

“One Cannot Take Away the Stain”: Rejection and Stigma Among Former Child Soldiers in Colombia

Myriam Denov
McGill University

Ines Marchand
Agape por Colombia, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

This article explores the role and impact of rejection and stigma on a group of 22 demobilized youth who had been part of an armed group in Colombia. Drawing upon qualitative interviews, the article begins with an exploration of participants' paths to civilian life and paints a picture of the constant transitions and adaptations that were inherent to the reintegration process. These adaptations included displacement and the transition from rural to urban life, family reunification, and transitioning from a context of organized armed violence. The article then traces how these transitions and adaptations were lived and experienced in a context of perceived rejection and stigma, as well as the coping strategies employed by former child soldiers in response. The article concludes with a discussion of the importance of addressing rejection and stigma at the local and national level through community sensitization, awareness, and reconciliation processes.

Keywords: Colombia, reintegration, stigma, armed conflict, child soldiers

The Greeks, who were apparently strong on visual aids, originated the term *stigma* to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor—a blemished person, ritually polluted, to be avoided, especially in public places. (Goffman, 1963, p. 1)

In his seminal work on the implications of a “spoiled identity,” Goffman (1963) explores the realities and implications of stigma. According to Goffman, stigma is inherent in the normative structure of all societies and provides a system

of evaluating members on the basis of key characteristics or features. Stigma refers to an attribute that is “deeply discrediting” and that reduces the bearer “from a whole and usual person, to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). Goffman illustrates how membership to particular social groups, certain behaviors, lifestyles, as well as physical characteristics can turn into “badges of demerit.” Stigma can weaken all other claims to so-called “normality,” making someone “not quite human” (Goffman, 1963, p. 5). In this sense, stigma can

MYRIAM DENOVA holds the Canada Research Chair in Youth, Gender and Armed Conflict and is a professor at McGill University in the School of Social Work. She holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge where she was a Commonwealth Scholar. Her research and teaching interests lie in the areas of children and youth in adversity, and international child protection, with an emphasis on war and political violence, children in armed conflict, and gender-based violence. Her current research is exploring the militarization and reintegration experiences of former child soldiers in Sierra Leone and Colombia, as well as war-affected youth living in Canada. She is the author of several books including *Child Soldiers: Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front* (Cambridge University Press) and *Children's Rights and International Development: Lessons and Challenges from the Field* (Palgrave Macmillan Press). She cur-

rently leads a multi-institutional and multidisciplinary research team on children and global adversity.

INES MARCHAND earned her MA from Université de Montréal. She is currently a social worker, and she has been working in private practice specializing in the treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder for the last 20 years. She has also been working as a volunteer with Colombian victims of the armed conflict, particularly child soldiers. She is the director of Agape por Colombia, a nonprofit organization run by volunteers working on reconciliation and support for victims of the armed conflict war in Colombia.

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THIS ARTICLE should be addressed to Myriam Denov, Wilson Hall, School of Social Work, 3506 University, Montreal, Quebec, H2A 3A7 Canada. E-mail: myriam.denov@mcgill.ca

be a powerful social label that operates as a master status, obliterating other dimensions of social identity, at least within interaction with others. Consequently, stigmatized individuals may be diminished and discounted as “tainted” persons, a characterization that is likely to spill over into one’s self-concept and identity (Goffman, 1963, p. 12).

Goffman explores how stigmatized individuals navigate through a social world that is likely to condemn them for what they do or have done or who they are. Goffman notes how stigmatized individuals employ concealment strategies, selective disclosure, and maintenance of physical and intimate distance—to name but a few, all of which enable stigmatized individuals to control access to discrediting information and often attempt to “pass” by concealing signs of deviance or displaying signs of respectability. Goffman demonstrates the ways in which managing a “deviant identity” and maintaining a semblance of “normality” requires substantial effort and constant monitoring.

Goffman’s work has inspired a multitude of research on the nature, sources, and consequences of stigma that have been applied to myriad circumstances and populations. Stigma may play an important role in the lives of child soldiers,¹ particularly when returning to civil society in the aftermath of organized violence. Whether having been associated with an armed group by force or nonforce, children’s former affiliation with an armed group, and/or their participation in acts of violence may instigate suspicion, mistrust, and rejection among family, community, peers, and the larger society. For the most part, the stigma is likely to emerge due to perceptions that these children and youth are immoral, untrustworthy, and/or dangerous. Research has confirmed that former child soldiers returning to their communities following an association with an armed group often experience rejection and stigma, though in differing degrees (Annan, Blattman, Carlson, & Mazurana, 2007; Betancourt, Agnew-Blais, Gilman, Williams, & Ellis, 2010; Boothby, 2006). In their study of excombatants in Sierra Leone (both adults and children), Humphreys and Weinstein (2007) found that higher rates of exposure to violence were associated with lower levels of community acceptance. In Northern Uganda, Blattman and Annan (2007) noted that stigma tended to decrease over time with 94% of par-

ticipants stating that they felt “very” or “some-what” accepted by the community at the time of interview. Betancourt et al. (2010) found that stigma manifests via perceived discrimination had significant relationships with increases in depression, anxiety, and hostility over time, independent of the war experiences examined. Stigma may ultimately contribute to fewer positive opportunities and less access to protective resources such as family and community support.

While the issue of stigma and its implications has been raised in relation to multiple samples of former child soldiers in Africa, less attention has been paid to the role of stigma in former child soldiers in Colombia—a population of continued importance. Tens of thousands of children, both girls and boys, have been absorbed into the ranks of guerrilla and paramilitary armed groups in defiance of international law. In 2004, Colombia ranked fourth for the highest use of child soldiers in the world (Watchlist, 2004). While there are no reliable official statistics on the current number of children associated with armed groups in Colombia, estimates range from 5,000 to 14,000 children (Watchlist, 2012). Although the reintegration experiences of Colombian former child soldiers have been gaining increased attention (Denov & Marchand, in press; Serna & Marchand, 2011), less focus has been paid to the role of stigma and its implications for long-term reintegration (Thomas, 2008).

This article draws from a study of the reintegration experiences of 22 former child soldiers in Colombia, all of whom had, following demobilization, been relocated to an urban context. In particular, the article explores the role and impact of rejection and stigma in the postdemobilization context. The first section of the article addresses the complexity and unique context of child soldier reintegration in Colombia, particularly in light of the ongoing armed violence. Following an overview of the study’s methodology, the article explores participants’ paths to

¹ A child soldier is defined as “any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities” (Paris Principles, 2007, p. 7).

civilian life and paints a picture of the constant transitions and adaptations that were inherent to the reintegration process. These adaptations included displacement and the transition from rural to urban life, family reunification, and transitioning from a context of organized armed violence. The article then traces how these transitions and adaptations were lived and experienced in a context of perceived rejection and stigma. It also addresses the ways in which participants managed rejection and stigma through the use of concealment strategies, selective and preventive disclosure, and creating a “second story.” The article concludes with a discussion of the importance of addressing rejection and stigma at the local and national level through community sensitization, awareness and reconciliation processes.

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration in a Context of Ongoing Armed Violence

The current armed conflict in Colombia involves multiple actors, including the Colombian government’s National Army, or *Ejército Nacional*, guerrilla groups (the National Liberation Army or *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* [ELN], and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia or *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* [FARC-EP]), and a national umbrella association of paramilitaries called the United Self-defense Forces of Colombia or *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC). More recently, narco-paramilitary groups also known as *Bandas criminales* (BACRIM) are beginning to take up a prominent place in the conflict. All of these groups have recruited children in direct violation of international law. *Human Rights Watch* (2003) estimated that there were at least 11,000 children recruited into armed groups in the country. Children are said to compose 30% of all members of armed groups in Colombia, while over 60% of those in urban militias are believed to be children (Burgess, 2009).

A multitude of studies and reports have documented the profound deprivation, as well as the physical, sexual, and psychological violence and abuse against children that occurs within Colombia’s armed groups (Bjorkhaug, 2010; Cortes & Bechanan, 2007; Save the Children, 2013; Watchlist, 2012; Thomas, 2008). The United Nations’ (2012) *Security Council Report*

of the Secretary General on Children and Armed Conflict in Colombia provides information on grave violations against children, including the recruitment and use of children by armed forces and groups, killing and maiming, sexual violence, abductions, attacks on schools and hospitals, and the denial of humanitarian access. The report highlights that armed groups continue to perpetrate these violations in Colombia, and emphasizes the need to implement specific measures to prevent and address grave violations against children and combat impunity for such violations. Within armed groups in Colombia, the use of violence against children is far from sporadic and it has become a habitual practice that is an integral part of the armed conflict.

However, while the challenges that these children and youth face in the context of armed groups and armed violence are significant and undeniable, the challenges do not abruptly end upon exiting an armed group, but instead change shape. The difficult and complex transition from a militarized life in an armed group to a civilian life has been well-documented (Helmus, Russell, & Glenn, 2004; Marlowe, 2001). Given the extended periods of time that children are often associated with an armed group, upon exiting, they are faced with the need to be reintegrated into norms and institutions from which they had been isolated, often for years. To ease the transition, national and international efforts have sought to conceptualize and implement postconflict development assistance projects and programs. What is known as *disarmament, demobilization and reintegration* (DDR) programming is regarded as vital to increasing security, public safety, and protection in the aftermath of conflict, as well as promoting peace. In 2006, the United Nations initiated the Integrated DDR Standards, which are the U.N. global standards on DDR. *Disarmament* processes usually occur following formal peace accords and involves the surrender, registration, and destruction of weapons and ammunition. Individuals associated with armed groups are normally gathered in predetermined assembly areas and in some cases, material goods or cash payments are provided as an incentive for turning over of weapons. However, achieving “peace” is not simply about disarming militarized populations, but also about breaking down the command and control

structures operating over militaries, thus making it more difficult for them to return to organized violence (Spear, 2002). *Demobilization* is the complex process by which armed forces and/or armed groups either downsize or completely disband, as part of a broader transformation from armed conflict to peace. Perhaps the most important and long-term stage of DDR is *reintegration*, which aims to assist those formerly associated with armed groups and the community in the difficult transition to civilian life, supporting those formerly associated with armed groups to be productive members of society by providing alternative employment support options, and seeks to promote broader social acceptance and reconciliation. DDR programs have figured prominently as part of U.N. operations in Angola, Burundi, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Liberia, Mozambique, Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Tajikistan, to name a few.

In Colombia, the DDR program has been conceptualized and created within a framework of a “postconflict” context. However, in reality, DDR programming is actually occurring within a context of ongoing armed violence (Serna & Marchand, 2011). This adds a unique complexity to long-term reintegration whereby “the government is attempting to implement mechanisms of reparations and reconciliation in a ‘prepost conflict’ context, and to implement DDR on the terrain of transitional justice” (Theidon, 2007, p. 67).

To assist with child soldier reintegration, since 1999, the Colombian Family Welfare Institute (ICBF) has provided assistance to former child soldiers from all armed groups. A total of 4,811 children were assisted through this program between 1999 and 2011, of whom 72% were boys and 28% were girls. Of these 4,811 children, 2,838 were formerly associated with the FARC-EP, 1,058 with the AUC, and 721 with the National Liberation Army (Watchlist, 2012). As noted by Jaramillo, Giha, and Torres (2009), *prevention* and *care* are the two core aspects of the ICBF’s DDR (hereafter referred to as “reinsertion”) program. The aspect of prevention is coordinated within the ICBF’s ongoing child protection projects and programs, but has a particular focus in areas where there is high risk for recruitment by armed groups. For a child who has been demobilized from an armed group, the care aspect of ICBF program-

ing involves support and protection of demobilized youth within an institutional or family setting. Here, programming focuses on psychosocial care, return to schooling, job training, and support for productive initiatives through Centers for Specialized Care (*Centros de Atención Especializada*) and Youth Homes (*Casas Juveniles*) located in different regions of the country. Protection and care of demobilized children within a social/family setting can take one of two forms, depending on whether the child in question has a family to return to. If a child is able to return to his or her family, the ICBF ensures that the child’s fundamental rights are met and secured within the family context and provides a subsidy, depending upon the family’s resources and ability to meet the child’s needs. If the child does not have any family or he or she is unable to return to their family, the ICBF selects a foster home (*hogar tutor*) trained to receive children on a voluntary and temporary basis.

The present research sought to explore in greater detail the reintegration realities of former child soldiers in Colombia within this unique context of ongoing armed violence, particularly from the perspectives of the youth themselves. Prior to addressing participants’ reintegration experiences, as well as the role and implications of postdemobilization rejection and stigma, we discuss the study’s methodology.

Methodology

This study, funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, examined the reintegration experiences of a group of demobilized youth who had been associated with various armed groups during the course of the armed conflict. A key aim of the research and fieldwork was to gain not only an understanding of the youth’s experiences following demobilization, but as well their reflections and interpretations of these experiences, as well as their psychosocial effects.

To be included in the study, participants were required to have been associated with an armed group in Colombia (whether through force or nonforce) while under the age of 18 years. No stipulations were made regarding the length of time that the youth were associated with an armed group or their assigned role within the

group. Participants were purposively selected with the assistance of two professionals working in Colombia's DDR program who had ongoing contact with the youth through their daily work. The two professionals introduced us to a group of youth currently involved in the program, and we interviewed those who were interested in participating in the study.

To explore participants' experiences of reintegration, in 2010, the authors conducted semi-structured interviews in Spanish with 22 respondents who had been formerly associated with an armed group in Colombia—12 male and 10 female. At the time of the interviews, all respondents were over 18 (ranging from 19 to 27 years) and living in an urban context in the province of Quindío. The in-depth interviews were audio-recorded with permission and subsequently transcribed and translated into English. All respondents had been recruited by an armed group when they were under 18 (ranging between 8 and 16 years old) and had remained with the group for an extended period of time (ranging from 3 months to 8 years). Nineteen participants (9 females and 10 males) had been associated with FARC-EP; 3 participants (1 female and 2 male) had been associated with the AUC. All 22 participants had been displaced from their communities of origin, had received support from the reinsertion program, and were living in an urban context.

As with all self-report data, the interviews with participants were invariably affected by their willingness to divulge personal information and experiences. The potential fear of stigmatization and recrimination may have prevented some participants from openly disclosing some of their experiences, while it may have led others to alter aspects of their stories. The potential flaws of self-disclosure must therefore be taken into account when considering participants' stories. At the same time, given our collaboration with professionals who had been working closely with the youth participants through the reinsertion program over an extended period of time (several years), we were able to seek corroboration of participants' stories and experiences.

The ethical implications of this research were significant. Participants were being asked to share potentially traumatic and painful events, which could evoke varying levels of distress. Those who were still suffering from the realities

of armed conflict and its related effects could experience heightened anxiety by speaking about it in detail. Individuals who were coming to terms with their experiences of violence could have been afraid to relive negative past experiences. The research posed other important ethical challenges, particularly with regard to the profound disparities of power existing between adult researchers and youth participants. We were highly aware of the potential for revictimization, making the ethical implications a key component of our ongoing dialogue throughout the entire research process. Support structures were put into place to ensure that participants were provided with ongoing support and assistance during and in the aftermath of interviews, both in the short- and long-term. This came in the form of assistance from local professionals and social workers who worked with the youth on an ongoing basis through the reinsertion program.

Analysis of the translated interview transcripts involved careful reading and annotation of the collated information so as to ascertain the meaning and significance that the youth attributed to their experiences following demobilization. Through this inductive analytical process, we were able to discern the important role and implications of rejection and stigma and the ways in which they profoundly shaped and informed participants' reintegration experiences. Importantly, however, given the small sample size, the findings of the study can in no way be generalized to the larger population of former child soldiers in Colombia.

Understanding Reintegration and the Path to Civilian Life: Transition and Adaptation

Upon exiting an armed group, the transition to civilian life represents an abrupt shift in relationships, behavioral patterns, and expectations, and entails the reshaping of identities from a "militarized" identity to a "civilian" one (Denov, 2010). When discussing the realities of reintegration, participants highlighted key themes that they identified as important. These themes included displacement and the transition from rural to urban life, family reunification, and transitioning from a context of organized armed violence. Our intention in the following section is to paint a picture of the constant transitions and adaptations that participants re-

ported as being inherent and integral to the reintegration process.

Displacement and the Transition From Rural to Urban Life

As a result of the ongoing armed violence and the continued presence of armed groups, former child soldiers in Colombia are, for the most part, unable to return to their community's of origin. Security concerns (threats of violence and death), as well as the possibility of rerecruitment, force these young people to be relocated to other areas of the country to ensure their long-term safety and protection (Denov & Marchand, in press). All of the 22 youth in our sample were relocated to an urban context for security reasons following their demobilization. As these participants noted,

I can't go back [to my community] because [FARC-EP] will kill me . . . the FARC has a rule—whoever leaves the institution dies—they kill you. There are militias in the community [who provide FARC-EP with information] . . . a lot of these people recognize you . . . they see you and inform their superiors. They catch you and bring you to the jungle to have the famous “war council” . . . and it is 100% sure that they shoot you. (Participant 6, male)

It is very sad because I would like to go to my community, but I can't . . . The militias . . . they are in the villages and they notice you and report you right away and people from FARC come down from the mountains [to kill you]. Or even the militia can kill you because they think you are giving information. (Participant 5, male)

Participants lamented the loss associated with the inability to return to their communities of origin:

Not being . . . able to go back to my town where I was born and where I grew up . . . that is very difficult. (Participant 6, male)

In addition, all of our participants originated from and grew up in a rural context, often from highly remote and isolated communities. The vast majority of participants had never, prior to their demobilization, been to a big city. Forced relocation and displacement therefore meant adapting to an urban context. The transition from rural to urban contexts was regarded as a particularly challenging:

It was hard . . . because now I live in the city but at the Time I used to live on a farm. I was a peasant. It was hard to assimilate . . . to leave the farm and come live in the city . . . There were hard times . . . Here in the

city it is very different. In the city, [when you are born here], you've learned many things from a young age. You are very up-to-date in a lot of topics—in technology, in different things. Those changes are very different and hard to adapt to . . . (Participant 13, male)

Even language, accent, and dialect represented a challenge to participants' urban reintegration:

They say that [those from rural areas] destroy the Spanish language . . . And it is true . . . the way a peasant speaks, it's hard for a peasant and [someone from the city] to understand each other. It takes time . . . and even though I left the land where I was born 8 years ago . . . my vocabulary has changed a bit, but I still carry my accent. But my vocabulary improved a bit. That is what is hard when talking to other people in the city. (Participant 13, male)

Former child soldiers in Colombia are being reintegrated into an urban context that is often unfamiliar to them, further contributing to their sense of displacement.

Family Reunification

In our study, 17 out of 22 participants were not living with their families of origin following their demobilization, but were instead living on their own or in foster family situations. In some cases, this was because their families had been displaced because of the armed conflict and were living in other regions of the country. Nonetheless, many participants had, at some point following their demobilization, been reunited with a family member. Experiences with family reunification varied. The challenges associated with family reunification were consistently discussed by participants. This participant, who entered into an armed group when his girlfriend was pregnant, explained the transition and adaptation involved in his return, particularly in relation to building a relationship with a daughter whom he had never met:

At the beginning, it was hard, I really wanted to see [my daughter], but at the beginning it was hard because she would avoid me. She would be like . . . “uh, who is he?” And her mother would talk about me [when in the armed group], but she couldn't show her any pictures because I didn't like people taking pictures of me . . . When I came back, [my daughter] would say “I have never seen this face,” and she would shun me. After a year, a year and a half she began to be more attached to me and I began to be closer to her . . . (Participant 16, male)

Another female participant had been held captive for a year and a half by an armed group,

where she remained blindfolded and in isolation. She eventually managed to escape. However, once the armed group learned of her escape, in retaliation, they killed both her father and brother, while her mother was displaced. Many years later, after engaging in an extensive search, the participant found her mother, who had remarried. Adapting to an altered family composition, as well as reuniting with her mother, was described as particularly difficult:

It is different, it is very different because a lot of things have happened. I spent many years alone [in captivity]. It is very hard to adapt [to family life] once again When [my mother and I] talk, she says that I have changed a lot. I am really tough and really tough with her. I try not to be so negative . . . but it is hard for me to see that she has continued with her life with someone else [and not my father] when I spent many years trying to reunite all my family. (Participant 10, female)

While family reunification undoubtedly brought forth great joy and celebration and was regarded as an extremely helpful part of participants' reintegration process, it was nonetheless accompanied by elements of confusion and personal struggle.

Transitioning From a Context of Organized Violence

Extreme forms of organized violence tend to pervade both the formal and informal cultures of armed groups in Colombia ([Human Rights Watch, 2003](#)). At the formal level, the command structures of guerrilla and paramilitary groups, as well as the ways in which these groups organize and carry out their missions are forged and conducted within a framework of threats, fear, brutality, and violence ([Human Rights Watch, 2003](#)). Moreover, in the course of almost 50 years of the Colombian conflict, all the armed groups have used sexual violence as a weapon of war weapon against civilians, as well as against their own combatants ([Save the Children, 2013](#)).

At the informal level, the daily routines, informal values, and interactions within the armed groups are similarly propagated and sustained through extraordinary violence. Essentially, the formal structures and the informal practices of armed groups in Colombia point to a pervasive and overarching context of severe violence, whereby violence and the threat of violence appear to permeate every

aspect of children's daily lives. During their time within the armed groups, the violence and victimization experienced by participants ranged along a continuum from verbal abuse to profound acts of cruelty and reflected the power relations and oppression inherent to the armed groups. Regardless of which armed group they had been associated with, participants reported suffering severe physical abuse at the hands of those who commanded them. They were also witnesses to brutal forms of violence against men, women, and children, both combatants and civilians:

That was the worst thing that could happen to one in a lifetime. Over there [in the armed group], if someone refuses to participate in combat, they will kill them in front of everybody I saw three men killed because of that. It's horrible but you have to. Otherwise if you don't [do what they say] you don't get out of there alive. The first time in combat . . . that was very hard. (Participant 21, female)

For former child soldiers, leaving an armed group and reentering civil society does not necessarily mean a complete end to being exposed to violence and the threat of violence. Given Colombia's context of ongoing armed conflict and strife, it can be argued that in the postdemobilization period, the violence simply changes shape. Nonetheless, having lived within a context of profound organized and militarized violence for extended periods of time, participants reported that the use of organized violence became normalized and part of their everyday interactions. As a result, in the postdemobilization period, transitioning away from the use of violence appeared to be challenging:

We [former child soldiers] were bad because we came back with the fever from [the armed groups] still in us. When we were in the [transition] houses, we would riot. When they would give us little food . . . would all rebel and cause damage until they would give us what we wanted. (Participant 14, male)

Transitioning from a context of armed violence also meant coming to terms with their experiences of wartime violence—whether as victims, perpetrators, or both. Exposure to extreme forms of violence is likely to affect child soldiers in diverse ways, physically—through injuries and long-term disabilities—as well as psychologically. Participants in our sample discussed the ways in which they continued to be affected by the violence

they perpetrated, witnessed, and/or experienced. They reported that postdemobilization, the violence participants experienced continued to have an impact on them:

The psychologists are of a great help, but you cannot forget so easily. So there are nightmares . . . it happens to me constantly that if I am sleeping while it rains and there is lightening, it is horrible for me. (Participant 2, female)

There are very horrible things that happened and that I had to do . . . like take the life away of one or another person. Now . . . it is like a little box—a little box full of explosives. All together [the explosives] form a team. But if one explodes, they all explode . . . So I try not to tap the box . . . (Participant 21, female)

During the first months [after being demobilized], I struggled to sleep . . . I used to remain awake until two or three in the morning. I had a lot of nightmares, a lot. I would dream a lot of the commander who would kill a lot of people. I would always dream that he was killing me. (Participant 12, female)

The aftereffects of sexual violence represented unique challenges for girls in the postdemobilization period. This participant, who experienced repeated forms of sexual violence within FARC-EP from age 8 to 18, describes the debilitating challenges she continues to face as a result:

I am a person who is very depressed, wanting to kill myself . . . I am always suicidal I have always been like this . . . [I see a psychologist for] follow-up every 6 months. Things don't go well, like in school, I am not well because I don't know why I'm writing something . . . I keep myself in the past. Sometimes I'm conscious that I'm not of this world, as if life was against me . . . because of what I have lived. (Participant 12, female)

All of the themes addressed above highlight the profound and significant challenges faced by these youth following demobilization. Indeed, dealing with challenges associated with displacement, family reunification, and the violence of the past required constant effort, adaptation, and struggle in the postdemobilization period. However, what made these multiple transitions even more difficult was that participants lived in a context of ongoing perceived and manifest rejection and stigma from family and the wider community. The following section explores the realities and implications of postdemobilization rejection and stigma.

Living With Rejection and Stigma: Realities and Implications

It has been demonstrated that family and/or community acceptance and support are undeniably critical to war-affected children's long-term well-being and overall successful reintegration (Betancourt et al., 2010; Betancourt & Khan, 2008). Trusting relationships with a caring adult, as well as living with parents, may be a critical factor in children's recovery from the scourge of armed conflict (McKay & Mazurana, 2004). As a result, those children who have family and community support are likely to fare much better than those children who experience rejection and/or social exclusion following demobilization (Denov, 2007). Research has highlighted that postconflict rejection and stigma can play an important role in shaping psychosocial adjustment in former child soldiers (Betancourt et al., 2010).

All of our participants recounted what were described as painful experiences of rejection. In some cases, the rejection was experienced directly from family members:

I have very little contact with my family . . . It is very difficult because of the childhood I had. My family does not forgive what I did [joined the armed group] . . . I talk a bit with my mom because we understand each other. With my sisters, I tried, but it is hard because we are like strangers to each other. We were not raised together because I left my house when I was young. So it is hard to build a relationship after so many years, more than 10 years. So it is very difficult . . . When, after 3 years, I came back to the community, I came back changed. I was wearing the uniform. I assume that for my family, it has been very hard to see all that and that is why they reacted that way and rejected me. (Participant 7, female)

[My] father hates me. He hates me and still blames me [for joining an armed group]. So no—we don't talk to each other. It's the same with my sister, the one who lives with my father . . . Because of me, my family had to abandon [their home]. They couldn't go back, and the farm was left abandoned . . . my family had a hard time with it. [They said] it was all my fault, that it has been because of me . . . One tries to adjust to the things that happen . . . But my family—I have to put that away. (Participant 19, female)

In other cases, it was the wider community that the young people reported as rejecting them. These included community members that the youth knew personally, as well as strangers. These participants explained,

My son goes to school and I go pick him up at 6 when the bus comes. My neighbor, a lady who was supposedly my friend, would call me and refer to me [negatively and pejoratively] as “*guerrillera*” [guerrilla girl] in front of my son. My son would say, “Mom, is it true that you are a guerrilla who has killed people?” (Participant 2, female)

People in the community knew who we were [that we were former child soldiers]. So one would ask to talk to someone, and they would reject you. One would go to the store to buy something, and people would look at you as if you were the worst thing So we were getting tired of that because we would be rejected everywhere. Where they didn’t reject us, they would give us the things while staring at us . . . it was hard for the identity of the person When we arrived, after a month [of experiencing rejection], everyone wanted to leave [and return to the armed groups]. (Participant 13, male)

One needs to get used to it; life here is very hard. One goes out in the street and [people] look at you and say, “Look at the *guerrillero* [guerilla boy]” even though you don’t look like that anymore . . . people who know [that I was in an armed group] treat me badly and say that I will be a terrorist, a *guerrillero*. (Participant 8, male)

While the realities of exclusion and rejection were reported to occur within families and the broader community, participants also reported the direct implications of stigma or their “tainted status.” Here, participants’ involvement and former affiliation in armed groups represented “badges of demerit” (Goffman, 1963) to community members. Furthermore, labeling, stereotyping, status loss, and discrimination were said to have directly affected participants’ ability to successfully reintegrate and lead productive civilian lives. For example, participants reported that stigma affected their ability to locate housing. The youth noted that potential landlords would ask where they worked and their ongoing source of income. When the youth responded that they were receiving a government subsidy—which is frequently associated with former combatants—they were often turned away and refused housing. The youth also reported that their former affiliation with an armed group directly affected employment opportunities. These participants explained the impact and consequences of stigma and discrimination:

Colombians have not been accustomed to accept us [former child soldiers] here in Colombia . . . they have always looked at us as if we were strange. They believe that we are still dangerous people One day, while doing requisitions in one of the farms I was working at,

someone found a certificate that certifies that I have left an armed group. The guy found it, read it, and gave it to my boss. My boss discriminated against me He fired me. He didn’t pay me for the week [that I worked]. (Participant 6, male)

I don’t like anyone to know about my past and that I am in this [reinsertion] program. I don’t like that, no. In other words, they won’t give a job to someone like me. If they know that I have been reintegrated and was part of an armed group, I can ask for a job and they wouldn’t give it to me. Do you understand? So I don’t tell anybody my story. (Participant 15, male)

While the sample is small and cannot be generalized, forms of rejection and stigma were reported by all participants, regardless of their former affiliation (whether AUC or FARC-EP). Rejection and stigma also appeared to affect participants’ ability to feel safe and secure in their new communities in the post demobilization period. Participants reported being fearful of their former identity being discovered or revealed and were concerned with the possibility of community members engaging in violent retaliation:

I cannot live safely in any community or village, city because one remains very reactive, very alert, on the defensive. We can say that people do not accept us easily You are the weird one in the city or the weird one in the community. That affects you in terms of employment, and emotionally as well because one does not open up to others as it should be. (Participant 7, female)

I had to move to another city because it wasn’t safe and I had to leave town. It’s terrible to have to start over like that because you finally reach a certain level [of comfort] and then have to start over again—somewhere where no one knows you . . . you don’t know anyone, you don’t know the city. Starting again from zero . . . it is very hard, but we [former child soldiers] are doing it. We have to fight. (Participant 22, male)

As noted by Goffman (1963, p. 12), stigma is a characterization that is likely to spill over into one’s self-concept and identity. Reflecting the internalization of stigma, several participants referred to themselves as “abnormal,” “dirty” and “stained” individuals. During his interview, this participant was asked what he meant when he consistently referred to “normal” and “clean” people. He replied,

The *normal* people would be people like you who have dedicated your life to your families, to study, to work. You have a way of life that is basically *clean* and *normal* The *abnormal* people would be . . . us [former child soldiers] I say that the people who don’t have a *clean* life are us [former child soldiers].

We have damaged our country a lot . . . we got *dirty* because of the illegal [armed] groups . . . but as I say, in life, we cannot change what was done and even if one contributes and does their part, one cannot take away the *stain* that they [the armed groups] left behind in each person . . . the suffering that one may have caused . . . So we can say that those [who were in the armed groups] would be the people who I would call *dirty*. The people that I say are *clean* would be the people who live at peace, who are only determined to continue with their future, to acquire things, to have the family united. Yes . . . they would be the ones [who are clean]. (Participant 13, male; emphasis added)

Managing Stigma: The Conceal/Reveal Dilemma

To display or not to display; to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case, to whom, how, when and where. (Goffman, 1963, p. 42)

The “discovery” of a tainted identity can have severe psychosocial implications, potentially leading to a loss of status, discrimination, exclusion, and even retaliation. In response, and to save face, stigmatized individuals must constantly manage signs or traces of “deviance” and attempt to control access to discrediting information. Goffman (1963) notes the use of specific strategies—including concealment strategies, selective disclosure, preventive disclosure, and developing a “second story”—all of which help to maintain a semblance of “normality,” display signs of respectability, and conceal signs of “deviance.” Former child soldiers in our sample revealed the ways in which they engaged in an array of these strategies on a daily basis. Ultimately, for participants in our sample, managing stigma represented a constant struggle and dilemma as to whether to reveal or conceal their former status as a child soldier.

Concealment Strategies

All participants in our sample reported engaging, at some point following demobilization, in concealment strategies. This meant that participants made concerted and deliberate efforts to conceal their former affiliation with an armed group. These participants revealed some of the reasons they chose to keep their past hidden, which included fear of exclusion, judgment, and embarrassment:

One feels rejected, as if one has no rights . . . That is why I don't like to tell anybody . . . I have been

[living here] 3 years and *nobody* knows. (Participant 5, male; emphasis in original)

I am very cautious in that way. Those who know about my life are few . . . Even my girlfriend doesn't know [I was a child soldier]. (Participant 22, male)

What I lived, I don't tell anybody because I don't like that. It's confidential . . . It embarrasses me that they know that I was in an armed group and that I killed. (Participant 21, female)

I don't talk about it because of what people think. People think that because one has been in an armed group you are mean and you are a killer. I like to talk to people without them knowing who I was. They should know what I am, that I repair motorcycles. (Participant 15, male)

The need to conceal their former affiliation with an armed group applied to numerous people, situations and circumstances, including intimate partners, friends, and strangers. These participants explained that they would conceal the information from their children:

[Will you tell your son?] No. I am constructing a future for him, and I believe that if he would know this, he would not look at me in the same way. I put myself in his place, and it seems to me that this is a story of something that happened, and it is in the past. (Participant 21, female)

No, no I wouldn't tell them [my children]. No, I wouldn't be able to tell them about my past. Maybe I would give them advice and tell them not to do this [join an armed group] because it is not good. I would never tell them why not to do it . . . I would just tell them not to do it. (Participant 15, male)

Selective and Preventative Disclosure

Goffman (1963) asserted that informal social control was one of the most effective methods for managing stigma and suggested that one of the most practical ways to control information was to “divide the social world.” This involves establishing a relatively small group with which the discrediting information is shared, while keeping it hidden from the rest of the world. By implementing this technique of selective disclosure, those “in the know” can help the potentially discreditable individual from being revealed to others. Also, “revealing” to a select few potentially offers the opportunity to be accepted. While all participants reported concealing their former status as child soldiers, some participants later engaged in selective disclosure. This meant that they revealed their former status to a select person or group of people who

they believed would safely guard the information:

The only person who knows is the woman who lives with me because she used to be a foster mother, but I don't tell anyone in the neighborhood. (Participant 11, male)

Additionally, a minority of participants engaged in preventative disclosure. This involved participants deciding to disclose the information early on in a relationship to prevent longer-term problems. This participant explained the rationale behind revealing her status to a boyfriend, and the implications:

I had a boyfriend . . . He was an older man, and he is Colombian, but he was living in United States. I met him through my foster mother. My foster mother didn't tell him anything [about me being a former child soldier]. He said that he wanted to bring me with him [to the United States]. He said he would teach me to sit up straight, he would teach me many things. I told him that if he was thinking of living with me, he had to know that I was [a former child soldier]. So he asked the woman [if it was true]. She confirmed it. He then rejected me. (Participant 12, female)

Creating a Second Story

Given that participants were deeply concerned with the consequences of "being found out," many of them devised and were prepared with strategies or responses to suspicious inquiries about their status. Creating a "second story" reportedly helped to keep a potentially stigmatizing attribute hidden. For example, this participant was prepared with a second story when people inquired as to why he was living so far from his village and his family, as well as his impressive marksmen skills:

People are surprised to see me here, knowing that I came from so far away. They wonder why I am not with my family and why I don't go to my village . . . I tell them that I do go visit, even though I don't, and I can't [for security reasons] . . . People get shocked by the way I handle a gun and shoot . . . I sometimes hunt . . . People get scared by the way I shoot. I have a good aim! (laughing) . . . [I tell them] that I learned through hunting. That back on my land, there was a lot of hunting. We would hunt a lot and that as a child I used to hunt. (Participant 6, male)

Similarly, the following participant, who was actively concealing his past, explained that he had to create a fabricated story to explain the visits that came from the managers of the reinsertion program:

Ah . . . sometimes [the program managers at the DDR program] would come visit me and they would tell me they were going to visit me . . . and I would go crazy. I would say, "Ana, do whatever you want but don't come visit me at home because I don't want [the people I'm living with] to know where I come from." Once the person in charge of sports from the DDR program came to [where I was living] to visit me but I wasn't there. When I got home in the afternoon, [the woman I was living with said to me], "A man came asking for you, asking why you don't go to the gym, and why you are not going to the office." . . . Once [the manager of the DDR program] came to give me a computer as an aid for school . . . It was terrible . . . I said it was for my father . . . It was terrible and the woman I was living with began to ask me why the computer and why my father was requesting it . . . It was terrible . . . And to avoid having the people from the DDR program bothering me I would tell them I was in class, that I was going to [training] or that I moved and was living in another house . . . I suffered a lot for it. (Participant 22, male)

Some participants were left with physical markers that could potentially reveal their former affiliation with an armed group. These included prominent scars from combat or combat-related injuries and/or disabilities. Goffman referred to these as "stigma symbols"—signs that potentially convey social information and draw attention to a "debasement identity" (Goffman, 1963, p. 43). These participants created second stories that "explained" these physical markers:

There was an explosion, and I was hit on the eyebrow . . . they told me that my eyebrow was internally fractured . . . When I try to see from far, I am not able to, because when they fractured my eyebrow, my vision suffered . . . When people ask, [I tell them] that I hurt myself shoving something . . . that I was in an accident. (Participant 11, male)

[My hand was injured] from a grenade. [If someone asks me about my scars] . . . I tell people that I got cut, that I was running outside and I cut myself with a wire. (Participant 17, male)

Over time, interviewees selectively avoided specific people, conversation topics, contexts, and spaces that might reveal their former affiliations with an armed group. However, they often felt dishonest when they did so. While creating a second story might enable individuals to escape their potential discredit, it also reinforced the psychological stress that surrounds the dilemmas of concealing and revealing. This participant expressed the stress and difficulty in having to conceal his past and lie about his past

to a family that he was living with and who provided him with great love and care:

No, [lying about your past] is horrible. It is horrible because I feel that I have to lie to every person, to keep something, to lie. Because if I say it, it is bad Yes, so it was very complicated. Horrible. The people I lived with would say to me, “[name], someone is on the phone for you.” . . . I knew it was the people from the DDR program . . . and I would be like “Hi, how are you?” [faking a friendly voice]. Sometimes it was to set up appointments with my psychologist. It was terrible, terrible. I couldn’t leave them because it was a great family. I had everything there, and I am very grateful because I didn’t have anything. And the truth is that they were there for me. They were like my family, like my second family. But that part is bad, because I lied to them. (Participant 22, male)

Conclusion: Removing the Stain? Community Sensitization, Awareness, and Reconciliation

The reintegration experiences of our sample of former child soldiers in Colombia were characterized by numerous difficult transitions and adaptations, including displacement and the transition from rural to urban life, family reunification, and transitioning from organized and militarized violence. As if these adaptations were not challenging enough, participants reported that these sometimes painful transitions were lived and experienced in a context of perceived and manifest community judgment, mistrust, discrimination, and exclusion. The realities of rejection and stigma and their implications featured prominently in all of the narratives and reintegration experiences of our sample of former child soldiers. While the findings cannot be generalized to other populations of child soldiers in Colombia due to the small sample size, they nonetheless point to the need for a greater attention and discussion of the reality and impact of stigma at the local, and national level in Colombia.

Thomas (2008) has noted that in Colombia,

. . . ongoing stigmatisation [of former combatants] is the result of fear and anger among the general population, neither of which has been adequately addressed by the [DDR] program, the Government or the civil society organisations working with demobilised youth. (pp. 30)

She argues that the reinsertion program for child soldiers in Colombia focuses on “protecting” demobilized youth and Colombian society from each other by keeping them separate,

rather than openly addressing the issue of fear and stigmatization that each group has for the other.

Research has demonstrated in other postwar contexts that improved community acceptance of former child soldiers is associated with higher levels of adaptive/prosocial attitudes and behaviors (Betancourt et al., 2010). Given the importance of community acceptance and support, significant efforts need to be placed upon community sensitization of the plight of former child soldiers both during and following participation in armed violence. As Thomas (2008) explains,

demobilized youth are caught up in the social outrage at the impunity of the leaders and key members of armed groups, who are seen to benefit from state support while their killings and crimes against humanity often go unrecognised, unnamed and unpunished. (p. 31)

Preparing youth for the labor market is a crucial but challenging part of the reintegration process. In a country where the youth unemployment rates was over 36% in 2003, the general public and many employers do not see why former child soldiers should be given any preferential treatment or support (Thomas, 2008). Many individuals formerly associated with armed groups are perceived by the broader community to be receiving generous support, services, and payment packages to demobilize, with impunity over the crimes they have committed against fellow Colombians.

The Colombian government and its international partners have created an array of services for youth in the areas of education and emotional and physical health (Serna & Marchand, 2011). In addition to the DDR program, as an important step in the reconciliation effort, in 2011, Law 1448, commonly referred to as the Victims Law, was enacted by the government. This law aims to return stolen and abandoned land to internally displaced Colombians and provides reparations—including financial compensation—to victims of human rights violations and infractions of international humanitarian law. The Law (Art. 33) envisages the implementation of programs, plans, projects and policies that implicate civil society as well as the implication of the private sector in the search of national reconciliation and in the observance of victims’ rights. While a historic and

vital step in the history of the armed conflict, successful implementation of the law will depend upon the government's ability to protect displaced communities from powerful armed groups that oppose the restitution of such land.

Although these government efforts are substantial, if significant investment is not made in implementing a broad-based social debate and campaign to raise public awareness about the status of former child soldiers and the implications of rejection and stigma, genuine and meaningful long-term reintegration of former child soldiers will not be possible. Moreover, a failure to further address the issue in an in-depth fashion may not only jeopardize the investments already made in the reintegration effort, but also increase the risk of youth rerecruitment into armed groups, especially for those youth who, in light of the ongoing rejection and stigma, may make the decision to return to armed groups in search of belonging and acceptance.

A public awareness campaign could begin within schools or other social spaces. Moreover, key actors from civil society, at the local and national level, that include religious groups, municipalities, human rights organizations, teachers federations, and organizations concerned with children's rights and protection need to be engaged in a discussion of the implications of rejection and stigma and what can be done to further facilitate the reintegration of demobilized youth. As noted by a report by *Agape por Colombia* (2012:13),

Reconciliation efforts [must] aim to reinforce of the social fabric through dialogue and through the recognition of individual and collective suffering, the restoration of trust and the search of peaceful coexistence . . . These efforts must also aim to break the pattern of prejudice and rejection suffered by former child soldiers and people displaced by the war.

However, given both the overt and latent public hostility toward former child soldiers (alongside former child soldiers' fear of being identified and rejected), up until now, there have been few places where these youth would feel safe to express themselves and openly discuss their plight. While initiatives to support the reconciliation of former child soldiers and members of civil society in a safe and neutral space have begun to emerge (see *Serna & Marchand, 2011*), more research and advocacy is necessary in order to explore and document these recon-

ciliation efforts on the road toward peace in Colombia.

The reconciliation process in Colombia is further complicated by the existence of a strong social class structure and a history of discrimination against the lower classes. While government-sponsored programs and nongovernmental organizations have made efforts to promote integration and reconciliation, conflict-affected populations continue to be stigmatized, and the participation of civil society in reconciliation efforts is lacking due to its reluctance to get personally involved with the consequences of the armed conflict through fear, indifference, or apathy (*Serna & Marchand, 2011; Agape por Colombia, 2012*). In a society that has been fragmented by armed conflict, ongoing efforts are needed in order to challenge traditional social barriers, rejection and stigma that may impede reconciliation and reintegration.

References

- Agape por Colombia. (2012). *Reconciliation workshops: The challenge*. Bogota: USAID, OIM.
- Annan, J., Blattman, C., Carlson, K., & Mazurana, D. (2007). *The survey of war affected youth: Making reintegration work for youth in northern Uganda*. Boston: Feinstein International Center.
- Betancourt, T. S., Agnew-Blais, J., Gilman, S. E., Williams, D. R., & Ellis, B. H. (2010). Past horrors, present struggles: The role of stigma in the association between war experiences and psychosocial adjustment among former child soldiers in Sierra Leone. *Social Science & Medicine*, 70, 17–26. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.09.038
- Betancourt, T. S., & Khan, K. T. (2008). The mental health of children affected by armed conflict: Protective processes and pathways to resilience. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 20, 317–328. doi:10.1080/09540260802090363
- Bjorkhaug, I. (2010). *Child soldiers in Colombia: The recruitment of children into non-state violent armed groups*. MICROCON Research Working Paper 27.
- Blattman, C., & Annan, J. (2007). *The consequences of child soldiering*. Brighton: The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- Boothby, N. (2006). What happens when child soldiers grow up? The Mozambique case study. *Intervention*, 4, 244–259. doi:10.1097/WTF.0b013e32801181ab
- Burgess, R. (2009). Colombia's children at risk of recruitment into armed groups: Exploring a community-based psychosocial pedagogy. *Journal of Education for International Development*, 4, 1–11.

- Cortes, L., & Bechanan, M. J. (2007). The experience of Colombian child Soldiers from a resilience perspective. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 29, 43–55. doi:10.1007/s10447-006-9027-0
- Denov, M. (2007). *Girls in fighting forces: Moving beyond victimhood*. Report prepared for the Government of Canada through the Canadian International Development Agency.
- Denov, M. (2010). *Child soldiers: Sierra Leone's revolutionary united front*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511676475
- Denov, M., & Marchand, I. (in press). "I can't go home": Forced migration and displacement following demobilization: The complexity of reintegration for former child soldiers in Colombia. *Intervention*.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity*. New York, NY: Simon and Shuster.
- Helmus, T., Russell, C., & Glenn, W. (2004). *Stealing the mind: Combat stress reactions and their implications for urban warfare*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Arroyo Center.
- Human Rights Watch. (2003). *You'll learn not to cry: Child combatants in Colombia*. New York, NY: Author.
- Humphreys, M., & Weinstein, J. M. (2007). Demobilization and reintegration. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51, 531–567. doi:10.1177/0022002707302790
- Jaramillo, S., Giha, J., & Torres, P. (2009). *International Center for Transitional Justice, Transitional justice and DDR: The case of Colombia*. New York, NY: Research Unit International Centre for Transitional Justice.
- Marlowe, D. (2001). *Psychological and psychosocial consequences of combat and deployment with special emphasis on the Gulf War*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- McKay, S., & Mazurana, D. (2004). *Where are the girls? Girls in fighting forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique*. Montreal, Canada: Human Rights and Democratic Development.
- Paris Principles. (2007). *Principles and guidelines on children associated with armed forces or armed groups*. Retrieved June 23, 2014 from www.unicef.org/emerg/files/ParisPrinciples310107English.pdf
- Save the Children. (2013). *Unspeakable crimes against children sexual violence in conflict*. London, England: Author.
- Serna, D. R., & Marchand, I. (2011). Agape: A reconciliation initiative by members of civil society and former child soldiers. *Intervention*, 9, 35–43. doi:10.1097/WTF.0b013e3283453ebb
- Spear, J. (2002). Disarmament and demobilization. In S. Stedman, D. Rothchild, & E. Cousens (Eds.), *Ending civil wars: The implementation of peace agreements* (pp. 141–182). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Theidon, K. (2007). Transitional subjects: The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 1, 66–90. doi:10.1093/ijtj/ijm011
- Thomas, V. (2008). *Overcoming lost childhood lessons learned from the rehabilitation and reintegration of former child soldiers in Colombia*. London, England: Y Care International.
- United Nations. (2012). *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Colombia*. New York, NY: Author. SC S2012/171.
- Watchlist. (2004). *Colombia's war on children*. Retrieved from <http://watchlist.org/reports/files/colombia.report.php>
- Watchlist. (2012). *No one to trust: Children and armed conflict in Colombia*. New York, NY: Author.

E-Mail Notification of Your Latest Issue Online!

Would you like to know when the next issue of your favorite APA journal will be available online? This service is now available to you. Sign up at <http://notify.apa.org/> and you will be notified by e-mail when issues of interest to you become available!

Correction to Denov and Marchand (2014)

In the article “‘One Cannot Take Away the Stain’: Rejection and Stigma Among Former Child Soldiers in Colombia” by Myriam Denov and Ines Marchand (*Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 2014, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 227–240. doi:10.1037/pac0000039), the name of author Ines Marchand was misspelled as Ines Marchard. The online version of this article has been corrected.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000066>