conflict society.

4.4.1 Domestic Violence

The inability to confront the high levels of traumatic stress amongst ex-combatants have led to an increasing amount of violence spilling over from the public to the private sphere of society. Several reports from NGOs claim that domestic violence, mainly perpetrated by men towards women and children, have been on the rise in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, resulting in it becoming “a widespread social problem... and a serious breach of fundamental human rights” (Helsinki Citizens Assembly, 2010:43). This rise can be seen as an adverse effect from the long-term exposure to violence and trauma amongst ex-combatants, where the emotional blow that occurs when an individual experience events that he or she is unable to cope with, results in various mental scarring and furthermore a fundamental change to the identity. This phenomenon can moreover result in appetitive aggression, where positive

feelings are associated with the perpetration of violent behaviour, thus explaining the increase in domestic violence. As previously mentioned, the damage inflicted upon the ex-combatants' identities through trauma can be further entrenched by the challenge of adapting to civilian life. It is commonly perceived that wars change the moral dimension of both the country and its' people, and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was no exception. To return to normalcy in the aftermath of the conflict thus posed an enormous challenge to all effected, but maybe ex-combatants in particular. What was considered commonplace during the war returns to being atrocious, and ex-combatants have to once again adapt to a new reality whilst simultaneously processing the experiences of mass violence (Clark, 2009b:431-32). With the haltering psychological assistance provided by the DDR programs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this transformation can be additionally traumatizing.

The increase of domestic violence can furthermore be explained by the frustration ex-combatants experience after their discharge. The identity of a soldier they once held is erased, and with the society's and the DDR projects' insufficient ability to pilot the transformation, the feeling of being abandoned and without a purpose can be further damaging. The inability to obtain, and then keep an employment can be emasculating in the patriarchal society Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the sense of both losing their previous identity, combined with the failure to assume the role as provider of the family, can spur the frustration that then results in violence (Bougarel, 2007:485; Wilmer, 2002:214).

4.4.2 Peace Spoilers: War Veterans' Associations

Another serious consequence of an insufficient re-integration process is the opening it provides alternative options for support. There is of course an immense need for local and grass root involvement in the re-building of society, however, all efforts to aid the former combatant population do not contribute to the bigger reconciliation process. In post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, the war veterans' associations have assumed a role as protector of the demobilized soldiers that the society and international community have been unable to support efficiently. These associations have, despite their potential of functioning as peace promoters, instead often been considered "spoilers" in the peacebuilding process (Fisher, 2006:411; Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009a:29-

30). The reason for this is the strong nationalistic sentiments that flourish in the organisations, which are divided along the ethnic lines. The associations, which are not included in neither the DDR or Transitional Justice processes, have been accused for having a political agenda that are in line with the nationalist political parties, which is supported by the fact that the harsh nationalistic rhetoric is being mimicked. The existing close ties between the political parties and the war veterans' associations have been further strengthened by the financial support provided by the political authorities. This has allowed a damaging exchange to take form, where financial aid is traded for the associations' role in raising political issues, or even spurring on ethnic tensions. This can be illustrated by their attempts to block the return of displaced minorities, institution-building and Transitional Justice efforts (Fisher, 2006:408-10; Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009:29-30).

The nationalistic war veterans' associations could have been less of a problem with an extensive and inclusive re-integration project, however the failure to attend to the needs of former combatants has resulted in the associations becoming a valued option amongst veterans since it provides the services not provided by society, and they have thus become a dominant and deterring power in the post-war transition (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009:29-30). This in combination with animosity against the society that has failed them, and the issues related to mental illness, could potentially spur nationalistic tensions and violence in the region, driving it back to the hostile society that enabled the war to begin with.

4.4.3 Unemployment & Destabilized Society

The two previous sections of this study have presented two specific and major consequences of a failed re-integration process, and they do both have a destabilizing effect on society and the people existing in it. There are however more consequences of a failed process that effects the society as a whole, namely the widespread unemployment amongst ex-combatants (Heinemann-Grüder et al., 2003:14-15). As previously touched upon, there is a linkage between unemployment amongst ex-combatants and criminal activities, a linkage that in the Bosnian context can be explained by a variation of factors, such as the DDR programs' incapability to provide jobs and financial aid on a large scale, and the traumatized ex-combatants inability to

re-enter the job market and maintain a regular job. This development could be a contributing aspect to the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina since the war has been labelled a European hub for organized illegal activities (Moratti & Sabic-El-Rayess, 2009:13).

It is here important to make the remark that ex-combatants, despite the current tendency to associate them with dangerous or illicit activities, are not necessarily bad people (McMullin, 2013:30), as this only entrenches the view that re-integration should be prioritized solemnly because former combatants pose a threat to security and not out of concern for the individuals. To reduce ex-combatant to nothing more than a security threat does unfairly ignore their ability to actually contribute the post-war transformation, and furthermore it reinforces the view of them as perpetrators rather than victims.

The widespread unemployment amongst ex-combatants and the high levels of organized crime in Bosnia and Herzegovina do nevertheless have a destabilizing effect on the society's ability to transform itself from war-torn to prosperous. Instead, it keeps underpinning an already destructive spiral, where the informal market grows on the expense of the formal, resulting in a haltering economy which furthermore prevents increased funding to projects for re-integration and reconciliation. There is thus an immense need to construct a framework that provide a substantial amount of support to newly demobilized combatants in order to prevent these issues from occurring and furthermore spreading.

5 Concluding Remarks

The lack of widespread knowledge on ex-combatants and their role in a post-conflict society has resulted in a haltering DDR process in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a poorly incorporated awareness on psychological trauma. From the gathered results, it is evident that the social re-integration process is flawed and in need of a reevaluation. Despite the threat ex-combatants can pose to a newly established peace, the willingness to extend the support is lacking, which can be explained by the fact that ex-combatants are reduced to just that, a security risk that at best needs to be contained. However, with the understanding that ex-combatants are not only a source of insecurity, but rather a result of said insecurity, and furthermore have the potential of contributing to the peace process, attitudes and approaches can change. Through an increased awareness on Trauma theory and the adaptive problems that can follow the long time exposure to violence and trauma, ex-combatants could be re-humanized, not only in their local society, but also within the international community. By achieving this, greater efforts towards their re-integration could be made, possibly resulting in increased funding, and efforts needed to sustain a more extensive process for re-integration. As the study shows, a majority of the three re-integration programs in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been concerned with various forms of financial support, and great emphasis has been put on the importance of formal employment. Despite the relevance of having an employment when re-integrating back into civil society, the ignorance on ex-combatants' trauma related problems have created obstacles to the success of this process, where the failure to contribute with a tailored support that includes the support for trauma, has cancelled out the ability to perform at a workplace and thus the maintaining of a job, resulting in consequences that have a damaging effect on the fragile peace.

This could however be helped by the support of Trauma theory and the establishment of formal points for contact between the re-integration process and the wider efforts of providing justice and reconciliation in society. As previously stated, the re-integration of ex-combatants is heavily reliant on the society's ability to

acknowledge their trauma and victimhood, and further include them in the reconciliation process. Simultaneously, the transformation of a post-conflict society is dependent on the combined efforts of its' citizens, and the failure to treat and incorporate the traumatized ex-combatant population can have serious consequences on the ability to stop the continuation of war in peace. To allow the efforts of Transitional Justice and DDR to be integrated and accommodate each other, new platforms for trauma healing can appear, resulting in both an improved re-integration process and subsequently a stronger and reconciled peace.

6 Bibliography

Alexander, Jessica & DePiazza, Jennifer & Flory, Augustin & Moseley, Alan & Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra & Reza, Regina & Ridders, Samuel 2004. *From Barracks to Business: An Evaluation of IOM's Transitional Assistance Program to Former Soldiers in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Final Report. New York: School of International and Public Affairs Columbia University.

Andrieu, Kora 2010. "Civilizing Peacebuilding: Transitional Justice, Civil Society and the Liberal Paradigm", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 41, no. 5, s. 537-558.

Björkdahl, Annika & Mannergren Selimovic, Johanna 2013. "Gendered Justice Gaps in Bosnia-Herzegovina", *Human Rights Review*, vol.15, no. 2, p. 201-218

Bougarel, Xavier 2007. "The shadow of heroes: former combatants in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina", *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 58:189, p. 479-490.

Brounéus, Karen 2011. In "In-depth Interviewing: The process, skill and ethics of interviews in peace research" in Höglund, Kristine & Öberg, Magnus, (eds.), *Understanding Peace Research: Methods and challenges*, Oxon: Routledge, p. 130-145

Cartagena DDR 2009. "The Cartagena Contribution to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration", Colombia: Cartagena.

Castro, Carl A. & Kintzle, Sara & Hassan, Anthony M. 2015. "The Combat Veteran Paradox: Paradoxes and Dilemmas Encountered with Reintegrating Combat Veterans and the Agencies That Support Them", *Traumatology*, vol. 21, no. 4, p. 299-310.

Clark, Janine Natalya 2009a. "From Negative to Positive Peace: The Case of Bosnia and Hercegovina", *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 8, no. 4, p. 360-384.

Clark, Janine Natalya 2009b. "Genocide, war crimes and the conflict in Bosnia: understanding the perpetrators", *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 11, no. 4, p. 421-445.

Clark, Janine Natalya 2013. "Giving Peace a Chance", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, no. 10, p. 1931-1953.

Corradetti, Claudio 2013. Philosophical Issues in Transitional Justice Theory: A (Provisional) Balance. *Politica & Societ a*, no. 2, p. 185-220.

Doak, Jonathan 2011. "The Therapeutic Dimension of Transitional Justice: Emotional Repair and Victim Satisfaction in International Trials and Truth Commissions", *International Criminal Law Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 263-298.

Dragovic-Soso, Jasna 2016. "History of a Failure: Attempts to Create a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1997-2006", *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 292-310.

Flyvberg, Bent 2006. "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research" *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 219-245.

Freeman, Mark 2009. In "Amnesties and DDR Programs" in Cutter Patel, Ana & De Greiff, Pablo & Waldorf, Lars (eds.) *Disarming the Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-combatants*, New York: Social Science Research Council, p. 36-85.

Galtung, Johan 1969. "Violence, Peace and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 167-191.

George, Alexander L. & Bennett, Andrew 2004. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Gerring, John 2004. "What is a Case Study and What it is Good For?", *Political Science Review*, vol. 98, no. 2, s. 341-54.

García-Godos, Jemima & Sriram, Chandra Lekha 2013. In “Introduction” in Sriram, Chandra Lekha & García-Godos, Jemima & Herman, Johanna & Martin-Ortega, Olga (eds.), *Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding on the Ground – Victims and ex-combatants*, Oxon: Routledge, p. 1-19.

Halperin, Sandra & Heath, Oliver 2017. *Political research. Methods and practical skills*. Glasgow: Oxford University Press.

Heinemann-Grüder, Andreas & Pietz, Tobias & Duffy, Shay, 2003. Brief 27 – Turning Soldiers into a Work Force – Demobilization and Reintegration in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bonn: bicc

Helsinki Citizens Assembly, 2010. (With other organizations), *The 3rd alternative report on implementation of CEDAW and women’s human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Banja Luka.

Herman, Judith 1992. *Trauma and Recovery*. New York: Basic Books.

Hunt, Nigel C. 2010. *Memory, War and Trauma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Höglund, Kristine & Öberg, Magnus 2011. *Understanding Peace Research. Methods and Challenges*. New York: Routledge.

Kaufman, Joyce P. & Williams, Kristen P. 2015. “Women, DDR and Post-Conflict Transformation: Lessons from the Cases of Bosnia and South Africa”, *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 11-53.

Köbach, Anke & Schaal, Susanne & Elbert, Thomas 2015. “Combat high or traumatic stress: Violent offending is associated with appetitive aggression but not with symptoms of traumatic stress”, *Frontiers in Psychology*, vol. 5, p. 1-10

Köbach, Anke & Schaal, Susanne & Hecker, Tobias & Elbert, Thomas 2017. “Psychotherapeutic Intervention in the Demobilization Process: Addressing Combat-

related Mental Injuries with Narrative Exposure in a First and Second Dissemination Stage”, *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, vol. 24, no. 4, p. 807-825.

Mannergren Selimovic, Johanna 2015. “Challenges of Postconflict Coexistence: Narrating Truth and Justice in a Bosnian Town”, *Political Psychology*, vol. 36, no. 2, p. 231-242

McAuliffe, Pdraig 2017. “The Marginality of Transitional Justice within Liberal Peacebuilding: Causes and Consequences”, *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, vol. 9, no. 1, p.91-103.

McMullin, Jareme R. 2013. *Ex-Combatants and the Post-Conflict State: Challenges of Reintegration*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mihr, Anja 2017. In “An introduction to transitional justice” in Simić, Olivera (ed.), *An Introduction to Transitional Justice*, Oxon: Routledge, p. 1-28.

Mohamed, Saira 2015. “Of Monsters and Men: Perpetrator Trauma and Mass Atrocity”, *Columbia Law Review*, vol. 115, no. 5, p. 1157-1216

Moratti, Massimo & Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra 2009a. “Transitional Justice and DDR: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina”. *International Centre for Transitional Justice*.

Moratti, Massimo & Sabic-El-Rayess, Amra 2009a. “Research Brief: Transitional Justice and DDR: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina”. *International Centre for Transitional Justice*.

Muggah, Robert 2013. “Negotiating Disarmament and Demobilisation: A Descriptive Review of the Evidence”, *Colombia Internacional*, no. 77, p. 19-41.

Pankhurst, Donna, 2016. “‘What is wrong with men?’: revisiting violence against women in conflict and peacebuilding”, *Peacebuilding*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 180-193.

Pederson, Joshua 2014. "Speak, Trauma: Toward a Revised Understanding of Literary Trauma Theory", *NARRATIVE*, vol. 22, no. 3, p. 333-353.

Pietz, Tobias 2004. *Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Soldiers in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina: An Assessment of External Assistance*, Hamburg: IFSH.

Rasaili, Tirtha Raj 2012. *Disqualified: Ex-child soldiers' journey back home with stigma and trauma*. Master's Thesis. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg / Department of Social Work

Reisman, Miriam 2016. "PTSD Treatment for Veterans: What's Working, What's New, and What's Next", *Pharmacy and Therapeutics*, vol. 41, no. 10, p. 623-634.

Reiter, Andrew G, 2017. In "The development of transitional justice" in Simić, Olivera (ed.), *An Introduction to Transitional Justice*, Oxon: Routledge, p. 29-46.

Shaw, Rosalind 2010. In "Linking Justice with Reintegration? Ex-Combatants and the Sierra Leone Experiment" in Shaw, Rosalind & Waldorf, Lars & Hazan, Pierre (eds.), *Localizing Transitional Justice*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 111-132.

Sriram, Chandra 2007. "Justice as Peace? Liberal Peacebuilding and Strategies of Transitional Justice", *Global Security*, vol. 21, no. 4, p. 579-591.

Sriram, Chandra Lekha & Herman, Johanna, 2009. "DDR and transitional justice: bridging the divide?", *Conflict, Security & Development*, Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 455-474.

Stedman, Stephen John 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes", *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2, p. 5-53.

Torjesen, Stina 2009. "New avenues for research in the study of DDR", *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 9, no. 4, p. 411-423.

Waldorf, Lars 2009. In “Ex-Combatants and Truth Commissions” in Cutter Patel, Ana & De Greiff, Pablo & Waldorf, Lars (eds.) *Disarming the Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-combatants*, New York: Social Science Research Council, p. 108-131.

Waldorf, Lars 2010. “Research Brief: Ex-Combatants and Truth Commissions”, *International Centre for Transitional Justice*.

Wilmer, Franke 2002. *The construction of the state, man and war*. New York and London: Routledge.

Witte, Eric 2009. In “Beyond “Peace vs. Justice”: Understanding the Relationship Between DDR Programs and the Prosecution of International Crimes” in Cutter Patel, Ana & De Greiff, Pablo & Waldorf, Lars (eds.) *Disarming the Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-combatants*, New York: Social Science Research Council, p. 86-107.