

**Reintegrating Gender**  
A Gendered Analysis of the  
Nepali Rehabilitation Process

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UN-INSTRAW  
Working Paper Series

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***Reintegrating Gender: A Gendered Analysis of the Nepali Rehabilitation Process***

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**Abstract**

During the time of writing, Nepal is undergoing the rehabilitation phase of its United Nations supported programme on the discharge and rehabilitation of Verified Minor and Late Recruit Maoist combatants. The paper examines some of the successes and challenges of the rehabilitation process from a gendered-perspective. While the programme is progressive in its recognition of gender-related issues and provision of psycho-social support and real-time dynamic monitoring and evaluation, the particular Nepali cultural context as well as government and Maoist imposed limitations create some barriers for the implementation of an effective gender-aware rehabilitation programme.

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## Acronyms

<b>AMMAA</b>	Agreement on Monitoring of the Management of Armed and Armies
<b>CAAFAG</b>	Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
<b>CPA</b>	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
<b>CPN-Maoist</b>	Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist
<b>DDR</b>	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
<b>GPS</b>	Gender, Peace and Security
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>INGO</b>	International Non-Government Organization
<b>M&amp;E</b>	Monitor and Evaluation
<b>NAP</b>	National Action Plan
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Government Organization
<b>OHCHR</b>	Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights
<b>PLA</b>	People's Liberation Army
<b>SGBV</b>	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
<b>SSR</b>	Security Sector Reform
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Fund
<b>UNIFEM</b>	United Nations Development Fund for Women
<b>UNIRP</b>	United Nations Inter-Agency Rehabilitation Programme
<b>UN-</b>	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the
<b>INSTRAW</b>	Advancement of Women
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Population Fund
<b>UNMIN</b>	United Nations Mission in Nepal
<b>UNPFN</b>	United Nations Peace Fund Nepal
<b>UNSCR1325</b>	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
<b>UN-WOMEN</b>	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
<b>VMLR</b>	Verified Minor and Late Recruit

## 1. Introduction

Nepal is currently undergoing the rehabilitation phase of its United Nations (UN) supported programme on the discharge and rehabilitation of Verified Minor and Late Recruit (VMLR) Maoist combatants.<sup>1</sup> After ten years of the United Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-Maoist) declared "People's War," a *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* (CPA) was signed between Nepal's governmental Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the CPN-Maoist on November 21, 2006; seven days thereafter, the Agreement on Monitoring of the Management of Arms and Armies (AMMAA) was signed, together officially marking the end of the decade-long conflict. The CPA binds all actors involved in the conflict to a commitment to peace and addresses rehabilitation efforts in the guarantee of the supervision, integration and rehabilitation of Maoist combatants<sup>2</sup> and the immediate rehabilitation of armed group members under the age of 18 years at the time of signing.<sup>3</sup> Subsequent to the signing of the CPA and as part of the agreement therein, the *Action Plan for the Discharge of Maoist Army Personnel and Related Tasks* (Action Plan) was written and signed in December 2009 between the Government of Nepal, the CPN-Maoist and the UN Nepal country team.

The Action Plan outlines the general terms of rehabilitation of Verified Minors and Late Recruits (VMLR) of the Maoist armed forces, which refers to members under the age of 18 at the time of the CPA and members recruited after the CPA. Among the 4,008 individuals verified as VMLRs, 74% (2,973)<sup>4</sup> are identified as minors and 30% as girls or young women.<sup>5</sup> The high percentage of women involved and the distinct ways in which men and women experience conflict emphasize the importance of addressing women, peace and security related issues.

In order to support the realization of the Action Plan, the United Nations Peace fund for Nepal (UNPFN) has funded the United Nations Interagency Rehabilitation Programme (UNIRP), which is being implemented by a collaboration of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), and the International Labour Organization (ILO). The proposal document for the UNIRP, which boasts a gender-sensitive approach, is in its implementation phase during the time of writing. This includes the provision of psychosocial support, career counseling, and capacity development training. The UNIRP is designed to contribute to the successful delivery

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<sup>1</sup> Rehabilitation represents what may be understood as a comparison to the reintegration phase of most DDR programme. However, as the Maoist leadership has rejected the generic term DDR as not representing their intentions, the terminology for the processes understood within *reintegration* is replaced by *rehabilitation*.

<sup>2</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 4.4

<sup>3</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 7.6.1

<sup>4</sup> Junko Toda, "Girls on the front lines: Perspectives from Nepal," *OPSCEN Take*, special edition on gender and emergencies (April/May 2010).

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, Inter-agency Rehabilitation Programme. *United Nations Peace Fund for Nepal Project Document*, 2010, annex 2.2 p. 3

of the CPA.

In consideration of these three documents, this paper aims to identify the opportunities and challenges for the rehabilitation of VMLRs of the Maoist People's Liberation Army (PLA) and forthcoming reintegration of qualified members from a gender-perspective. Such research will distinguish between the peace and security issues that women face and those that men face. It will also attempt to apply the acquired information into recommendations for work within the thematic areas of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR1325) and security sector reform (SSR).

Based on a theoretical review of good practices and lessons learned in gender and DDR and consideration of rehabilitation efforts (CPA, Action Plan, Rehabilitation Package), the paper will address the following question: *What are the challenges and opportunities for the rehabilitation and reintegration of Maoist combatants in the Nepal context?* The research is divided into six sections. The first section has provided an introduction to the working paper, while section two presents further inquiry into the theoretical background of gender and DDR. The third section describes the current situation in Nepal. Sections four and five analyze the challenges and opportunities for the integration and rehabilitation of combatants. From the challenges and opportunities, the final section of the work details recommendations for the provision of technical support in peace and security issues.

### **1.1 Methodology**

The working paper involves a qualitative analysis of themes that arise from key informant interviews, a virtual discussion on gender and reintegration and a desk-review of gender and rehabilitation good practices and lessons learned. While the paper is largely theoretical, the research is supported by in-field data from key informant interviews from representatives of the UNIRP, UNFPA Nepal, Saferworld Nepal (INGO), and DidiBahini (Women, Peace and Security NGO, Nepal), as well as input from the Conflict Study Center (Research Institute, Nepal) and the UN-INSTRAW virtual discussion on the reintegration of female ex-combatants.

## **2. Gender and Rehabilitation: A Theoretical Background**

With limited time and resources, rehabilitation planning has often assumed a realist approach to security, in which the function of efforts have focused namely on disarming perceived violent combatants (or "men with guns"),<sup>6</sup> at the expense of a holistic, gender-sensitive, approach to security. Such an approach ignores the unarmed roles of members involved in armed groups, particularly those of women who may not be perceived as an immediate security threat. Women and girls, as supporters, dependants and combatants<sup>7</sup> cannot be overlooked in effective rehabilitation.

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<sup>6</sup> Sarah Douglas and others, *Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration* (New York, UNIFEM, 2004) p. 3; Bouta Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*. (The Netherlands, Clingendael, 2005) p. 10. Available from

[http://www.unifem.org/materials/item\\_detail.php?ProductID=21](http://www.unifem.org/materials/item_detail.php?ProductID=21)

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," in *Operational Guide to Integrated Disarmament,*



Good practices in rehabilitation programming emphasize a long-term, sustainable, approach to lasting security, which includes a substantial gender component. Such a model requires an awareness of the differential roles assumed by men, women, boys and girls as well as their particular needs for rehabilitation. A review of literature on gender and rehabilitation, including the UN *Operation Guide to the Integrated DDR System* (IDDRS), the 2004 UNIFEM guide *Getting it Right, Doing it Right* and the 2007 UNIFEM *Gender-Aware Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR): A Checklist* emphasize many of the same issues and challenges. These are also reiterated in the 2010 UN-INSTRAW Virtual Discussion on gender and reintegration. One such theme is the inclusion of women in the peace process. Women's participation during peace negotiations and rehabilitation planning and implementation is integral to effective programming.<sup>8</sup> Their inclusion can help to identify the particular needs of women and girls that are often ignored in "traditional" rehabilitation programmes.

Context, the acknowledgment of community perceptions, and community ownership are part of another important theme within good practices of gender and rehabilitation. The context in which ex-combatants are reintegrated, especially women and girls, is particularly important in consideration of transgressed values or gender roles. Women's often transformed gender identities within armed movements can create challenges upon return to their communities. In many cases, women and girls join armed groups as a means by which to flee oppression and obtain gender equalities and liberties.<sup>9</sup> Returning to contexts in which they no longer have the same equalities they have struggled for can create tensions and lead to conflict. Such an understanding is important within the Nepal context in which many women were drawn to the PLA under the framework of an egalitarian system (including gender equality). Having obtained a sense of empowerment and equality, the traditional gender norms to which many women and girls return can produce specific threats to peace, including the expulsion of women from their families and communities<sup>10</sup> and re-recruitment into armed forces and rebel groups in which they feel supported.<sup>11</sup> In my cases, female ex-combatants have opted to relocate to different communities or urban centers rather than return to their respective communities in which they encounter stigma and a pressure to return to traditional gender conventions.<sup>12</sup> When relocated, women and girls may lack community or

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*Demobilization and Reintegration Standards* (New York: UNDDRSC, 2006) p. 193. Available from <http://www.unddr.org/iddrs/05>

<sup>8</sup> Ani Colekessian and Corey Barr, "Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls," Gender, Peace and Security Virtual Discussion Final Report (Dominican Republic, UN-INSTRAW, 2010) p. 7-8. Available from [http://www.un-instraw.org/media/documents/GPS/GDDR\\_VD\\_Final\\_Summary2.pdf](http://www.un-instraw.org/media/documents/GPS/GDDR_VD_Final_Summary2.pdf); Douglas "Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration," p. 5; Vanessa Farr, *Gender aware Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR): A Checklist* (New York: UNIFEM, 2003), p. 3

<sup>9</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 6

<sup>10</sup> IRIN, "Nepal: Reintegration challenges for Maoist female ex-combatants," 14 April 2010. Available from <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?ReportId=88806>

<sup>11</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 12-13

<sup>12</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 8

family support and have limited financial opportunities in many post-conflict situations. This can make them vulnerable to human trafficking and more prone to pursue commercial sex work.<sup>13</sup> Effective rehabilitation programming must thus acknowledge redefined gender-conceptions, their potential in women's empowerment movements and the security issues related to community affirmation of traditional roles and stigmatization of female ex-combatants or members of armed groups.

At an individual level, such a programme must offer rehabilitation packages that do not assume or reaffirm traditional gender identities. In providing women and girls with the choice in rehabilitation packages, their special needs must also be recognized. Child care provisions should be made to ensure that female ex-combatants who are mothers and caretakers are able to attend training programmes.<sup>14</sup> The need to take the needs of female ex-combatants into account as well as those of their dependents is specifically encouraged in paragraph 13 of UNSCR1325. A woman's reproductive role and traditional gendered role as caretaker can consign her to the responsibility of caring for family and community dependants, which may create a barrier for her enrolment in rehabilitation programmes.

Often, female ex-combatants return to communities with stigmas. The highly masculinized institution of armed combat may facilitate the misconception of the female combatant as aggressive or highly sexual. The removal of the traditional gender identity as virtuous, submissive woman conflicts with the combatant identity, creating significant tension between the traditional conception from community members and the transgressed notion from ex-combatants. This emphasizes the importance of a community approach that considers the acceptance of women and girls into communities.<sup>15</sup> Such an effort lessens the perception of rewarding ex-combatants and also promotes sustainability and self-empowerment through community ownership. In this regard, existing local women's organizations and networks can act as mediators between the community and the rehabilitation programmers and ex-combatants.

The stigma of female ex-combatants and of male ex-combatants must also be addressed at an individual level. Good practices stress the importance of purification rites, if available<sup>16</sup> and ongoing psychosocial support to address stigmas should be provided to both female and male ex-combatants in combination with community

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<sup>13</sup> Colekessian and Barr, "Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls," p. 4

<sup>14</sup> United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," p. 201; Douglas "Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration," p. 8; Colekessian and Barr, "Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls," pp. 6, 11

<sup>15</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 29

<sup>16</sup> Nathalie De Watteville, "Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs" Africa Region Working Paper Series (The World Bank, 2002) p. 8, 15. Available from

[http://www.crin.org/docs/Addressing\\_Gender\\_Issues.pdf](http://www.crin.org/docs/Addressing_Gender_Issues.pdf); United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," p. 201

rehabilitation. Creating support groups between and among women in reintegration communities may provide a bridge between civilians and ex-combatants.<sup>17</sup>

### **3. Context, Challenges & Opportunities**

While good practices and lessons learned guide effective rehabilitation efforts, programmes must adapt to the specific needs within cultural contexts.<sup>18</sup> The case of Nepal provides particular contextual challenges given its fragmented character. Though the limited scope of this working paper does not allow for an in depth background analysis of the divisive caste, religion, language<sup>19</sup> and ethnic dimensions of Nepal's population, each are important elements to consider in the implementation of rehabilitation programmes.<sup>20</sup> Even within the governing body, division and disagreement among political parties has led to barriers such as the latest extension of the May 28, 2010 deadline for the creation of the Nepal Constitution, six years following the signing of the CPA. The Interim Constitution (15 January, 2007) currently guides governing actions and has been amended eight times to date.<sup>21</sup>

Before addressing the challenges and opportunities for the reintegration and rehabilitation of VMLR and qualified combatants in Nepal, this section will provide a brief introduction to gender within the current context, the rehabilitation package, and the implementation of UNSCR1325 in Nepal. These will form the basis upon which to better understand the challenges and opportunities discussed thereafter.

#### **3.1 Gender Equality in Nepal**

Although the 2006 CPA avows "ending discrimination based on class, caste, language, gender, culture, religion and region"<sup>22</sup> the ingrained patriarchy in Nepal creates challenges to such equality. Within the family domain, the decisions of women and girls in Nepal remain largely influenced by husbands and fathers and girls have less access to food, education and health services than their male counterparts. Such secondary value of women and girls can be understood as a contributing factor to high levels of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the country.<sup>23</sup> Within the public and judicial domains, women also experience deep-seated inequality as they have been discriminated against in laws regarding

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<sup>17</sup> Colekessian and Barr, "Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls," p. 9

<sup>18</sup> Colekessian and Barr, "Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls," p. 2-3

<sup>19</sup> There are over 50 language groups in Nepal

<sup>20</sup> For additional information on divisions and inequalities in Nepal, see Bennett Lynn, Dilli Ram Dahal and Pav Govindasamy, *Caste, Ethnic and Regional Identity in Nepal: further analysis of the 2006 Nepal demographic and health survey* (2006) Available from [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PNADM638.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADM638.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> Sumitra Manandhar Gurung and Sangeeta Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal* (Kathmandu, Nepal, Shantimalika, Anamnagar, 2010), Executive Summary

<sup>22</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 3.5

<sup>23</sup> Toda, "Girls on the front lines: Perspectives from Nepal"

citizenship, property, inheritance, education, employment, marriage and family relations and court proceedings. Although the Interim Constitution includes “Women’s Rights” as a fundamental right, pledges non-discrimination on the basis of gender,<sup>24</sup> has criminalized violence against women,<sup>25</sup> provides reproductive health rights to women,<sup>26</sup> and grants women equal access to ancestral property,<sup>27</sup> adequate implementation of the new laws is lacking.<sup>28</sup> Lower wages than men (only 7.7% of women receive equal remuneration for their work<sup>29</sup>) and greater barriers to employment also exemplify gender inequalities in Nepal.<sup>30</sup> Given the current economic situation of Nepal (in which 42% of the population is living below the absolute poverty line<sup>31</sup>) and lack of productive employment opportunities,<sup>32</sup> women are in a particular financially vulnerable position. Female employment rates become an important issue in rehabilitation when considering the expectancy among combatants for attaining jobs after completion of training programmes, the lack of family support, and increased migration. This will be expanded upon in section four.

### **3.2 Nepal Rehabilitation Package (2010)**

Signed in 2006, the CPA expressed a commitment from both the government of Nepal and the CPN-Maoist for the rehabilitation of displaced persons within Nepal<sup>33</sup> and the immediate rehabilitation of verified minors.<sup>34</sup> Four years thereafter, the Nepali rehabilitation Action Plan established the process for release of verified minors from the CPN-Maoist cantonments. Due to the lapse in time, most of the verified minors are 18 years and above at the time of discharge.<sup>35</sup> While some minors were removed from the cantonments through the UNICEF coordinated working group on CAAFAG (Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups), nearly 3,000

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<sup>24</sup> Nepal, Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 (2007) Art. 20:1

<sup>25</sup> Nepal, Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 (2007) Art. 20:2

<sup>26</sup> Nepal, Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 (2007) Art. 20:2

<sup>27</sup> Nepal, Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 (2007) Art. 20:4

<sup>28</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.1.4

<sup>29</sup> International Labour Organization, *Decent Work Country Programme for Nepal 2008-2010* (ILO) p. 2. Available from

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/program/dwcp/download/nepal.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> Toda, “Girls on the front lines: Perspectives from Nepal”

<sup>31</sup> International Labour Organization, *Decent Work Country Programme for Nepal 2008-2010* (ILO) p. 1

<sup>32</sup> International Labour Organization, *Decent Work Country Programme for Nepal 2008-2010* (ILO) p. 2

<sup>33</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 5.2.8.

<sup>34</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 7.6.1

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, Saferworld Regional Conflict and Security Adviser for South Asia, phone interview conducted by Ani Colekessian, Nepal/Dominican Republic, 29 July 2010

verified members remained in cantonment prior to the 2010 discharge.<sup>36</sup> To address this issue, a UN working team of seventy individuals from the UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, OHCHR (Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights) and UNMIN (United Nations Mission in Nepal) was mobilized for technical discharge, protection and gender, UN monitoring, logistics, coordination and communications.<sup>37</sup>

The subsequent rehabilitation process of the VMLRs began on January 8, 2010 with the first discharge of 372 VMLRs (367 verified minors) from No. 2 Cantonment of Dudhau, Sindhuli<sup>38</sup> and ending with the release of 237 verified minors and 31 late recruits from the Rolpa Maoist Army Cantonment on February 11, 2010.<sup>39</sup> The rehabilitation programme offered to VMLRs upon discharge consists of an individual choice between one of four training/education packages: 1) formal educational support; 2) financing a micro-enterprise 3) vocational skill training 4) training and formal education in health sector jobs.<sup>40</sup> Though a key component to effective (gender-sensitive) rehabilitation – agricultural support<sup>41</sup> – is missing from the package, this is due to the Maoist refusal to return to what the group identifies as low-status field labour.<sup>42</sup> The UN, Maoist and government collaborated team tasked to create the package consulted with ex-combatants in each cantonment during the development phase in order to assess the needs of beneficiaries. Through feedback sessions with ex-combatants, the package was adapted to meet with the needs of beneficiaries addressed, such as job security and job training. Additionally, the necessity of catering packages to skill sets obtained or built upon during the conflict (such as health services) was established. Though the information is limited by its non-disaggregated dimension (as systematic individual socio-economic profiling was not permitted by Maoist leadership) the approach exhibits the good practice of consultation with beneficiaries.

As a package, the programme is innovative in three major components: 1) gender approach, 2) psychosocial support, and 3) real-time dynamic monitoring and

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<sup>36</sup> United Nations Mission in Nepal, “Activity Details: Discharge and Reintegration,” 31 January 2008. Available from

[http://www.unmin.org.np/?d=activities&p=activity\\_detail&aid=95](http://www.unmin.org.np/?d=activities&p=activity_detail&aid=95)

<sup>37</sup> Pernille Ironside, “UN Inter-Agency Collaboration at Its Best in the Discharge and Rehabilitation of Disqualified UCPN-Maoists in Nepal,” *IAWG on DDR Newsletter*, July 2010 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, p. 2

<sup>38</sup> Ambika Pokhrel, “The Hidden Story of the Disqualified Maoist Combatants” *Insight on Conflict*, 22 January 2010. Available from

<http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/nepal/stories/disqualified-maoists>

<sup>39</sup> Sarah Crowe and Marty Logan, “Last group of Maoist child soldiers discharged in Nepal” *UNICEF Nepal Newslines*, 17 February 2010. Available from

[http://www2.unicef.org/infobycountry/nepal\\_52791.html](http://www2.unicef.org/infobycountry/nepal_52791.html)

<sup>40</sup> United Nations, Inter-agency Rehabilitation Programme. *United Nations Peace Fund for Nepal Project Document*, annex 2.2 p. 30

<sup>41</sup> United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, “Women, Gender and DDR,” p. 201; Douglas “Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration,” p. 40

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, UNIRP Nepal Senior Rehabilitation Advisor and Programme Coordinator, phone interview conducted by Ani Colekessian, Nepal/Dominican Republic, 2 August 2010

evaluation (M&E) – operationalizing the recommendations of a new draft M&E in DDR Guidelines by BCPR/UNDP). In line with the gender components of the CPA and Action Plan for rehabilitation, the package stresses the priority of specific gender considerations that address UNSCR1325 and the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).<sup>43</sup> Such an approach has enabled provisions that consider women as agents in conflict and women's distinct security needs, as addressed within the resolution. The inclusion of "particular activities related to SGBV, female empowerment and an existing UNFPA initiative called 'Choose Your Future'"<sup>44</sup> expressly recognizes the distinct security needs of women as well as the transformation from traditional gender roles. Such an assessment of needs is vital for successful, gender-sensitive rehabilitation programming.<sup>45</sup>

The package also identifies existing women's groups as key partners in mobilizing communities and proposes to facilitate family mediation and counseling for community acceptance. Although little to no grassroots work is currently being undertaken in the rehabilitation effort,<sup>46</sup> this is largely due to the highly politicized nature of the programme, the low numbers of caseload and broad geographical spread of communities of resettlement; nevertheless, the acknowledgement is an important addition and allows for prospective joint initiatives. It must be noted that the inclusion of local human rights and women's groups can lessen common and listed challenges in integration efforts.<sup>47</sup> Efforts should be made to ensure the inclusion of such groups when feasible.

Psychosocial support is also offered at each of the career centers, through collocated female counselors drawn from national child focused NGOs, trained and contracted by UNICEF as an aspect of the CAAFAG network, which enables women (and men) to confront conflict trauma such as SGBV. Upon discharge, VMLR were also provided with the option of transitional housing outside of cantonments before integrating into communities as a means by which to confront psychosocial issues. While combatants may express hesitation against psychosocial support as a form of indoctrination, its availability is vital to address post-conflict traumas and as such, sustainable rehabilitation.

These provisions, in combination with daily dynamic monitoring and evaluation of the programme (based upon the 2009 UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery

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<sup>43</sup> United Nations, Inter-agency Rehabilitation Programme. *United Nations Peace Fund for Nepal Project Document*, annex, output 1.4, p. 6

<sup>44</sup> United Nations, Inter-agency Rehabilitation Programme. *United Nations Peace Fund for Nepal Project Document*, annex, Output 2.2, p. 8

<sup>45</sup> United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," p. 195-196

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, Didi Bahini Nepal Executive Chair, phone interview conducted by Ani Colekessian, Nepal/Dominican Republic, 1 August 2010; Bishnu Pathak, Conflict Study Center Nepal President, e-mail to author, 20 July 2010

<sup>47</sup> Colekessian and Barr, "Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls," p. 3; United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," p. 201, 203; Farr, *Gender aware Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR): A Checklist*, p. 6

M&E for DDR guidelines)<sup>48</sup> and a “conflict, gender and youth sensitive approach” for which the UNIRP aims<sup>49</sup> creates significant prospective for effective rehabilitation programming. To date, the ongoing monitoring and evaluation has provided an awareness of good practices and lessons learned in gender and rehabilitation that have allowed for the gender component of the package.<sup>50</sup>

### 3.3 UNSCR1325 in Nepal

Effective rehabilitation includes a substantive gender approach. In many cases, rehabilitation programmes have been rushed, sacrificing adequate time for planning or resources. As a result, gender-perspectives and community ownership have often been omitted from rehabilitation processes, undermining sustainable peace efforts and substantive security.<sup>51</sup> Women and men experience conflict and peace differently; it is imperative that rehabilitation efforts address the security needs of both men and women through disaggregated analyses. In October 2000, the UN adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR1325). The resolution acknowledges the distinct roles of women and girls as agents in conflict, post-conflict and peace and stresses the importance of addressing their distinct needs in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements, with specific reference to rehabilitation efforts.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, UNSCR1325 calls for the adoption of a gender-perspective in the implementation of rehabilitation (as part of DDR)<sup>53</sup> and an increase in women’s political participation at all levels of decision-making in conflict resolution and peace processes, including rehabilitation.<sup>54</sup> This re-orientates the “victim” discourse surrounding women in conflict, while ensuring women’s inclusion in programmes such as rehabilitation. Given the high number of female combatants in the PLA, particular efforts should be made to implement UNSCR1325 during the rehabilitation of combatants in Nepal.

The Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction, with the support of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) is currently in the formulation phase of a Nepali UNSCR1325 National Action Plan (NAP), which is anticipated for release in October 2010.<sup>55</sup> Though government efforts demonstrate Nepal’s commitment to UNSCR1325 and the Peace Support Working Group on UNSCR1325<sup>56</sup> has initiated

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010; See UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, *How to Guide: Monitoring and Evaluation for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes*, (United Nations Development Programme, 2009). Available from [http://unddr.org/docs/How\\_to\\_Guide\\_-\\_M%26E\\_for\\_DDR\\_Programmes.pdf](http://unddr.org/docs/How_to_Guide_-_M%26E_for_DDR_Programmes.pdf)

<sup>49</sup> United Nations, Inter-agency Rehabilitation Programme. *United Nations Peace Fund for Nepal Project Document*, annex, Output 2.1, p. 8

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>51</sup> Douglas “Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration,” p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> S/RES/1325, para. 13

<sup>53</sup> S/RES/1325, para. 8a

<sup>54</sup> S/RES/1325, para. 1

<sup>55</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.1.3

<sup>56</sup> The Peace Support Working Group on UNSCR 1325 in Nepal is a UN and donor coordination and cooperation forum. See <http://nepal.unfpa.org/en/unsr1325>

UNSCR1325 awareness activities, awareness of UNSCR1325 remains limited among key stakeholders. Research and review of UNSCR1325 by Shantimalika (the network of 18 Nepali women's organizations working on women, peace and security issues) has found that women, peace and security is neither taken seriously nor prioritized by officials.<sup>57</sup> Thus, despite documentation, like the Interim Constitutional promotion of women's rights, lack of awareness and political will challenges the implementation of UNSCR1325. During the time of writing, the UNSCR1325 NAP is under review by grassroots women's organizations.

#### **4. Challenges to Rehabilitation: A Gender Perspective**

Though progressive in its approach to gender, the rehabilitation package faces several challenges in realizing its gender perspective. The following section outlines factors that threaten gender-equality initiatives in the Nepali rehabilitation process.

##### **4.1 Individual vs. Community Approach**

Despite the community-based element in planned outcome two<sup>58</sup> of the rehabilitation project document, the approach is highly individual. Within the four packages provided, with the exception of formal education, no community ownership exists.<sup>59</sup> Such an individualized model risks the misperception by community members that rehabilitation is rewarding actors who supported or committed atrocities.<sup>60</sup> The individual-based model also places the burden of economic and social reintegration on communities, which is unsustainable and unrealistic given the economic realities of post-conflict societies.<sup>61</sup> Without community input and perceived benefit, ex-combatants (especially females) may encounter threats to their security and acceptance into the community. In monitoring such perceptions, it is imperative that a rehabilitation programme identify community responses to returning combatants, with special regard for women and girls.<sup>62</sup> Though such an approach is ideal, the Nepali context provides particular challenges to community-centered programmes. According to Senior Rehabilitation Advisor & Programme Coordinator (UNIRP), Desmond Molloy, the broad geographical spread and small number of beneficiaries inhibits a strong community-oriented programme. Nevertheless, public awareness raising on rehabilitation and the packages provided to VMLRs through programmes such as radio and street drama should be incorporated as a means to strengthen trust and social rehabilitation at the community level. Although work with the UNICEF led CAAFAG programme has enabled access into communities with youth

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, 1 August 2010

<sup>58</sup> Planned outcome two of the project document suggests that "communities are engaged in supporting the rehabilitation of the verified minors and late recruits"

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>60</sup> Douglas "Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration," p. 38

<sup>61</sup> Julie Brethfeld, *Unrealistic Expectations: Current Challenges to Reintegration in Southern Sudan* (Geneva, Switzerland, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Development Studies, 2010) p. 7. Available from <http://www.smallarmssurveysudan.org/pdfs/HSBA-SWP-21-Current-Challenges-to-Reintegration-in-Southern-Sudan.pdf>

<sup>62</sup> United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," p. 197



related programmes and women's organizations, rehabilitation must be linked to a national programme in order for the community to see benefit.<sup>63</sup>

## **4.2 From Tradition to Transition: Gender Roles and Inter-Caste Marriage**

Many voluntary recruits were drawn into the CPN-Maoist's People's Liberation Army (PLA) by Maoist policy, which includes social and cultural reform for equality across gender, caste, ethnicity, language and religion in Nepal.<sup>64</sup> The transition from Nepal's traditional hierarchies and patriarchal systems creates particular tensions with newly engrained Maoist values, including gender and caste conventions.

### **4.2.1 Gender Roles**

Women and girls often join armed movements to access social change.<sup>65</sup> Such is the case in Nepal, where many women have obtained a sense of empowerment as members of the PLA.<sup>66</sup> Upon reintegration however, this can be threatened with the return to traditional communities in which patriarchal systems are entrenched. Though opportunities for progressive transformation and the obtaining of rights exist post-conflict, often communities revert to the status quo of the "peace before the war."<sup>67</sup> While reports do acknowledge violations against women and female exploitation within the armed group, many women experienced a sense of empowerment gender through gender equality provisions such as equal roles to their male counterparts, as combatants, messengers, spies or providers of food, fundraisers, community mobilizers and providers of logistical support.<sup>68</sup>

Accustomed to a more egalitarian model, female ex-combatants may encounter particular challenges in rehabilitation. Based on lessons learned, female ex-combatants with such a sense of acquired empowerment may find it difficult to adjust to traditional expectations from family and community members upon reintegration.<sup>69</sup> According to Sarah Dalrymple from Saferworld (INGO) Nepal, many female ex-combatants worry about losing their newly acquired empowerment upon return to patriarchal society; many whom have returned are facing problems, while others are concerned about returning for this reason.<sup>70</sup> Her claim is supported by IRIN reports of rejection and fear, where female VMLRs have shared that they had "hoped to dismantle the old society and replace [it] with a new progressive society that respects equal rights of women," (Shanta Karki, female ex-combatant, Nepal) and that in cases now, "My family doesn't accept me and society looks at me with hatred...I don't know how I will survive now and where to live" (Rachna Shah, i 21,

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>64</sup> IRIN, "Nepal: Reintegration challenges for Maoist female ex-combatants"

<sup>65</sup> De Watteville, "Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs," p. 14; Yvonne E. Keairns, *The Voices of Girl Child Soldiers* (New York, Quaker United Nations Office and Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2002) p. 3. Available from [http://www.crin.org/docs/Addressing\\_Gender\\_Issues.pdf](http://www.crin.org/docs/Addressing_Gender_Issues.pdf)

<sup>66</sup> Toda, "Girls on the front lines: Perspectives from Nepal"

<sup>67</sup> De Watteville, "Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs," p. 14

<sup>68</sup> Toda, "Girls on the front lines: Perspectives from Nepal"

<sup>69</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 30

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

female ex-combatant, Nepal).<sup>71</sup> Such feelings are reiterated among qualified combatants. Among the 136 female combatants interviewed by Saferworld in an ongoing study, 80% feared rejection from their families and communities based upon their changed gender role and community perception of Maoist female combatants as promiscuous and aggressive because of their role in the PLA.<sup>72</sup> The study also identifies a fear of loss of empowerment upon return.<sup>73</sup> The reports emphasize the importance of supporting the transgression of gender roles through efforts that do not reaffirm traditional gender norms and facilitate community understanding.

Facilitating women's empowerment and gender equality that is supported by women's transformed roles is also important to the success of economic rehabilitation. Post-conflict periods may experience a resurgence of a masculinized labour market and gender-discriminating labour practices. From lessons learned, private employers may experience prejudice against female ex-combatants who are assumed to be "lacking femininity, sexually promiscuous, or homosexual."<sup>74</sup> Given the existing discriminatory practices in the Nepali labour market, female ex-combatants may experience double-discrimination. Such practices reinforce the need for programmes to address women's traditional roles and the ways in which the labour market undermines her acquired sense of empowerment.

#### *4.2.2 Inter-Caste Marriage*

In Nepal, the potential exile of female ex-combatants from family and community members also extends to caste. Inter-caste marriage is reported as common among Maoist combatants, though generally unaccepted among Nepali society. Among the combatants surveyed in the Saferworld Nepal study, 40% of qualified combatants admitted being in inter-caste marriages<sup>75</sup> and revealed concern about being rejected by their families and communities as a result of their inter-caste marriage, which would undermine social rehabilitation.<sup>76</sup> Cases from the 2010 Saferworld study demonstrate the threat of heightened vulnerability to emotional, psychological and physical domestic abuse and in some cases, homicide (registered as suicide), that

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<sup>71</sup> IRIN, "Nepal: Reintegration challenges for Maoist female ex-combatants"

<sup>72</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings* (Nepal, Saferworld, 2010) p. 5

<sup>73</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 9

<sup>74</sup> De Watteville, "Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs," p. 13

<sup>75</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 8

<sup>76</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 5

women in inter-caste marriages experience upon return to their husband's families.<sup>77</sup> Women who marry below their caste without parental consent are particularly vulnerable as they are often rejected by the family.<sup>78</sup> The protection of such women is an issue that the UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR (IAWG) in Nepal is currently seeking to address.<sup>79</sup> Due to rigid socially defined hierarchies, many men and women fear rejection from their communities, a reality that is particularly difficult for women.<sup>80</sup> The lack of economic opportunities for women, family care and community support for her dependents creates specific financial challenges to women in inter-caste marriages.

### **4.3 Rehabilitating Women/Girls**

Men, women, boys and girls experience conflict differently. Sex-disaggregated analyses are necessary to address the particular vulnerabilities and security needs of each. Described below are the distinct challenges that women/girls and men/boys face in the Nepali rehabilitation process. Due to the limited access to resources and limited ability to identify individual socio-economic profiles because of Maoist policy, in addition to the current age status of verified minors (most above 18 years), the categories of women and girls and men and boys are lumped; however, further disaggregated analysis of age, ethnicity, language, caste and religion is recommended.

#### *4.3.1 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV)*

Numerous accounts of torture and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against women have been documented by organizations such as Human Rights Watch, International Alert and the International Crisis Group during the *People's War*.<sup>81</sup> The trend of high levels of sexual and gender-based violence has continued in Nepal.<sup>82</sup> In their review of the implementation of UNSCR1325 in Nepal, Shantimalika reveal that "many women and girls were subjected to abduction, displacement, trafficking, torture, rape and other forms of sexual violence and many more were killed by both State and Maoist actors."<sup>83</sup> In an April 2010 interview for *OPSCEN Take*, Pernille

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<sup>77</sup> Sarah Dalrymple, "Research on the different needs, and concerns of men and women Maoist Army combatants and communities for rehabilitation and integration," presentation at *1325 Donor PSWG* (17 August 2010)

<sup>78</sup> Bishnu Pathak, e-mail to author, 20 July 2010

<sup>79</sup> Ironside, "UN Inter-Agency Collaboration at Its Best in the Discharge and Rehabilitation of Disqualified UCPN-Maoists in Nepal"

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>81</sup> United Nations Population Fund, *Priority Areas for Addressing Sexual and Gender Based Violence in Nepal*, (Nepal: HURDEC, 2007) p. 5

<http://nepal.unfpa.org/pdf/publication/Mapping%20of%20GBV%20Services.pdf>; For further reference, see International Crisis Group, "Nepal: Dealing with a Human Rights Crisis" *Asia Report* No. 94 (24 March 2004). Available from <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/nepal/094-nepal-dealing-with-a-human-rights-crisis.aspx>

<sup>82</sup> Charlotte Watson and Rebecca Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal* (London, UK, International Alert, 2009) p. 16

<sup>83</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, executive summary

Ironside (UNICEF Child Protection Specialist in Emergencies) reiterated such reports of girls experiencing violence and exploitation.<sup>84</sup>

Though through their commitment to the CPA, the CPN-Maoist and government of Nepal “prohibit all types of violence against women and children, including...sexual exploitation and harassment,”<sup>85</sup> sources suggest that women and girls continue to be subjected to SGBV, especially outside of the cantonments. Many human rights and women’s NGOs in Nepal suggest an actual increase in SGBV rates.<sup>86</sup> During the Saferworld research, former combatants shared examples in which they or their colleagues had experienced SGBV (mainly while outside of the cantonment due to rules relegating women and children outside). A number of cases interviewed by Saferworld also reported SGBV between married combatants.<sup>87</sup> Often, sexual violence between partners is overlooked and attention must be paid to such cases by practitioners. While UNFPA in collaboration with UNICEF were able to provide protection during the discharge of combatants, with a no-tolerance policy towards SGBV, such findings support the need for rehabilitation efforts to also support the prevention of SGBV (which includes psychosocial support to both men and women), SSR that addresses SGBV and the effective implementation of UNSCR1325, with regards to SGBV, can provide such prevention.

#### 4.3.2 Stigma

As suggested by women’s transformed gender roles, many female ex-combatants are hesitant about reintegration due to stigma associated with their combat duties. Combatants returning to communities are often considered “masculinized.” Having denied their traditional female role, they may be perceived of as unfeminine, aggressive and overly-sexual. Reports by both Desmond Molloy (Senior Rehabilitation Officer, UNDP Nepal) and Sarah Dalrymple (Saferworld Nepal) suggest this to be the case in Nepal for both female qualified combatants and VMLRs. Among the discharged female VMLRs, many have refused to return to their communities with such fear. Among those that have returned, there have been reported accounts of experiencing the stigma of “sexual” and “aggressive” women from communities and families.<sup>88</sup>

#### 4.3.3 Migration (Urban)

Given such community perceptions, female ex-combatants often remain in exile or relocate outside of their communities to avoid reverting to traditional social norms.<sup>89</sup> To circumvent community stigma and a return to traditional gender roles and hierarchies, many women in Nepal are opting to migrate to urban centers.<sup>90</sup> Such migration, enabled by the “destination choice” approach of the Nepal rehabilitation

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<sup>84</sup> Toda, “Girls on the front lines: Perspectives from Nepal”

<sup>85</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 7.6.1

<sup>86</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal* p. 16

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010; Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>89</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 8

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

programme, may also lessen cases of SGBV against women.<sup>91</sup> While important to acknowledge the “freedom” women have in determining their destination, it is imperative to address the root causes of women’s migration. In addition to avoiding gender-based violence and stigmas, without family support or childcare and education programmes for their dependents, many ex-combatant/mothers hesitate to return to their communities.<sup>92</sup> Based upon previous lessons learned, such lack of support and financial vulnerability can result in rising rates of commercial sex work and human trafficking of female ex-combatants as an only means of livelihood.<sup>93</sup> Though at the time of writing no official documentation exists on the issue, DidiBahini<sup>94</sup> representative, Saloni Singh, suggests that rising rates of commercial sex work in the country<sup>95</sup> may be associated with a lack of resources and support to female ex-combatants.<sup>96</sup> This threat to women’s security is vital to acknowledge in rehabilitation efforts, including SSR and the implementation of UNSCR1325.

#### 4.3.4 Reproductive Health & Child Care

Reproductive health and child care support are key components of effective programming. Such efforts ensure that mothers can fully participate in rehabilitation training and services provided. However, this aspect of the UNIRP package has been slow to operationalize and it is only lately that appropriate dissemination and implementation is drawing an increasing number of VMLR mothers to participate. Many female combatants with dependents have heretofore presumed their ineligibility to participate in the UNIRP, due to initially weak communication strategies.<sup>97</sup> Such lack of reproductive health services has also been the case in the cantonments;<sup>98</sup> this is especially concerning in consideration of the reported high birth rates therein. Maoist policy dictates that pregnant combatants must leave cantonments in order to obtain adequate sleep and care, which the cantonment environment does not facilitate. Although the UNFPA was able to provide medical services and gynecological care as part of the discharge process, with entry into understanding the reproductive needs of female combatants (such as sexually transmitted infections and pregnancies), the initial perception of lack of reproductive health provisions in the rehabilitation package has delayed the entry of eligible mothers into the UNIRP.

Moreover, despite UNFPA efforts and the improved communication of packages, many of the women have relocated to small apartments on the fringes of the

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<sup>91</sup> Douglas “Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration,” p. 37

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, 1 August 2010

<sup>93</sup> Colekessian and Barr, “Reintegrating Female Ex-Combatants: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Women and Girls,” p. 4

<sup>94</sup> *Didi Bahini* is a Nepali NGO, which currently leads *Shantimalika*, the 18 member network of NGOs working on women, peace and security issues in Nepal.

<sup>95</sup> See UNHCR, *Trafficking in Persons Report 2010 – Nepal* (United States, United States Department of State, 2010). Available from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,NPL,4562d8cf2,4c1883d52d,0.html>

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, 1 August 2010

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, 1 August 2010

cantonments due to lack of support.<sup>99</sup> Like migration, this may also facilitate entry into commercial sex work and human trafficking. The case of self-reintegration of girls during DDR was also found in Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique, where a large number who did not undergo formal rehabilitation demonstrated higher levels of anxiety, depression and hostility.<sup>100</sup> In many cases, girls who bypass rehabilitation risk isolation and poverty.<sup>101</sup> The support of child care facilities, a family allowance (especially for single financially unsupported mothers) and reproductive health is integral to women's security to avoid such cases in Nepal. Such programmes however, must extend to communities, in order to prevent further resentment.<sup>102</sup>

#### **4.4 Rehabilitating Men/Boys**

Like women and girls, men and boys also face particular challenges that must be addressed to ensure sustainable rehabilitation. In the case of Nepal, these include: stigma, migration and re-recruitment.

##### *4.4.1 Stigma*

In some situations, men and boys have received greater acceptance into their communities, as their "aggressive" behaviour during conflict has not transgressed their assigned gender role;<sup>103</sup> however, in other situations, men and boys are considered a larger threat to security than women and girls, as they are assumed to have committed greater atrocities.<sup>104</sup> While both scenarios are viable within the Nepal context, some community members have expressed greater acceptance of female ex-combatants over their male counterparts.<sup>105</sup>

Just as men, boys, women and girls experience conflict differently, stigma associated with men/boys in Nepal varies significantly from that experienced by women/girls. Unlike the female stigma of overly aggressive and promiscuous behavior, the most significant stigma that men/boys have expressed experiencing is that of failure. Among the male verified minors, many have rejected the rehabilitation package on the basis of being labeled "disqualified,"<sup>106</sup> while 70% of qualified male combatants

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<sup>99</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, 1 August 2010

<sup>100</sup> Dyan Masurana and Susan McKay, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique*, (Canada, Canadian International Development Agency Child Protection Research Fund, 2004) p. 7

<sup>101</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 11

<sup>102</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 7

<sup>103</sup> Masurana and McKay, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique*, p. 36

<sup>104</sup> Masurana and McKay, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique*, p. 36

<sup>105</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 9

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

fear the humiliation of returning to their communities “empty handed.”<sup>107</sup> In the first case, VMLRs sense rejection from military service on the presumption of an under-qualified status. In the second, qualified combatants sense defeat. Both perceptions of failure and lack of fulfillment facilitate re-recruitment.

#### 4.4.2 Re-recruitment

The growing number of armed groups in Nepal<sup>108</sup> provides particular security risks for men/boys in the country. In 2009, more than a dozen armed groups were reported as active in the Terai<sup>109</sup> and the mitigation of youth recruitment into militant and criminal gangs has been identified as an immediate public security sector concern by International Alert.<sup>110</sup> Bishnu Pathak of the CS Center Nepal has also suggested that over 100 armed, semi-armed and criminal groups are active in Nepal, where a rising trend of such groups exists.<sup>111</sup> Although all of the qualified combatants surveyed by Saferworld expressed their primary wish for peace, 80% admitted a return to arms and violence as a means to secure a stable income if unsatisfied with the rehabilitation package.<sup>112</sup> A recent UNMIN press release has also expressed concern regarding reports of re-recruitment into both the National Army and the PLA, despite the CPA commitment against re-recruitment.<sup>113</sup> The recruitment and re-recruitment of male ex-combatants into armed groups threatens both the security of male ex-combatants and the security of the state.

#### 4.4.3 Migration (Urban/International)

While female ex-combatants in Nepal demonstrate a pattern of urban migration, a trend in the migration of male ex-combatants has been international in addition to urban. The current economy of Nepal and the international opportunities for men, which are more limited for women, have driven many men to seek jobs abroad.<sup>114</sup> Although the migration of male ex-combatants differs from women regarding security threats, the pattern emphasizes the lack of economic security for sustainable rehabilitation.

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<sup>107</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 5

<sup>108</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 1

<sup>109</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 14

<sup>110</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 22

<sup>111</sup> Bishnu Pathak, e-mail to author, 20 July 2010

<sup>112</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 2

<sup>113</sup> United Nations Mission in Nepal, “Activity Details: Discharge and Reintegration”

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

## **4.5 Limited Buy-in of Stakeholders**

The limited buy-in by actors among the Nepali government, Maoists, and combatants creates particular challenges for the ultimate success of the programme.

### *4.5.1 Government*

The limited support for the rehabilitation process challenges the effectiveness of the package. Like many rehabilitation programmes, for the government of Nepal, the programme is a means of managing the ex-combatant as a threat to security.<sup>115</sup> Such a security approach has stipulated limited funds for ex-combatants. VMLRs are awarded insufficient monthly living allowances. A month allowance not exceeding NPRs 3,000 (USD 40.24) and a package financial cap in the region of NPRs 100,000 (USD 1,341.38) so as not to exceed social welfare payment scales to other war effected people, has limited optimal package design.<sup>116</sup> Without financial support and package design below expectations, many ex-combatants may be unable or unwilling to take a rehabilitation package. This may also contribute to re-recruitment and the migration of men abroad, seeking alternative economic opportunities.

### *4.5.2 CPN-Maoists*

The rehabilitation process is also complicated by the CPN-Maoists who have expressed hesitation against the components of the rehabilitation package; reservations which may be softening in August 2010.<sup>117</sup> Neither the SPA nor the CPN-Maoists are fully committed to the UNIRP as evidenced by the recent allegations of re-recruitment by both the PLA and the National Army.<sup>118</sup> The rehabilitation of late recruits has also been criticized by some stakeholders, some of which do not consider such combatants eligible for the package.<sup>119</sup> Such criticism from the CPN-Maoist may affect the rehabilitation package support from discharged combatants.

### *4.5.3 VMLRs*

Though the package recognizes many needs, both qualified and VMLRs have expressed some disappointment regarding the VMLR rehabilitation package. In addition to CPN-Maoist influence, high expectations from VMLRs<sup>120</sup> and stigma of inadequacy associated with the label "disqualified"<sup>121</sup> have prompted some ex-combatants to reject the programme. While programme scales of economy had anticipated the participation of specific numbers of VMLRs for particular packages, enrollment has been slower than anticipated, or spread more thinly geographically, and those scales of economy have not always been met.<sup>122</sup> This has led to increasing variable costs and the necessity to renegotiate package pricing with principle service providers. Such curtailed enrolment is significant regarding the psychological and emotional trauma and economic vulnerability experienced by ex-combatants who fail

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>117</sup> DDR and SSR in Nepal (CS Center)

<sup>118</sup> United Nations Mission in Nepal, "Activity Details: Discharge and Reintegration"

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010



to complete rehabilitation programmes.<sup>123</sup> Failed rehabilitation programmes also threaten security through heightened vulnerability to recruitment into armed groups and re-recruitment. Although Vice-Chairman for the Maoist Army, deputy commander Baldev, claims that only a total of five VMLRs have joined armed groups in the Terai,<sup>124</sup> among the VMLRs surveyed from Saferworld Nepal, 2/3 have considered forming their own criminal groups.<sup>125</sup> Additionally, the UNMIN has addressed concern regarding possible reports of re-recruitment from the PLA,<sup>126</sup> though this has been denied by the armed group. Nevertheless, recruitment and the underlying causes that influence recruitment must be addressed in the rehabilitation programme.

Initial communication problems created specific challenges for the rehabilitation of VMLRs. UNIRP Senior Rehabilitation Advisor and Programme Coordinator, Desmond Molloy, addressed the initial communication failure.<sup>127</sup> Poor communication mechanisms are particularly concerning for female combatants, who often have less access to communication.<sup>128</sup> Women's already limited receipt of information is thus heightened by inadequate communication strategies, complicated by obstruction and misinformation, willful and accidental. According to Desmond Molloy, this is currently being overcome by broader networking of the CAAFAG network.<sup>129</sup>

As well as VMLRs, qualified combatants have also identified their disillusionment with the rehabilitation process. Although many approve of the VMLR package within the cantonment, opinions differ outside of the cantonment confines.<sup>130</sup> Though a shift toward acceptance of the rehabilitation of qualified combatants exists among the Maoists, the group continues to discourage VMLRs from accepting the package.<sup>131</sup> Accordingly, to date 80% of qualified combatants indicate their dissatisfaction of the VMLR package and threaten a return to violence upon offer of a similar programme.<sup>132</sup> In this regard, the issue of security sector reform (SSR) is a significant challenge. While qualified combatants anticipate their integration into the National Army, the National Army is against such a reform.<sup>133</sup> Given the irresolution of the root causes of conflict, the inability to integrate both armed groups may provide challenges to peace efforts in Nepal, including recruitment and re-recruitment into armed groups.

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<sup>123</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 11 / where are the girls

<sup>124</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>125</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 6

<sup>126</sup> United Nations Mission in Nepal, "Activity Details: Discharge and Reintegration"

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>128</sup> United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre, "Women, Gender and DDR," p. 194

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>131</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>133</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

## **5. Some Opportunities for Rehabilitation: A Gender Perspective**

Although many challenges impede rehabilitation efforts, as mentioned in the background information, the Nepal rehabilitation process through the UNIRP, has incorporated many good practices and lessons learned. In this regard, it is important to highlight the opportunities that exist, despite setbacks. Understanding both challenges and opportunities will allow for an effective evaluation of gaps to fill. The following section outlines some of the opportunities and potential successes of the Nepali rehabilitation process.

### **5.1 Communication of VMLR Package to Recipients**

Although initial communication setbacks and limited financial support and political will has led to disillusionment about the rehabilitation process, recent successes suggest opportunities for the current VMLR and forthcoming qualified rehabilitation programmes. Among the VMLRs discharged from within the cantonments, 73% have made contact with programme facilitators.<sup>134</sup> Strengthened communication strategies have included the dissemination of brochures and radio advertisements and calls to the toll-free referral number are increasing.<sup>135</sup> The UN group also anticipates sending mobile phone SMS (short message service) text messages directly to VMLRs as an outreach tool.<sup>136</sup> Once individuals make contact with facilitators, follow-up is made to ensure their commitment to the programme. Such successes have met with the approval of government and Maoist representatives. At the National Steering Committee Integration & Rehabilitation meeting on Monday 23 August 2010, both the Minister for Peace and Reconstruction and the Maoist representative acknowledged the relative success of the programme to date and stated a new commitment to encourage remaining VMLRs to participate.<sup>137</sup> Such positive feedback from officials and their influence upon VMLRs and qualified combatants suggests a growing trend toward an increasing successful rehabilitation programme. Nevertheless, while successes must be noted, such communication strategies should extend beyond outreach to VMLRs and into awareness raising to the public as a means to strengthen social rehabilitation and community ownership.

### **5.2 Psychosocial Support to VMLRs**

VMLRs who enlist in a rehabilitation training package receive psychosocial support from an all female staff as well as career counseling. Every office includes a psychosocial support officer in the programme.<sup>138</sup> Such support addresses individualized needs, a key component to gender-sensitive programming. Though the service is currently only available at the regional level, creating some geographic barriers, the CAAFAG group is currently attempting to extend services at the local level through their community outreach. The gender aware provision of psychosocial support, which addresses the specific needs of female and male VMLRs at an individual level, may provide an explanation for the relatively high rate of participation among females. Female VMLRs make up 32% of programme participants (equal to roughly

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<sup>134</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>135</sup> United Nations, *United Nations Country Team Rehabilitation Programme Weekly Report: 30 July-5 August*, report no. 23, 6 August 2010. p. 3

<sup>136</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010; United Nations, *United Nations Country Team Rehabilitation Programme Weekly Report: 30 July-5 August*, p. 3

<sup>137</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

the percentage of female VMLRs).<sup>139</sup> This may be an indication of the gender component's success in affirming women's role in rehabilitation. Nevertheless, it must be noted that a significant majority of female VMLRs have chosen the micro-enterprise package (296 of 476) over vocational training (22), education (137), and health training (21).<sup>140</sup> This may be largely due to the support for dependents available in the micro-credit package and emphasizes the importance of including child care services and family allowances into the programme.

### **5.3 Support of Programme**

Although employers have heretofore hesitated to employ ex-combatants and female ex-combatants in particular,<sup>141</sup> according to Desmond Molloy (UNDP Senior Rehabilitation Officer), many VMLRs who have undergone training have attained jobs.<sup>142</sup> Career successes from the VMLR package translate well for beneficiary support of the forthcoming qualified rehabilitation programme. Many male and female (mostly with children) qualified combatants prefer civilian employment over security employment due to safety reasons and a successful rehabilitation of VMLRs can work with such preferences to further encourage positive perceptions; among qualified combatants surveyed by Saferworld, 60% suggested interest in a rehabilitation package that was favourable enough.<sup>143</sup> A programme that achieves successful results will thus influence the impact and success of the forthcoming programme and lasting peace. The Saferworld research has also identified support from communities for the rehabilitation programme: 85% of community respondents favour the programme, with 5% expressly addressing their gratitude to the PLA for ending the monarchy.<sup>144</sup> In combination with an address of current challenges, such support structures lay the foundation for a successful, sustainable rehabilitation programme.

## **6. Recommendations for Gender, Peace and Security Work**

Based on the background information, challenges and opportunities, gaps to fill within the peacebuilding and rehabilitation efforts of Nepal are identifiable. The following are recommendations of support within the gender, peace and security thematic areas of UNSCR1325 implementation and SSR.

### **6.1 UNSCR1325**

The Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction, with the support of UNIFEM Nepal, is developing a UNSCR1325 NAP for Nepal that is planned for launching in October 2010. The draft of the NAP is currently undergoing its evaluation phase and is under

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<sup>139</sup> United Nations, *United Nations Country Team Rehabilitation Programme Weekly Report: 20 August-26 August*, report no. 26, 26 August 2010. p. 2

<sup>140</sup> United Nations, *United Nations Country Team Rehabilitation Programme Weekly Report: 20 August-26 August*, report no. 26, 26 August 2010. p. 2

<sup>141</sup> Tsjeard, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, p. 13

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>143</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 5

<sup>144</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 3

review by local NGOs. Shantimalika (the network of NGOs working on women, peace and security issues in Nepal) has largely influenced the implementation of UNSCR1325 to date and is a potential partner for work on this issue.

With the signing of the CPA and the support of international donors and UN agencies, Nepali NGOs and the government of Nepal have become more familiar with UNSCR1325.<sup>145</sup> Such awareness has enabled the amendment of discriminatory laws and an increase in women's political participation. Nevertheless, members of the peace negotiation team (formed on January 29, 2003) were predominantly male, with but one female representative, Anuradha Koirala (Former Nepali State Minister).<sup>146</sup> Women remain largely excluded from the peace process at the government level.

Moreover, most current and former combatants, community members, political parties, and security sector actors at the local level are unaware of UNSCR1325 (UNSCR1820, UNSCR1888, UNSCR1889) and the resolution's relevance to rehabilitation.<sup>147</sup> The need to apply UNSCR1325 to the local level was reiterated by Saloni Singh of DidiBahini (leading organization of Shantimalika).<sup>148</sup> Such lack of awareness enables rehabilitation challenges described at the community level.

One of the largest issues circumventing action is the current political instability. While the international community may be aware of some of the gaps identified, aspects of the package such as a lack of community approach, omission of socio-economic profiling and labour market needs assessment in addition to a capped stipend of NPRs 3,000 (USD 40.24) has limited the ability to provide an effective programme.<sup>149</sup> Nevertheless, effective support must continue to engage the government of Nepal as well as local actors. Political backing from influential international governments such as India, the United States and the United Kingdom<sup>150</sup> and international donor support may influence the national government and is also a key component to successful project implementation.

## **6.2 Gender and Security Sector Reform**

Prior to developing security sector reform programmes, successful integration and rehabilitation of current and former combatants is necessary. In this same vein, a national security strategy, which includes the re-tasking, right-sizing and democratization of the National Army, must also be included as an initial requirement for successful SSR.<sup>151</sup> Denmark, France, Germany, Finland and the United Kingdom (UK) provide donor support but are currently waiting for political agreement at the

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<sup>145</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, exec summary

<sup>146</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.2.2

<sup>147</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 5

<sup>148</sup> Interview with Saloni Singh, 1 August 2010

<sup>149</sup> Interview with Sarah Dalrymple, 29 July 2010

<sup>150</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

national level for SSR project implementation<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, early planning is a key component to effective reform and needs assessments should begin at this time.<sup>153</sup> Among the current donors, the UK is considered as the expert country on security and SSR in Nepal and may be a potential partner for work in the area. In addition to the UK, effective SSR will also require the support of India and the United States of America (USA), as leading international influences, and support from the Security Council and General Assembly is also strongly recommended.<sup>154</sup> Attitudes toward police reform in Nepal have indicated the need for holistic rather than piecemeal programmes,<sup>155</sup> such an approach should be considered in the reform of all security sectors, emphasizing the importance of a comprehensive SSR review.

Though SSR in Nepal requires a completed, stable reintegration, in addition to obstruction by the national army,<sup>156</sup> a shortage in analysis with recommendations for appropriate SSR that incorporates lead donor governments, the Nepal government and opposition<sup>157</sup> stresses the importance of such work in Nepal. The following section outlines recommendations for research within three SSR project areas: police reform, border management and military reform; however as a holistic approach, SSR efforts must also consider penal system, judicial system and civil society reform with regard to the challenges and opportunities described in this working paper.

#### 6.2.1 Police Reform

Though limited, the national police in Nepal have begun to adopt gender-mainstreaming. The police force has introduced a 20% quote for women; at the time of writing, 5% of the sector is female.<sup>158</sup> A special women's department has been created to deal with issues related to crimes and violence against women and training on such issues has also been introduced.<sup>159</sup> Research on police reform must understand current achievements but also consider rising rates of SGBV and the lack of trust in police.<sup>160</sup> The possibility of integrating ex-combatants, especially women, into the national police force should be approached. Given their military training and skills and their potential role as women in the prevention, address, and eradication of gender-based violence, the opportunity to integrate female ex-combatants into the police force through SSR efforts should be taken into consideration with a review of SSR in Nepal.

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<sup>152</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 23

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010; Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 23

<sup>154</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>155</sup> Saferworld, *Public Safety and Policing in Nepal: An analysis of public attitudes towards community safety and policing across Nepal* (Saferworld, 2008).

<sup>156</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>157</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>158</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.1.6

<sup>159</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.1.6

<sup>160</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 21

### 6.2.2 Border Management

Research on SSR in Nepal must also be aware of current migration patterns of men and women, including the risk for human trafficking among female ex-combatants. Of particular concern is the open border between India and Nepal, which is largely unregulated.<sup>161</sup> Such a system facilitates human trafficking and immigration. This issue is of key concern and must be addressed in security sector reform efforts. Under the CPA provisions, border security is conducted by the National Army of Nepal;<sup>162</sup> however, armed police are currently posted along the border.<sup>163</sup> Border management efforts must thus be linked with military reform and police reform

### 6.2.3 Military Reform

The integration of the PLA and National Armies is a complicated issue in Nepal. Opposing values create challenges for integration between both groups and related SSR efforts. While a draft SSR document by the government of Nepal has recently leaked into the press and is presumed to have been buried by the national army, no concrete plans have been made regarding the issue.<sup>164</sup> Significant opposition from the National Army for the PLA integration exists in Nepal.<sup>165</sup> Such opposition disregards the Maoist interpretation of article 4.4 of the CPA “the Interim Council of Ministers shall form a special committee in order to inspect, integrate and rehabilitate the Maoist combatants” as integration into the National Army.<sup>166</sup> Nevertheless, despite the Maoist argument, members of the PLA have articulated concerns about integration into the National Army, particularly in regards to a fear of being relegated to lower ranks.<sup>167</sup> The apprehension is not without merit, many members of the National Army have expressed their concern that PLA combatants do not meet National Army requirements.<sup>168</sup> The hierarchical value within the army ranking system is in absolute contradiction with Maoist values of egalitarianism and advancement by merit. This also creates particular tensions between both groups.

A successful SSR programme in Nepal must address each of these issues. It must also consider the specific security needs of women. Although women assume 30% of

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<sup>161</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 21

<sup>162</sup> Nepal, 2006 Comprehensive Peace Accord Concluded Between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), section 4.8.

<sup>163</sup> Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 15

<sup>164</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>165</sup> Interview with Desmond Molloy, 2 August 2010

<sup>166</sup> Ambika Pokhrel, “The Hidden Story of the Disqualified Maoist Combatants”

<sup>167</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 3

<sup>168</sup> Bishnu Pathak and Devendra Uprety, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration and Security Sector Reform in Nepal: a preliminary sociological observation* (Nepal, Conflict Study Center, 2010) p. 9-10; Watson and Crozier, *Security for Whom? Security Sector Reform and Public Security in Nepal*, p. 18

positions within the National Army (like the PLA),<sup>169</sup> female ex-combatants have expressed concern to join, regarding the suggested levels of GBV and human rights violations of the National Army.<sup>170</sup> While, the PLA has received gender training<sup>171</sup> and human rights training,<sup>172</sup> such training has not been incorporated into the National Army. To address the issue and the implementation of UNSCR1325, UNIFEM has a long term plan to review the Army training curriculum in accordance with the resolution.<sup>173</sup> Such a review should consider the country context challenges as well as the specific challenges and opportunities for rehabilitation of male and female VMLRs and qualified combatants.

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<sup>169</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.1.6

<sup>170</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 3

<sup>171</sup> Saferworld, *Research on the Needs, Concerns and Priorities of Men and Women Qualified/Eligible Combatants and Communities for Rehabilitation and Integration Executive Summary of Key Interim Findings*, p. 4

<sup>172</sup> Bishnu Pathak, e-mail to author, 20 July 2010

<sup>173</sup> Manandhar Gurung and Lama, *UNSCR 1325 and 1820: Implementation and Monitoring Status in Nepal*, section 2.1.6

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