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## Women and DDR in the World

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*The paper provides an overview of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) practices existing in the world. It researches when and for what purposes the United Nations initiate DDR programs in post-conflict countries. It examines the scale and consequences of the various roles of ex-combatants, particularly the women ex-combatants in a transitional society. It aims to compare and explore some of the best and worst practices of DDR and militarized masculinity before, during, and after the violence. Secondary literatures mostly draw on to learn from yesterday, analyze to live for today, and encourage to hope for tomorrow.*

### 1. Women in 1325

Commenting on Women DDR (WDDR) initiatives around the world, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said, “Women combatants are often invisible and their needs are overlooked” (UN:2002). It truly reflects the situation of former female combatants, both women and girls. The UN stated, “80 percent of the victims of armed violence are women and children” (August 1997:2). Most of the female combatants served as nurses, cooks, messengers, spies, logistic support, entertainment, sex partners, and so forth at the beginning of their recruitment and later as the combatants. The UNIFEM (now UN Women) pointed out that not all the cantonments were designed to be women and girl friendly and to fully protect against harassment from men (Harsch: October 2005). Most of the women and girls join the warring parties to escape from domestic violence and sexual abuse, to join with a partner, to take part in the retaliation, to change the existing societies, to run away from discrimination, injustice, poverty, or due to a lack of future opportunities.

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security was adopted unanimously on October 31, 2000 after recalling resolutions 1261 in 1999, 1265 in 1999, 1296 in 2000, and 1314 in 2000. The 1325 has been adopted as a gender perspective for broad participation of women in peacebuilding post-conflict reculturation. The Council realized special needs and attentions of women and girls during the DDRRR (Disarmament, Demobilization, Reinsertion, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration) in post-conflict reculturation period. The landmark resolution 1325 has become the first international formal and legal document to respect women's rights and to support equal women's participation in peace negotiations and security initiatives. Furthermore, it is the mainstreaming of gender issues in armed conflict, peacebuilding, and reconstruction processes (UN-INSTRAW: undated:1). The 1325 specifically acknowledges the impacts of conflict, particularly sexual violence, on women and girls. Sexual violence is a weapon of war. It particularly focuses on participation of women at all decision-making levels on peace processes, gender inclusion in peacekeeping operation, protection of the women's and girls' rights, and gender mainstreaming in implementation systems (Kirk et al: January 2007: 13). It has distinctly defined the roles of women and girls during armed conflict and emphasizes to implement the importance of peace agreements and activities of DDR in transitional peace process. Because of the adoption of a gender perspective, women's participation in decision making, conflict resolution, peace process including DDR has slowly been increasing.

The UN Secretary-General stresses the obstacles and challenges to strengthening women's participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and recommendations to address those issues (UNSC: September 16, 2009). The vulnerabilities of the women and girls during armed conflict, peace agreements, and post conflict (DDRRR) are to be observed carefully because of their specific needs (female organs or bodies), namely reproductive and child care roles. Besides, they are targeted during conflict through sexual abuse, humiliation, fear, domination, or punished. Overall, the resolutions 1325 and 1889 (2009) strengthen women's participation in decision making in all levels, the resolutions 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) end sexual violence and impunity, and resolution 1960 provides an accountability system.

## **2. Origin of DDR**

The DDR in general and Disarmament, Demobilization, Reinsertion, Repatriation, Resettlement, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration (DDRRRRR) in particular has been a great debate in government and non-governmental institutions in post-conflict reculturation (restructuration, reconstruction, reconciliation, and rehabilitation) countries like Nepal (Pathak et al: 2009). It encourages the former combatants to (re)integrate into security forces and society. Thus, contributing to the end of a transitional period and to institutionalize the peace processes. The principal actor of its initiation has been either the UN Peacekeeping or Political Missions.

In post-conflict countries, the (re)integration of ex-combatants into society and security forces

**D for Disarmament:** Disarmament is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives, and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also from the civilian population. (DDR 2008:2008). It is a development of arm management program (weapons survey, collection, storage, destruction, redistribution) for the national security forces. Due to the voluntary disarmament in Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Haiti, the process remains very low.

**D for Demobilization:** Demobilization is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or groups keeping individual combatants in temporary cantonments assembling into areas or centers (DDR 2008:2008). Furthermore, it is a process of counseling, vocational training, economic assistance, etc. The fundamental steps lead to planning, encampment, registration, pre-discharge orientation, and final discharge of ex-combatants. It usually maintains the records verifying the ex-combatants status and provides nontransferable ID to each of them. It also provides the services of pre-discharge orientation to the combatants for transition to civilian life. Health screening, HIV/AIDS counseling and testing, and management of special needs to the female combatants, girls, and minors are the other initiatives of demobilization.

**R for Reinsertion:** Reinsertion is a short-term stabilization process to draw (former) combatants away from armed conflict or civil war or criminal roles until peace/political mission is deployed. It provides transitional income generating opportunities to all (former) combatants to support for their immediate settlement. It ensures transitional assistance to the combatants' dependents providing the fundamentals of basic rights such as food, shelter, clothing, health, education, etc.

**R for Repatriation:** Repatriation allows returning individual or group at his/her/their country of birth or origin after freeing from the hand of enemy or from a foreign country. Prisoners of war shall be released to return his/her or their native country of origin respecting the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

**R for Resettlement:** It is an act of being settled in another place or foreign land. In general, conflict induced Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs), immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees are settled in new places for the time beings. It provides shelters to women, children, girls, senior citizens, etc. who were suffering from conflict induced circumstances.

**R for Rehabilitation:** Rehabilitation leads several steps. First, social rehabilitation is an act or process of rehabilitating the IDPs or ex-combatants at his/her/their native place in free from fear and discrimination. Second, psychosocial rehabilitation ensures a wide range of social, educational, vocational, etc. assistance and supports. Third, psychiatric rehabilitation restores community functioning through the wellbeing of an individual who were suffered by psychiatric disability namely mental illness or disorder etc. Fourth, cognitive rehabilitation is a therapy to connect memory that caused failure of personal relationship, anxiety, trauma, etc. because of the post-armed conflict or civil war.

**R for (Re)Integration:** Reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants acquires military or civilian status joining state security forces or gaining sustainable employment and income activities. Reintegration is a long term initiatives or long-term processes which shall apply in three local, regional, and national levels. Mark Knight says that civilian reintegration and military (re)integration are substitutable (2009). It is a transition of armed military group to state military positions similar to one they occupied during armed conflict including civil war or acquire civilian status.

has been a challenging task for all – the concerned nation, friendly neighbors, civil society, non-government organizations, the media, and the ex-combatants themselves.

Armed conflict occurs particularly in developing or underdeveloped countries who have been trying to transform from hybrid and authoritarian regimes to controlled democracy or liberal democracy. The conflict often arises due to a huge discrepancy between rich and poor, owner and working class, men and women, culture and society, religions, regions, ideologies, and government (state actors), and people (Pathak: March 7, 2011). Many peace-building processes have a special purpose to disarm the combatants and government security forces, demilitarize

their military or revolutionary character and structure, and reintegrate them into civil life. The DDR (transitional period) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) (democratization processes) are the parts of the peace process for political change, ensuring justice, social security, and security reform for change in society.

Amongst many terminologies, integration is an opposite of individuation. Several writers such as Michael O'Neill (1996), Ben Rosamond (2000), Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez(eds., 2005), Hans-Jürgen Bieling, Marika Lerch(eds.), and Anne Faber (2005) have written theories of European Integration and politics, but none of them focus on army integration in the post-conflict situation. Morris J. MacGregor, Jr. wrote a book on *Integration of the Armed Forces (1940-1965)*, but it mostly addresses world war rather than individual nation's armed conflict.

There are several kinds of integration such as social integration, racial integration, vertical and horizontal integration, data integration, numerical integration, post-merger integration, economic integration, educational integration etc., but in this context we use the term integration for the purpose to unite two security forces - the security forces and the ex-combatants integration into the society and state security forces.

The DDR is a recent phenomenon initiated at the end of the ideological warfare (Cold War) or beginning of "Identity-Based Cold War" (particularly 1990 onwards) in the post-conflict countries. The notions of DDR relates to the peace agreements or treating ex-combatants, armies, arms, and ammunition and other legal measures that focused to military. It has been acknowledged that DDR programs for the ex-combatants are critical fundamentals in the transition from war to peace. Many post conflict countries, mainly Africa, have acquired expertise in DDR exercises both within and outside a UN framework (UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa and Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone. June 2005:7). In International DDR Conference in Columbia, the UN Secretary-General said, "DDR has become recognized as a critical ingredient in consolidating stability and building peace in countries emerging from conflict in the past two decades" (deleGATE: May 6, 2009).

### **3. UN and DDR**

The United Nations established its first ever Peacekeeping Operation Mission, UNTSO (Truce Supervision Organization)<sup>1</sup> in June 1948 in the Middle East, particularly in between Israel<sup>2</sup>-Palestine. Over the past 63 years, the UNTSO military observers have remained in the Middle East to monitor ceasefires, supervise armistice agreements, prevent isolated incidents from escalating, and assist other UN peacekeeping operations, namely the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in the region<sup>3</sup>. The UN Peacekeepers monitor and observe agreed peace processes in post-conflict countries and assist former combatants in implementing the peace agreements or understandings or peace accord. Since then, the UN has mobilized 80 Missions including 71 Peacekeeping Missions and nine Political Missions in 66 countries in the world.

The last Peacekeeping Mission, the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) was established in newly-independent Republic of South Sudan. The South Sudan became independent on July 9, 2011. The UNMISS was approved on July 8, 2011 by the UNGS<sup>4</sup>. Prior to this, the UN Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) is the second to

last Mission mobilized to contest between the Republic of Sudan and the newly-independent Republic on June 27, 2011<sup>5</sup>.

Peacekeeping, as defined by the United Nations, is a way to help conflict-torn countries for the better conditions on peace, progress, security, and stability. The UN peacekeepers - soldiers and military officers, police officers, and civilian personnel from many countries- monitor and observe peace processes that emerge in post-conflict situations. Such assistance comes in many forms, including confidence-building measures, power-sharing arrangements, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law, and economic and social development. All operations must include the resolution of conflicts through the use of force and civilian inspections and these are to be considered valid under the charter of the United Nations. In the more than 6 decades since the United Nations establishment, Peacekeeping and Political Missions have been conducted in 66 countries:

- Americas (6 or 9%) – Colombia, Haiti, Central America, Dominic Republic, and El-Salvador, Guatemala;
- Asia (15 or 23% ) - Aceh (Indonesia), Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cyprus, East-Timor, India, Iraq, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, and West New Guinea;
- Middle East (9 or 14%) – Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and Yemen;
- Europe (11 or 17%) - Chechnya, Kosovo, Georgia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Northern Ireland, Armenia-Azarbaijan, Croatia, Macedonia, and Prevlaka Peninsula;
- Africa (25 or 38%) – Albania, Angola, Burundi, Chad, Côte d’Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, DR Congo, Congo Rep., CAR, Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, Western Sahara, and Zimbabwe.

**Twenty** Peacekeeping Missions have already been completed in Africa in the last half century (1960-2010). They are: Angola (1988-1991<sup>6</sup>; 1991-1995<sup>7</sup>; 1995-1997<sup>8</sup> and 1997-1999<sup>9</sup>), Burundi (2004-2007<sup>10</sup>), CAR (1998-2000<sup>11</sup>), CAR and Chad (2007-2010<sup>12</sup>), Chad and Libya (1994<sup>13</sup>), Congo (1960-1964<sup>14</sup> & 1999-2010<sup>15</sup>), Eritrea and Ethiopia (2000-2008<sup>16</sup>), Liberia (1993-1997<sup>17</sup>), Mozambique (1992-1994<sup>18</sup>), Namibia (1989-1990<sup>19</sup>), Rwanda (1993-1996<sup>20</sup>), Rwanda, and Uganda (1993-1994<sup>21</sup>), Somalia (1992-1993<sup>22</sup>; 1993-1995<sup>23</sup>), and Sierra Leon (1998-1999<sup>24</sup>, and 1999-2005<sup>25</sup>). Three joint missions were conducted in Rwanda-Uganda, Chad-Libya, and Eritrea- Ethiopia.

In the case of North America, **nine** peacekeeping missions such as Central America (1989-1992<sup>26</sup>), Dominic Republic (1965-1966<sup>27</sup>), El Salvador (1991-1995<sup>28</sup>), Guatemala (1997<sup>29</sup>), Haiti (1993-1996<sup>30</sup>; 1996-1997<sup>31</sup>; 1997<sup>32</sup>; 1997-2000<sup>33</sup> & 2000-2001<sup>34</sup>) missions have been completed during 1965-2001 period. **Three** different UN missions namely UNTMIH (1997)<sup>35</sup>, MIPONUH (1997-2000)<sup>36</sup> and MICAH (2000-2001)<sup>37</sup> were carried out to train the Haitian National Police in Haiti. **Nine** different missions have been completed from 1965-2005 in the case of Asia. They were: West New Guinea (1962–1963<sup>38</sup>), India-Pakistan (1965–1966<sup>39</sup>); Afghanistan-Pakistan (1988–1990<sup>40</sup>), Cambodia (1991–1992<sup>41</sup> & 1992–1993<sup>42</sup>), Tajikistan (1994–2000<sup>43</sup>), and East Timor (1999<sup>44</sup>, 1999-2000<sup>45</sup> & 2002-2005<sup>46</sup>). Two missions in India-Pakistan and Afghanistan-Pakistan were jointly operated.

In Middle East, **six**-mission have been completed in between 1956-2003 for instance Egypt-Israel (1956–1967<sup>47</sup> & 1973-1979<sup>48</sup>), Lebanon (1956<sup>49</sup>), Yemen (1963-1964<sup>50</sup>), Iran-Iraq (1988-1991<sup>51</sup>) and Iraq-Kuwait (1991-2003<sup>52</sup>). **Two** Iran-Iraq and Iraq-Kuwait were jointly conducted. In Europe, **eight** missions were conducted from 1992-2002. They were: Former Yugoslavia (1992-1995<sup>53</sup>), Georgia (1992-2009<sup>54</sup>), Croatia (1994-1996<sup>55</sup>), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1995-2002<sup>56</sup>), Republic of Macedonia (1995-1999<sup>57</sup>), Croatia (1996-1998<sup>58</sup>), Prevlaka Peninsula (1996-2002<sup>59</sup>), and Croatia (1998<sup>60</sup>). A total of **57 (80%) out of 71 UN** peacekeeping missions were completed in five decades (1960-2010).

The **current deployments** of the **six**-peacekeeping missions in Africa are: Western Sahara in 1991<sup>61</sup>, Liberia in 2003<sup>62</sup>, Cote D'Ivoire in 2004<sup>63</sup>, Sudan in 2005<sup>64</sup> and 2007<sup>65</sup>, DR Congo in 2010<sup>66</sup>. Only **one** peacekeeping mission in Haiti in 2004<sup>67</sup> has been working in the case of North American. In Asia, **four** different missions have been working on from 1949-2011 namely Kashmir in India-Pakistan since 1949<sup>68</sup>, Cyprus since 1964<sup>69</sup>, East Timor since 2006, and Afghanistan in 2003<sup>70</sup>. **Three** missions such as in Middle East since 1948<sup>71</sup>, Golan Heights since 1974<sup>72</sup>, and Lebanon since 1978<sup>73</sup> have been working in the Middle East.

Besides Nepal, **eight** political missions are working in the world. They are: UNTSO<sup>74</sup> in the Middle East (May 29, 1948- ); the UNMOGIP<sup>75</sup> in Jammu-Kashmir (January 1948- ); the UNSCO<sup>76</sup> in the Middle East (June 1994- ); the BONUCA<sup>77</sup> in the CAR (December 31, 2001- ); and the UNAMA<sup>78</sup> in Afghanistan (March 28, 2002). Similarly, UNAMI<sup>79</sup> in Iraq (August 14, 2003- ), the UNIOSIL<sup>80</sup> in Sierra Leone (August 31, 2005- ); and the BINUB<sup>81</sup> in Burundi (January 1, 2007) have been established by the UN Security Council (Pathak: March 2011:42). The UN Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) ended (January 23, 2007-January 15, 2011) its role in Nepal following heavy criticism from non-Maoist parties. It withdrew leaving reintegration, rehabilitation, and democratization half-way completed, unlike many other UN political missions (Pathak: March 2011:41). The withdrawal of the UNMIN was that it received humiliating criticism from all corners, mainly from the non-Maoists parties and India.

In its 66 year history the United Nations, it has designed and evaluated integration of security forces and ex-combatants in 43 countries:

- Americas (2 or 5%) - Colombia and Haiti;
- Asia (10 or 24% ) - Afghanistan, Burma, Aceh (Indonesia), East-Timor, Cambodia, Iraq, Laos, Nepal, Philippines, and Sri Lanka;
- Middle East (2 or 5%) - Israel and Palestine;
- Europe (6 or 14%) - Chechnya, Georgia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Northern Ireland and Armenia-Azarbaijan;
- Africa (22 or 52%) – Albania, Angola, Burundi, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, DR Congo, Congo Rep., CAR, Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Republic of Sudan and Republic of South Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe.

The DDR program was first initiated from Zimbabwe in 1979<sup>82</sup>. Uganda became the second country to launch the DDR program in 1986<sup>83</sup>. Other countries are Namibia and Angola in 1988<sup>84</sup>, South Africa and Mozambique in 1990s, Ethiopia<sup>85</sup> in 1991, Rwanda in 1994<sup>86</sup>, Sierra Leon in 1999, Cote d'Ivoire in 2002, Angola and Afghanistan in 2003, and so forth. In the

recent half-decade, a DDR program was initiated in Nepal in January 2007, Durfar in July 2007, Chad in September 2007, DR Congo in July 2010, and South Sudan in July 2011.

#### **4. Women DDR**

Conflict has its own impact in human beings (men, women, and children) in various ways. While women remain a minority among the combatants and state security forces, they suffer the greatest. Women in war-torn societies face devastating forms of sexual violence. In the absence of a male, women often are forced to turn to sexual exploitation in order to earn a livelihood and support their families or dependents.

The average numbers of women officially participated or participating as negotiators, mediators, signatories or witnesses in peace negotiations remain notably low. Out of 24 major peace processes since 1992 revealed that only 2.5 percent of signatories, 3.2 percent of mediators, 5.5 percent of witnesses and 7.6 percent of negotiators were/are women. The findings found that only 4 percent of participants, 11 out of 280, were women, and that the average participation of women on government negotiating delegations is/was at 7 percent, higher than on the delegations of non-State armed groups (UNIFEM:August 2010:3). Less than 8 percent women participated in 21 peace processes, but fewer than 3 percent or 2.4 percent women involved as signatories in the peace agreement (UNIFEM:2009:1). Women's underrepresentation in peace processes has been relatively neglected in the texts of peace agreements. Only 16 percent women participated in 585 peace agreements concluded between 1990 and 2010 (UNSC: September 2, 2011:3-9).

The UNIFEM (now UN Women) stated that about 36 percent of the funds were allocated for the gender analysis, but only 16 percent were associated with targeted output indicators for the purpose to address women's needs, and less than 8 percent of actual budgets addressed women's needs (UN Women: Facts and Figures on Peace and Security). The UNIFEM analyzed five Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) of countries on the Security Council agenda in 2009, and found that the inclusion of women's needs and issues was extremely scarce at the outcomes level, less than 3 percent, the activities and indicators level, about 6 percent, and the budget level, less than 2 percent (UN Women: Facts and Figures on Peace and Security). Thus, promotion and protection of women's and girls' rights are the most neglected in all three pillars "economic empowerment, political legitimacy, and social cohesion" in the post-conflict reculturation period to achieve the lasting peace. Agreeing to the participation of women in peace processes is not merely a matter of women's and girls' rights, but one that concerns men as well.

Only eight cases of sexual violence were included among the "prohibited acts" that would constitute a ceasefire violation (Jenkins et al: 2010). Nine peace agreements provided quotas for women in legislative/executive bodies by which five supported women's representation in the police/ gender sensitive police reform; and four each referred to gender equality in the judiciary and gender equality in the context of public-sector restructuring (UNSC: September 2, 2011:9).

The 250,000- 500,000 women and girls were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (Ségui: January 1996: para 16). The 20,000–50,000 women and girls were raped during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1990s. The 50,000–64,000 internally displaced women in Sierra Leone were sexually attacked by combatants. An average of 40 women and girls are being raped every day in South Kivu, DRC (UN Women: Facts and Figures on Peace and Security). It is

estimated that more than 200,000 women and children have been raped over more than a decade of the country's conflict. Out of 300 peace agreements for 45 conflict situations in the 20 years after the end of the Cold War, 18 have addressed sexual violence in 10 conflict situations namely Burundi, Aceh, DRC, Sudan (Nuba Mountains), Sudan (Darfur), Philippines, Nepal, Uganda, Guatemala, and Chiapas (UN Women: Facts and Figures on Peace and Security).

In the **Republic of Guatemala** (between 1994 and 1996), the Guatemalan Government and URNG successfully negotiated 11 peace agreements that resulted a permanent ceasefire in 1996 (Page: October 2009:5). Women extensively influenced the talks where only two women were included in the negotiating teams of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity and the Government of Guatemala. However, the participation of the civil society particularly women's groups was strongly encouraged by the UN and the Group of Friends of the talks. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guatemala and mediator of the negotiations formally tabled to endorse the women's concerns and recommendations for the parties' consideration. The agreement contained a number of important provisions regarding gender equality (UNIFEM:August 2010:3).

At the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former **Yugoslavia**, 18 decisions of convictions are related to sexual violence, while eight decisions in the International Criminal Tribunal for **Rwanda**, and six in the Special Court for Sierra Leone (Askin: January 1999). Women's and girls' socio-political and legal rights are protected from all kinds of injustices and discrimination including sexual violence, even during the time of war. Such victims have a right to comfortable reparations. Amnesty to sexual violence shall never be attained as it is an international crime stated in the Article 7 CEDAW and Rome Statute Statute 8(2)(b)(xxii)). However, the sexual violence has been one of the least condemned war crimes and crimes against humanity in international and national practices.

The 41 armed conflicts which have ended in the past two decades (1990-2011), 34 (83%) of the conflicts were resolved through the agreements or understanding and seven (17%) with a military victory. **Sri Lanka** and Lebanon are the two examples in the 21<sup>st</sup> century of that whose conflicts were ended by the military victory against the rising trends to resolve the conflict by peaceful means and dialogue (2011 Year on Peace Processes:2011:15). It is remarkable that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), commonly known as the Tamil Tigers, was founded in May 1976 to secede the Jaffna Peninsula from Sri Lanka. It had around 19,000 combatants, 20 percent of whom were women (2009 Year Book on Peace Processes).

Dichotomous personalities exist around women fighters' roles in Sri Lanka. On the one hand, the women fighters were empowered as they enjoyed more freedom, more independence compared to the average Tamil women. Even though, the employment was short-lived owing to violence and existence of a male-dominated hierarchy. When the female fighters returned home it was a compulsory to wear traditional civilian dresses to identify that their gender roles. On the other side, they gained respect articulately for the time being, but society did not fully accept their roles as civilian house wives. Society's respect might be, or was, a product of fear rather than a life returning to normal. The emotional attachments of women combatants denied their roles as a normal women in the society (Jayamaha:2004:27-28). Even during the truce, the LTTE extrajudicially killed more than 100 Tamil political rivals and abducted or forcefully recruited more than 3,500 children (Balasingham:2001:291). Besides, women and girl combatants were

used as instruments in suicide bombings to target civilians or alleged enemy of their secessionist conflict.

The definition of a women and girls fighter was largely excluded in DDR processes in **Mozambique**. Despite the lack of participation, women and girl combatants played responsible decisions on when to evacuate from camps, leading combatants through mine fields, and deciding where to flee and should have been incorporated into the DDR process (UN-INSTRAW: Undated:6). Women and girls in armed forces were allegedly discharged prior to the DDR process which explicitly excluded them from receiving DDR benefits, including two years of salary. They mostly excluded because of “one gun one fighter” policy in the initial stage of DDR that restricted them to have access to benefits provided during reintegration ((UN-INSTRAW: Undated:6).

The General Peace Agreement 1992 disarmed and demobilized aiming to integrate both the soldiers of the former Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM) and the rebels Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). It decided to form new Armed Forces for the Defense of Mozambique (FADB) with strength of 30,000 recruiting the equal number of government and rebel forces. Only 85 percent (57,540) government and 83 percent (20,538) RENAMO soldiers were demobilized. A total of 91,691 including 67,042 (73%) Government and 24,649 (27%) RENAMO were registered under the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). In October<sup>87</sup> 1994, a new joint army FADB was formed with 12 troops, significantly less than the initial proposed 30,000 forces. Some of the armies of both sides who were not interested in joining the new army were given attractive reintegration package (Lederach at el: May 2, 2011:7).

In **Zimbabwe**, 1.48 percent women ex-combatants were demobilized neglecting their roles before, during, and after conflict (Baden:1997). Demobilization and reintegration policy was not gender-sensitive. Women ex-combatants who contributed significantly during the time of armed struggle were not treated as special and important stakeholders during the DDR process. It means female ex-combatants faced more reintegration problems compared to their male counterparts. In addition to that, they lacked long-term specific provisions for the reintegration and rehabilitation of the physically disabled ex-combatants with specific needs (Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation: June 2008: 12-13). For example, women ex-combatants exposed to infection of STDs and HIV/AIDS (Baden:1997).

In **Somalia**, the criteria for participation in DDR program implicitly excluded women and girls combatants being not treated as equal to male combatants. The emotional or forced nature of male combatant roles was not favorable for the reintegration of women and girls (UN-INSTRAW: Undated:6).

In the **Philippines**, women participated in the peace negotiations, but they were not adequately represented in the armed forces. Similarly, limited number of women were represented in decision-making bodies or in lobbying for the rights of women and girls in peace and security processes (UN-INSTRAW: Undated: 6-7).

Out of 10,000 former combatants, 4,850 ex-combatants of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) joined the Philippines Army (AFP) and a further 4,835 joined into Philippines National Police (PNP) without actual demobilization process. The integration was delayed for three years, but completed at the end of 1999 after delays on numbers of occasions. The UNDP introduced

various socio-economic projects such as institutional training for men, community training for women, literacy programs, professional training for young people for basic services, and business development. With support from USAID and other international agencies, a total of 23,000 former Muslim combatants had been integrated in the civilian life till the mid of 2008 (USAID: June 2008). There are 2,800 homes in the MNLF communities in which 70 percent of the women have received microloans (Philippines: 2007: 4-5). While no complete DDR of an armed group has taken place in the Philippines, a variety of interventions of DDR have been pursued (Muggah: 2004: 23). A group of women ex-combatants received training to become active participants in implementing the program and to become commercial seaweed farmers (USAID: June 2008)

Child soldiers, in **Sierra Leone**, have been a great focus of international arena in recent years, pressure the concerned party(ies) to quickly discharged, but no concrete initiatives to women combatants. In DDR program, women combatants constituted just 6.5 percent (Harsch: October 2005). Amputees and war wounded women and girls combatants expressed frustration that they received less financial support and job training than male-counterparts who were engaged in the DDR process (UN-INSTRAW: Undated:8-9). However, female participation in parliament has risen from 0.4 percent to 14 percent (Ekiyor: Undated).

Disarmament and Demobilization held in **Liberia** December 2003 – October 2004. Liberia also gained some lessons from Sierra Leone's experiences. The criteria were expanded to make easier for women and girl fighters to participate on DDR programs. Out of the total of 103,000 demobilized combatants, 22,500 (22%) were women (Harsch: October 2005) and 11 percent (2% girls and 9% boys) minors (Pathak: December 14, 2008). The 3,000 girls were officially demobilized in November 2004, but another 8,000 did not take part (Child Soldiers Global Report 2008:2008). However, the peace-building committees at central and district levels said that at least a third of members of combatants were women (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: 2010:15). As the same disarmament criteria to all ex-combatants (men, women, and children) were applied, the demobilized persons grew to 112,000.

Following a symbolic weapons destruction ceremony held on December 1, 2003, the UNMIL started the official DDRR (Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration) process in Liberia. Due to poor planning and misleading information given to combatants by the concerned officials, the participation of combatants on DDRR programs were subsequently reduced. As a result of this the DDRR process stopped on December 27, but then resumed in April 2004. The DD component of the DDRR program took place in 11 cantonment sites around the country and officially ended on October 31, 2004. Among the disarmed and demobilized (103,000) ex-combatants, a total of 27,804 weapons and 7,129,198 rounds of small arms ammunition were collected by the UNMIL. The number of collected weapons is estimated to be roughly two-thirds of all weapons stockpiled by Liberian armed groups (Forster: 2007). The DDRR targeted three main conflicting parties, namely the former Government of Liberia (GOL) forces, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL). The Comprehensive Peace Accord was signed in Accra, Ghana among the warring parties on August 18, 2003. However, there are many women who are survivors of a gender-based violence (GBV) and the violence they experienced during the 14 years of a brutal civil war is still occurring (Sirleaf: January 2007: 34).

In **Timor-Leste**, women played very important roles on the diplomatic, armed, civilian fronts, and in the struggle for independence. Nevertheless, they were neither consulted nor invited to the peace negotiations held between the governments of Portugal and Indonesia, mediated by the UN in 1999 (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. 2010:16). Even after the endorsement of resolution 1325, women are not recruited in senior positions in the government and civil society.

In 2005, AU/UNIFEM sent 20 women to Nigeria to take part in the final stages of **Darfur** Peace Agreements in Abuja. However, no women worked as the official negotiators and mediators in Doha Peace Negotiations about Darfur Conflict. Although, women made up a significant proportion (30% and 38%) of participants in each of two 2009 preparatory conferences of the Civil Society Track and more than 440 women had participated in four consultations to consolidate their views on thematic areas of the peace negotiations (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. 2010:16). None of the women combatants including IDPs were included in the peace negotiations by the UNIFEM except pro-government women in Darfur.

In the **Democratic Republic of Congo**, women formally participated in both the Lusaka Cease Fire Agreement in 1999 and in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (DIC). The Global and Inclusive Agreement was held and eventually resulted the official nomination of a woman in the DIC. The DIC includes provisions for gender equality and the full representation of them in all institutions in the post-conflict reconstruction (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. 2010:16). Similarly, two female mediators on either side of the negotiating parties participated in peace talks in Nairobi where women's groups were accepted only as observers. The March Peace Agreement included three women out of 14 members of its executive branch and 22 women out of 66 members of the subsidiary organ (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. 2010:16). In the DRC, just 3,000 or 15 percent of the total girls have been involved in the conflict and they were officially demobilized by the end of 2006 (The Child Soldiers Global Report 2008:2008).

Among the millions of **Colombian** IDPs one group was particularly invisible, that was women and girls connected with illegal armed groups. The demobilization process inadequately addressed the consequences of the sexual violence that both women and girls have suffered during and after conflict. Nearly 41,000 men, women, and children were demobilized. Eight percent of whom were female (Schwitalla et al: January 2007: 58-59). Demobilized females are doubly disadvantaged as they have disobeyed traditional gender norms and thus return to their families was often out of the question. Many women ex-combatants live in fear of retaliation from their former male-counterparts (armed group members) who regard them as traitors. Most of the women ex-combatants live anonymously in urban centers which offer them some small degree of security (Schwitalla et al: January 2007: 58-59).

During 1990 in the **Republic of El Salvador**, there had been a women's presence almost at all the postaccord negotiating tables. The Reinsertion Commission was formed by six women and one man. Similarly, female members of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) received one-third of land redistribution and reintegration packages either as combatants or as collaborators (Luciak:1999:45).

Women also made significant contributions to the defense reform in **Republic of South Africa**. Female parliamentarians forming a sub-committee under Defense Secretariat initiated defense review consultation process from grassroots to national level women's organizations on the issues of land seized for military use, the sexual harassment by military personnel. Within the

SANDF (South Africa National Defense Force), the policies to more number of women recruitment, promotion of women to all levels and in every structure, joint and equal training for both men and women, gender education and training, standardization of shoulder insignia, elimination of pregnancy as grounds for dismissal and allowing promotions for women on maternity leave have been developed (DCAF:2009:40-42). The Defense Act (2002) classifies sexual harassment and discrimination as criminal offenses. The defense reform initiatives initiated appointing a female to the post of Deputy Defense Minister from 1999 to 2004. Similarly, many women ex-combatants were appointed high-level Defense Secretariat demonstrating the Government's sincere commitment to integrate gender into South African defense policy (DCAF:2009:40-42).

The Women's National Commission demanded 50 percent of participants in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process be women and succeeded in establishing that one out of every two representatives per party had to be a woman. It is estimated that 3 million women across the country participated in focus groups and discussions, and a 30 per cent female quota was adopted for the upcoming elections (UNIFEM:August 2010:1).

The MoD (Ministry for Defense) created a number of mechanisms for gender integration including the establishment of a Gender Focal Point within the Equal Opportunities Directorate, a Gender Forum to implement gender policies, a hotline to report cases of sexual harassment and gender-based violence, and Gender Sensitization Programs to raise awareness and understanding of gender policies. As a result of these policies and mechanisms, 22.8 percent women including ex-combatants recruited into the SANDF in which 11.6 percent were in top management structure till March 2006. The MoD recruited 17,780 (22.8%) women out of a total number of 77,858 soldiers. Women held 20.8 percent in middle management positions comprising 29.5 percent lower levels (DCAF:2009:40-42).

The opportunities for women in the National Defense Force are positively increasing at all levels. Even though, there are only five brigadier generals, there are also 23 colonels, 205 lieutenant colonels, 873 majors, among others women within SANDF (Molekane:1996). Those who chose to be demobilized received a demobilization gratuity and training. The JMCC (Joint Military Coordinating Council) of the South Africa was responsible for monitoring the demobilization and reintegration process. The integration process was completed before a new constitution proclaimed in December 1996 (Lederach: May 2, 2011:7). The delaying the demobilization and reintegration reportedly contributed to higher the crime rate in SA in post-peace agreement phase. Defense Minister announced that the SAND strength would be downsized from 135,000 to 75,000 personnel where ANC and PAC were also be cut providing gratuity and payouts (Lederach: May 2, 2011:7).

In **Afghanistan**, two women (with 35 women attending as observers) were among the 25 officials who participated on the signature of the Bonn Agreement in December 2001 on the mediation of the UN Peace Talks. That participation was considered as an honor to women for an important learning experience. The Bonn Agreement included gender sensitive provisions in an interim authority and an Emergency Loya Jirga<sup>88</sup>. In the Jirga, 13 percent of the participants were women in 2002 (Communiqué of "Afghanistan: The London Conference": Undated). The Ministry of Women's Affairs was established in 2002 as part of the transitional authority. In June 2010, women representation in Consultative Peace Jirga increased from initial 30 women to 332 (21%) (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. 2010:16-17). However, women's human

rights organizations expressed their deep concern with the almost total absence of women in the jirga (between 30 and 50 out of 1,400 participants). They argued that low representation of women in the jirga enhanced as a maneuver to appease the Taliban (Fisas: 2011: 110). The UNAMA and NATO advocated for 25 percent women's representation in the High Peace Council (in the parliament), but in vain.

Afghanistan's peace process headed by NATO in 2003 through the Afghanistan's New Beginnings Program (ANBP) had been mainly focused on former soldiers of the Afghan National Forces (ANF) who served in more than twenty years of armed conflict. The Government estimated 1,870 illegally armed groups exist outside the mandate of the ANBP that included tribal militias, community defense forces, warlord militias, and criminal gangs, comprising some 129,000 militia members (Afghanistan Peacebuilding: July 24, 2011).

In October 2003, ANBP commenced several pilot projects initiated in May 2004. The program aim was to disarm and demobilize the AMF (Afghan Military Forces). When the UNDP ended the program in June 2006, 63,380 soldiers of the AMF voluntarily disarmed and 50,000 weapons were collected (Fisas: 2011:109). A total of 62,044 proceeded to demobilize, but 60,645 showed their interest on reintegration option. The 7,500 demobilized persons were child soldiers.

The UN program concluded in June 2006. The DDR, one of five inter related Security Sector Reforms, is closely linked to the other, but separate programs, addressing the cantonment of Heavy Weapons, Disbandment of Illegal Armed Groups (DIAG), the national Ammunition Survey initiative, et al. The SSR meanwhile comprises: the creation of a new national army, modernization of the police force, re-establishing a judicial system, and dealing with issues related to counter narcotics. Success of one reform is integral to the success of the others pillars which will collectively create the environment that will ensure long term stability and foster economic growth (DDR Overview: <http://www.ddrafg.com>). The DDR was conducted as per the Bonn Agreement in which Japan, USA, Germany, Italy, and UK agreed to take the lead role in implementing five key programs to (i) reintegrate the Afghan Military Forces, (ii) create the Afghan National Army, (iii) modernize the Afghan National Police, (iv) reform the judicial system, and (v) address the issue of counter-narcotics (Pathak: December 14, 2008). The total budget for the DDR program was estimated at US \$200 million, but only 41 million has been allocated in phase I<sup>89</sup>. Due to funding constraints, 5,686 redundant senior police officers are yet to be integrated. According to the Danish Institute for International Studies, the program was less effective due to politicization of the process.

In February 2011 the Wolesi Jirga, Afghanistan's lower chamber, approved a draft amnesty law for all the combatants who fought for 25 years. This amnesty would extend to Mullah Omar the highest Taliban authority, the former Mujahideens, who are accused of war crimes. In September, the Taliban claimed that they would participate in negotiations if the Government agrees to withdraw the international troops from the Afghan soil (Fisas: 2011:110).

In July 2010, the international conference held in Kabul ended agreeing to transfer of control over the country's security from the NATO forces to the Afghan government that would begin in 2014 (UNAMA: <http://unama.unmissions.org/>). The NATO troops would remain in the country until the Afghan forces would be capable to ensure security. The reintegration plan for 36,000 Taliban insurgents was agreed on with costs of around 600 million Euros. That new strategy of a

High Peace Council has a twofold purpose: first, to establish a dialogue with the Taliban leaders, and secondly, to remove the base combatants from the insurgency (Fisas:2011:112).

In **Namibia**, there were no specific reintegration programs for women ex-combatants. They could take part inadequately in reintegration process because of the background of a conservative society. Women ex-combatants were not only active during the course of armed conflict, but actively participate in post-independence protests demanding for financial assistance with the Government. The jobless ex-combatants organized demonstration at Okahao in 1998, where 115 women, 65 men, and 7 children participated at the northern town. The physically impaired ex-combatants<sup>90</sup> sharply confronted with the Government in comparison with able-bodied counterpart ex-combatants (Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation: June 2008:13).

The Albanian Government requested UN to demobilize the combatants and weapons in the Gramsch district, where there were an estimated 10,000 illegal weapons among 50,000 - strong population in post civil war in **Albania** in 1997. Without any identification of military actors, the program focused on collecting the weapons from armed individuals, providing incentives to those who returned weapons. Women played a pivotal role to convince their family member male-combatants to handover the weapons and get back reward instead of. The Weapons for Development Program (1997-2002) succeeded, as a large number of women were directly empowered to make political, social, and economic progress in their communities. Now, women deal more effectively with local authorities, including the police (Pouligny. 1994:25).

In **Cote d'Ivoire**, peace agreements reached in Lome, Marcoussis, Accra in 2003 and South Africa had had limited formal participation of women for which the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement of 2007 in Cote d'Ivoire was signed without the participation of women (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: 2010:16).

In the case of **Aceh (Indonesia)**, the three-decade-long violent conflict between the Government forces and the separatist group – Free Aceh Movement (GAM) - ended when the two signed an agreement, known as the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding, in August 2005, a few months after the Tsunami (highly devastating to Aceh). The peace agreement signed to stipulate broad autonomy for the region of Aceh after the GAM abandoned its claims for independence and this region has been governed by the leader of the GAM since December 2006 elections (Fisas: 2011: 218).

The agreement finally provided for autonomy to the Aceh province under a democratic political system. The Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) was established by the joint effort of the European Union, Switzerland, Norway, and five member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN. The peace treaty signatories agreed to amnesty for 2,035 political prisoners. A total of 3,204 GAM activists had already surrendered prior to the signing of the understanding. The AMM demobilized 3,000 GAM combatants along with 840 arms and 6,500 members of pro-government militias (anti-separatist groups) between September 15 and December 31, 2005, while decommissioning and deployment lasted till June of 2006. 75 percent of the GAM combatants are between 18 and 35 years old, less than 4 percent of them women. About 90 percent of the ex-combatants returned to civilian life without problem (World Bank: 2006). The peace granted 10,000 amnesty to the members of the GAM (IOM:2010) and agreed to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which has not yet been done (Fisas:2011:

236). Women contribute greatly to the reform movement, play a significant role in consolidating peace and democracy, but women's issues are mostly excluded in the further process of political reconfiguration (Grossmann:2010).

Child soldiers comprise 11.93 percent of the total combatants. However, the highest numbers 40 percent (out of combatants) found in **Uganda**. Only 68 percent of the total combatants have been demobilized (DDR 2008:2008) at the end of operations owing to ineffective planning and implementation. Though 1,250 girls registered their name for DDR in Uganda at the end of 2004, as a whole, women and girls, have been excluded from DDR (Baare: Undated) because of their specific needs.

In the case of **Northern Ireland**, women succeeded to secure a seat in the peace process forming the first women-dominated political party and winning some seats in the election. The Women's Coalition successfully built bridges between Catholics and Protestants and promoted reconciliation and reintegration of political prisoners. The Women's Coalition secured language on victims' rights and argued for young people required particular attention. Besides, women appeared as impartial delegates and facilitators that bridged the gaps between rival political parties through communication (Page: October 2009:13-14). They emphasized integrated education, social inclusion, and community development

In **Nepal**, the UNMIN registered 32,250 Maoist army personnel and only 19,602 (61% out of 32,250) were verified comprising 15,756 (80%) men and 3,846 (20%) women who are living in 7 main and 21 satellite cantonments. The verification mission disqualified 8,640 (27%) Maoist Army personnel as they did not appear in the interviews. A total of 4,008 (12%) disqualified<sup>91</sup> were discharged including 2,973 minors<sup>92</sup>.

After several months of intensive discussion among the political parties and UNMIN, the Maoist party, Government, and the UNMIN signed an action plan to discharge the disqualified persons on December 16, 2009. Brigade commander of the Maoist Army (MA) Saral Paudel Sahayatri and Secretary of the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction Sadhu Ram Sapkota signed the plan for the discharge of disqualified MA personnel from the cantonments at a function. The UCPN (Maoist) chair and former commander in chief of the MA, Puspa Kamal Dahal, Peace Minister Rakam Chemjong, and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict Radhika Coomaraswamy attended as witnesses of the action plan. The entire discharge was completed within the stipulated period of 40 days work plan - December 27, 2009 to February 4, 2010 (Pathak: March 2011). The transformation from military to civilian life for the disqualified started from the Maoist Second Division cantonment in Dudhuli of Sindhuli on January 7, 2010 (UNMIN: January 7, 2010) and ended at 5th division, Dahaban, Rolpa on February 8, 2010, four days later than the stipulated date. The Peace Fund in Nepal supports the future transitional justice mechanisms, a project to monitor the compliance of the UCPN-M party with the proper demobilization of former child soldiers from the Maoist Army (OHCHR: February 16, 2011).

The United Nations Inter-agency Rehabilitation Programme (UNRIP), a joint endeavor between UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, and ILO has been trying to rehabilitate 4,008 (Verified Minors and Late Recruits or VMLRs) discharged Maoist Army. The 1,130 minors did not attend on the discharge program as they had already fled from the cantonments. Four different packages namely Educational Support, Micro-enterprises Training, Vocational Skills Training, and Health

Services related Trainings have been offered to support the socio-economic rehabilitation to them. The UNRIP project began in June 2010 and is expected to end in May 2012 with a total budget of 14.5 million US dollars. By November 2010, a total of 2,225 discharged former combatants have been counseled under the four available packages. As of December 2010, 399 enrollees (267 male and 132 female) have completed trainings and 105 graduates (62 male and 43 female) have already started their own business (Nepal Mountains News: February 6, 2011).

## **5. At the Bottom**

It has been 32 years since the adoption of the CEDAW, 29 years since the UN General Assembly's Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation, 16 years since the UN summoned the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and 11 years since the resolution of 1325. The 1325 ensured women's participation in all aspects of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding as a part to send the Security Council. This imperative has been reiterated in several other resolutions 1820, 1888, and 1889, and in several reports of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security.

Unlike child soldiers, it is observed that there has been a huge reluctance of international community to engage on the issue of gender-based violence (GBV) and integrate the women ex-combatants into security forces and civilian life; however it is one of the most widespread human rights violation and abuse. It happens because of women's absence in participation on peace processes and DDR initiatives and its assessment, formulation, implementation, and evaluation. There has been a strong links in women, peace, and security and implementation. The 1325 is not a magic formula to ensure security and protection to all women and girls during conflict and post-conflict contexts. It limits the nature of scope to have inadequate monitoring mechanisms. It just measures the impacts of international policy instruments on the lives of women and girls working or living in conflict and post-conflict situations. Many liberal Governments have made broad commitments and many of them have established ad hoc initiatives. Nevertheless, it is very hard to assess its impacts due to the nature of the monitoring and reporting mechanisms. Both quantitative and qualitative research to identify measurable indicators of the 1325 is yet to be done.

There have been a several direct and indirect implications of armed conflict on women and girls. Many women ex-combatants lost their sovereignty, independence, and livelihoods within their homes. Some women are compelled to suffer from overly heavy labor, as male members abandoned them. More tragically, some women ex-combatants become victims of violence within their own homes; long after their involvement on armed conflict had ended. Many women ex-combatants were suffered from sexual violence such as rape, forced conception, abortion and sterilization, forced prostitution, and sexual slavery. Women are often excluded from the DDR programs as they do not have a weapon to participate on the criteria of "one man/woman, one gun". Many women combatants fear to participate on DDR programs because of possible harassment and social stigmatization. Some women and girls ex-combatants hesitate to participate on DDR program owing to their specific needs. In some cases, women combatants believe to be the dependents of men-combatants. However, whatever the number of women ex-combatants integrated into security forces in the world, the concerned authorities adopted liberal

attitude on standard norms (of military and police) towards them. Moreover, the state authorities recruited and promoted them eliminating dismissal of pregnancy ground and maternity leave.

There is a link between gaps in DDR processes, the involvement of ex-combatants, and political veterans in transitional peace. The prolonged time frame in several countries' transitional period on the crafting and implementation of DDR, the recommencement of violence through the involvement of the ex-combatants are likely. To avoid this, the transitional period is to be ended soon integrating the armed forces into society and state security forces. The absence of targeted assistance for special needs groups, such as women and the disabled, may lead the resumption of violence.

Absence of women's participation to a whole peace and security, building lasting peace is impossible. Half of the world's population cannot ensure a whole peace. Even after the establishment of the 1325, women's participation on global security remains marginal. The underrepresentation of women in all formal and non-formal institutions, the DDR and SSR programs are overlooked. The impunity for the perpetrators is at a standstill. The question of physical security and the existence of significant legal constraints, women's integration into economic life, and societies have been difficult. Gender-balanced DDR and SSR initiatives, intentional solicitation of the input of women at the community levels on priorities, allocation of national budgets, and development of international programs on women friendly shall be the best practices in increasing women's participation. First, the UN is to be more female friendly. In 2008, out of 77,117 military personnel in UN peacekeeping missions, 1,640 (2%) were female (Bertolazz: 2011:7).

Peace dividend, security, and justice cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. Protection and promotion of women human dignity, economic empowerment, political legitimacy, and social cohesion are the essence of just society and conflict transformation by peaceful means.

Indeed, women in general distinguish more honest and trustworthy and less corruptible which favor to support a noncompetitive liberal negotiating approach.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.un.org/Depts/Dpko/missions/untso.htm>

<sup>2</sup> In November 1947, the UN General Assembly endorsed a plan for the partition of Palestine and a Jewish State. The plan was neither accepted by the Palestinian Arabs nor the Arab States. However, the UK relinquished its mandate over Palestine, but the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948. On May 29, 1948, the Security Council (resolution 50) called for a cessation of hostilities in Palestine and decided the truce should be supervised by the UN Mediator (military observers) and the first group of military observers arrived in the region in June 1948. In August 1949, the Security Council, by its resolution 73 assigned new functions to UNTSO in line with four Armistice Agreements between Israel and the four neighboring Arab countries – Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic. UNTSO's activities thus were spread over the territory within five States in the region (<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/untso/background.shtml>, Accessed on July 24, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/untso/background.shtml>

<sup>4</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UNMISS>

<sup>5</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UNISFA>

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)

<sup>8</sup> United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)

<sup>9</sup> United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)

<sup>10</sup> United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)

<sup>11</sup> United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)

<sup>12</sup> United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)

<sup>13</sup> United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)

<sup>14</sup> United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)

<sup>15</sup> United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)

<sup>16</sup> United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)

<sup>17</sup> United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)

<sup>18</sup> United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)

<sup>19</sup> United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)

<sup>20</sup> United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)

<sup>21</sup> United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)

<sup>22</sup> United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)

<sup>23</sup> United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)

<sup>24</sup> United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)

<sup>25</sup> United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)

<sup>26</sup> United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA)

<sup>27</sup> Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP)

<sup>28</sup> United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)

<sup>29</sup> United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)

<sup>30</sup> United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)

<sup>31</sup> United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH)

<sup>32</sup> United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)

<sup>33</sup> United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH)

<sup>34</sup> United Nations General Assembly International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti (MICAH)

<sup>35</sup> United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti

<sup>36</sup> United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti

<sup>37</sup> United Nations General Assembly International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti

<sup>38</sup> United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF)

<sup>39</sup> United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM)

<sup>40</sup> United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP)

<sup>41</sup> United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)

<sup>42</sup> United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)

<sup>43</sup> United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)

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44 United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET)  
45 The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)  
46 United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET)  
47 First United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I)  
48 Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II)  
49 United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)  
50 United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM)  
51 United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG)  
52 United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)  
53 United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)  
54 United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG)  
55 United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO)  
56 United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)  
57 United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)  
58 United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)  
59 United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP)  
60 United Nations Civilian Police Support Group (UNPSG)  
61 United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)  
62 United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)  
63 United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)  
64 United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)  
65 United Nations/African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)  
66 United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo  
(MONUSCO)  
67 United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)  
68 United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)  
69 United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)  
70 United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)  
71 United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)  
72 United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)  
73 United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)  
74 United Nations Truce Supervision Organization  
75 United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan  
76 Office of the United Nations Special Coordinator in the Occupied Territories  
77 United Nations Peace-Building Support Office in Central Africa Republic  
78 United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan  
79 United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq  
80 United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone  
81 United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi

82 Because of the Lancaster House Agreement on Rhodesia of 21 December 1979, (1960s to 1979) armed conflict ended. A small British-led Commonwealth team supervised Zimbabwe's ceasefire monitoring and transitional elections leading to genuine majority rule and legal independence. The post-independence regime tackled the integration of a new army amidst DDR (Dzines: 2006:1). Between Rhodesian Front government, white minority rule, intended to provide a peaceful transition to majority rule on terms not harmful to Rhodesians of European descent Online available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zimbabwe\\_Rhodesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zimbabwe_Rhodesia) (January 18, 2011). The negotiations brought independence to Rhodesia which covered the Independence Constitution, pre-independence arrangements, and a ceasefire. The parties represented during the conference were: the British Government, the Patriotic Front led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and the Zimbabwe Rhodesia government, represented by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Ian Smith. Online available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancaster\\_House\\_Agreement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancaster_House_Agreement) (Accessed on January 18, 2011)

83 The then President Apolo Milton Obote (1980-1985) who led to drive the British Colonial Administration in 1962 left the administration when his powerful trusted Army General Oyite Ojok killed in a helicopter accident at

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the end of 1983 and his Uganda People's Congress (UPC) split along the ethnic lines. Army General Tito Lutwa Okello captured the state power in July 1985, but ousted by the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) army in the "war in a bush", led by guerrilla leader Yoweri Museveni in January 1986 (see, online available at <http://www.onwar.com/aced/nation/uni/uganda/fuganda1981.htm> (Accessed on January 19, 2011).

<sup>84</sup> The 23 years old armed conflict (1966 to 1989) ended while the New York Accords of 28 December 1988 (signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa) facilitated the implementation of Namibia's independence plan as outlined in UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). In 1989-1990, Namibia was host to the multidimensional UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) that successfully supervised the country's transition to independence. UNTAG's mandate was to disarm and demobilize of all armed groups (Dzines: 2006:1-4).

<sup>85</sup> While Ethiopian government did not receive support from the communist regimes such as former USSR, East Germany and their allies, the then Mengistu fled the country to asylum in Zimbabwe inn May 1991. Online available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia#Crisis\\_of\\_1974-1994](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia#Crisis_of_1974-1994) (Accessed on January 19, 2011).

<sup>86</sup> Hutu replaced by the Tusti through the genocide where 800,000 people were extrajudicially killed. Online available at <http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/rwanda.htm> (Accessed on January 19, 2011).

<sup>87</sup> Delaying the stipulated date of August

<sup>88</sup> The Emergency Loya Jirga was set up by a Transitional Authority to legitimize the Afghanistan Government until the freed and fair elections held.

<sup>89</sup> Available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan\\_Disarmament,\\_Demobilization\\_and\\_Reintegration\\_Program](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Disarmament,_Demobilization_and_Reintegration_Program)

<sup>90</sup> About 10 percent of the ex-combatants suffered from physical and psychological disabilities in Namibia

<sup>91</sup> Group of 1,035 Maoist Army were disqualified because they were recruited after the ceasefire in May 2006.

<sup>92</sup> Those disqualified were minors or had been recruited after May 25th 2006, the day of ceasefire.

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