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**“NEVER SEND A MAN TO DO A WOMEN’S JOB:
EXPLORING THE EFFECT OF CIVIL WAR
DURATION ON THE MOBILIZATION OF WOMEN
COMBATANTS IN CIVIL WAR”**

CHRISTEN BUCKLEY

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Reviewed and approved by the following:

**Douglas William Lemke
Associate Professor of Political Science
Thesis Supervisor**

**Michael B. Berkman
Professor of Political Science and Director of Undergraduate Studies
Honors Adviser**

*** Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College**

ABSTRACT:

This manuscript explores the effect of civil war duration on the mobilization of women in areas affected by civil war. The presence of women combatants and the duration of a civil war are two important circumstances of a civil conflict, and examining the possible relationship between these two factors will give scholars a more comprehensive understanding of civil wars. This manuscript expands on existing research regarding duration and women combatants. This manuscript uses two case studies to test the theory that increasing civil war duration affects the likelihood that women in those theaters will become formal combatants in insurgent forces. The insurgent forces of Sri Lanka's Tamil Eelam and Nepal's Maoist Army both formed units of women militants and recruited women from the civilian population. By examining these cases, I test the theory that as civil wars increase in duration, the likelihood that women will mobilize and join insurgent forces increases.

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Introduction:

Throughout history, women have played various roles in civil warfare; they have been victims, bystanders, and perpetrators of violence. The increasing frequency of civil wars in developing countries since WWII has been at the forefront of the global focus for several decades, and the conduct of warfare may offer a significant clue to advance understanding about why this increase is occurring. (Hegre, 2004) While females have always been involved in warfare in some capacity, I intend to test the theory that as the duration of these civil conflicts increases, women in affected areas are more likely to be mobilized to join the insurgent groups as organized rebel forces.

There is a limited amount of research regarding women combatants, but their participation in civil wars will fuel future study specifically about women combatants. To begin, I will use various scholarly articles regarding civil war duration and about women as combatants, coupled with the supporting case studies of the Sri Lankan Liberation Tamil Eelam Tigers and the Nepalese Maoist Army/People's Liberation Army, to develop and then evaluate my theory regarding the relationship between civil war duration and the presence of women combatants. Alternate theories regarding civil war duration, specifically what influences duration and its effect on a civilian population, are important to identify in order to acknowledge other factors that influence the mobilization of women in areas affected by civil war. Lastly, most of the literature regarding women combatants are focused around their gender role in warfare and in society. This makes studies regarding rape in warfare or regarding female terrorists beneficial to acknowledge when examining the relationship between increasing civil war duration and the

mobilization of women combatants, as the literatures on these other topics provide alternative explanations of the mobilization of women in civil wars.

After presenting this literature review, I present my theory and explain its relevance to international politics. In this section, potential objections or alternate potential influences will be identified. The analysis of the proposed theory will contribute to scholars' understanding of civil war duration and its effect on civilian populations, and will contribute to the growing cache of research regarding women combatants.

Following the theory section, I will indentify the parameters of my case studies, validate the selection of the cases, and establish the definitions of the independent, dependent and select control variables. In order to investigate my theory, I will complete a comprehensive case study of women combatants in two insurgent forces: the Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers and the Nepalese Maoist Army/People's Liberation Army. Both cases have useful controls built in, such as similar cultural circumstances and similar time periods, and both cases are prime examples of organized factions of women combatants operating within an insurgent group. When conducting the case studies, I analyze the recruitment and function of women in both insurgent factions. I will also briefly outline the role of several variables in both cases that support or provide alternative causal factors. Finally, I will compare the results from both cases and examine the implications of my findings. If my theory is shown to be accurate in these cases, I will be able to better understand the relationship between civil war duration and the mobilization of women combatants.

Literature Review:

Finding a comprehensive definition of civil conflict has long been an issue in the realm of political science. Nicolas Sambanis proposes that there is no clear, comprehensive definition of civil war since political scientists use several different operational definitions of civil war. With these different definitions they then gather differing datasets, so one complete, perfectly accurate dataset is not physically or logically feasible. (Sambanis, 2004) Since civil war discourse is affected by the vague definition of civil wars, it is prudent to recognize that research on factors of civil war, such as duration or severity, reach multiple conclusions. Specifically in regards to duration, there are numerous articles that propose that certain factors make civil wars last longer and that other factors cause shorter civil wars. There are also various conclusions presented regarding the effect of these long or short durations on the mobilization of the affected population. This relationship is important to assess in order to understand the negative effects of the longevity of civil war on an affected population. In regards to women in civil war and their mobilization, there are also various theories regarding why women mobilize during civil war. However, within this realm of study there is a lack of information specifically regarding the effect of duration on the mobilization of women. More than half of affected populations are female, and the possible effect of duration on their mobilization into organized rebel forces is important to establish in order to form a more comprehensive understanding of civil wars. The research on women combatants in general is relatively limited compared to other areas of civil war. However there are various pockets of study regarding women combatants that are important to explore in

order to determine how strong of a role duration plays in the mobilization of women combatants in affected areas.

Within the literature on civil war, there are several theories regarding which factors make civil wars last longer. Collier, Hoeffler and Soderbom attempt to explore empirically the duration of civil wars by establishing which factors lengthen conflict, such as high economic inequality, moderate degrees of ethnic division and low per capita income, and which factors shorten conflict. Their article explores the drive behind the rebellion, whether it is rebellion-as-business, rebellion-as-mistake, or rebellion-as-investment, and subsequently investigates the effects of this categorization on duration. Collier, Hoeffler and Soderbom use a dataset of large-scale violent conflicts since 1960 to determine the duration of conflict by means of estimated hazard functions such as initial inequality and per capita income. The authors report that low per capita income, high inequality, and a moderate degree of ethnic divisions were key structural characteristics that lengthened conflict. They also found that declines in the prices of primary export commodities and external military intervention shortened conflict. The analysis was not as decisive in determining the relationship between duration and each type of rebellion. The findings tended to reject the relationship between duration and rebellion-as-investment, but offered some support for the relationship between duration and rebellion-as-business and rebellion-as-mistake. For example, “in long conflicts rebellion is likely to be sustainable as a going concern, as implied by the rebellion-as-business approach.” (Collier, Hoeffler, Soderbom, 2004; pp 267). The results of this article provide a framework within which to analyze the duration of the conflicts in Sri Lanka and Nepal

and illustrate the strength of the role of income and the role of ethnic divisions in the duration of these insurgencies, two factors that could also theoretically influence the mobilization of a population.

The presence and type of veto players can also influence duration, as David Cunningham proposes in his article, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." Cunningham argues that the number of veto players affects duration through factors such as the size of the bargaining space, incentives to hold out, shifting alignments, and information problems. Cunningham assesses this relationship empirically by statistically analyzing factors that could be associated with the number of veto players and the duration of civil wars, such as the presence of a coup and population size. He concludes that civil wars are longer when more veto players are involved. This article presents an important factor affecting duration that should be considered when examining the cases in order to gather a comprehensive understanding of what factors affect duration; this could make it easier to understand the relationship between duration and other factors, such as the mobilization of women in affected areas. Cunningham effectively argues that taking a veto player approach to viewing civil war duration will reveal how to shorten civil wars, making it pertinent to consider when forming civil war policies. (Cunningham, 2006)

Civil war recurrence is another common factor associated with duration. Barbara Walter argues that renewed war has more to do with civilian dissatisfaction, or the absence of any nonviolent means for change, rather than the circumstances of the

previous war, such as its duration. Walter predicts that a higher quality of life and greater access to political participation have a significant negative effect on the likelihood of renewed war. Walter conducts an empirical analysis of the determinants of the preceding civil war and the impact of these determinants on the probability of a recurring civil war. She finds that greater access to political participation does affect the likelihood of civil wars, as democracies are less likely to experience civil war reoccurrence. Walter finds that duration and partition of previous wars are significantly related to the onset of a new civil war as well. In this way, Walter's argument was at least partially inaccurate, as there were two factors that associated previous wars with new wars, "Governments that fought a short war against one set of challengers and governments that ended a previous war in partition were significantly more likely to face a violent challenge from a new rebel group." (Walter, 2004; pp 385) It is evident that the preceding war does appear to provide important information to potential combatants about the potential costs and outcome of beginning or renewing conflict; therefore recurrence is affected by the duration of previous conflict. (Walter, 2004) The relationship between civil war recurrence and duration is helpful to consider when gathering an understanding of duration, or examining the effect of duration on other factors, such as the mobilization of women in affected areas.

In their article, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," Fearon and Laitin dispute the claim that ethnically or religiously diverse countries are more likely to experience significant civil war violence in the post Cold War international system. They present an empirical analysis that uses several multivariate analyses of country year data to reveal

the relationship between ethnic and religious diversity and the susceptibility of a country to civil war. For the first analysis they control for per capita income and measure the probability of civil war onset per five-year period. For the second, they present logit analyses of various determinants of civil war onset from 1945 -1999. They conclude that the average duration of civil wars is increasing because of increasingly frequent use of the strategy of insurgency; states that are more at risk for civil war were almost uniformly favorable grounds for insurgency, or rural guerrilla warfare. The conditions that favor insurgency, such as poverty, political instability, rough terrain and large populations, are better indicators of which countries are more at risk for civil war, rather than ethno-linguistic fractionalization or religious diversity. These findings, while they dispute the role of ethno-linguistic fractionalization on civil war duration, might mean that insurgency is a plausible alternative cause of the mobilization of women in areas affected by civil war. (Fearon & Laitin, 2003) That is, if insurgency makes civil wars longer, and longer duration increases the probability of female mobilization, then insurgency makes female mobilization more likely.

Havard Hegre's "The Duration and Termination of Civil War" investigates civil conflict in the past two decades and compares the relationship between new and old wars. Hegre's empirical findings reveal that the increase in civil war terminations in the post Cold War era does not indicate that there is a decrease in total number of civil wars occurring, which puts the growing problem of civil wars into context. In his article, Hegre also indentifies the main determinants that have influenced the duration of these conflicts: rebel group motivations, the importance of financing, military factors,

misperception, and commitment problems. Hegre brings together studies by various political scientists, such as Fearon and Laitin, Walter, Ross, and Collier, Hoeffler and Soderbom to suggest policies for addressing civil war, taking into account the causes of civil war proposed by these scholars. The most important aspect of this article is that it summarizes the multiple veins of research regarding the duration of civil war and establishes the consensus amongst political scientists regarding the variables that influence duration. (Hegre, 2004)

In order to determine if duration affects the mobilization of women in areas affected by civil war, it is necessary to explore alternative theories of recruitment that could account for mobilization. Doing so allows us to determine whether it is the longevity of the conflict, or these alternative effects that spark mobilization of women. By establishing alternative theories of mobilization, it is possible to predict objections to my claim, and to contextualize the role of duration in the mobilization of women in areas affected by civil war. Aside from the mobilization theories that are usually associated specifically with women, there are basic theories of recruitment that could cause women to mobilize as they constitute half of a society. In his article “Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment”, Jeremy Weinstein explores the effect of resources on the character and conduct of rebel groups. Weinstein defines several crucial resources for rebels, such as lootable natural resources, external patrons, diaspora remittances and, most importantly civilian support. He explains how these factors influence insurgent groups’ abilities to recruit as well as their method of recruitment. He uses case studies of several countries’ civil wars to support his claims. Interestingly,

three of the four cases use women combatants: the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone, the NRA of Uganda, and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. Weinstein concludes that the resource mix of the rebel group and the information asymmetries greatly influence what type of recruits join the insurgency. In regards to the effect of the resource mix, his case studies reveal that economic endowments often attract "consumers" and that a lack of economic endowments does not constrain an insurgency, but rather attracts more dedicated insurgents who can operate on credible promises. The recruitment profile also affects what types of recruits emerge; violent campaigns often attract a non-committed membership that is focused around violence. Weinstein wisely deduces that rebel groups differ greatly in function and this factor combined with their amount of resources determines what type of recruits they attract. (Weinstein, 2005)

While I do not do so below, this theory could be applied to study the mobilization of women as they are influenced by resources and type of insurgency as members of the population.

Aside from these general recruitment incentives, there are several theories aimed more specifically at explaining how various aspects of civil wars mobilize specifically women combatants; such as insurgent ideology that embraces the female gender, and extreme poverty or displacement that forces women in affected areas to mobilize in order to survive. The research that has been conducted may support the theory that longer duration increases the likelihood that women in affected areas will be mobilized to become combatants. It may also provide alternative causes for mobilization that diminish the strength of my hypothesized relationship. Therefore, it is important to investigate

other theories regarding the cause of the mobilization of women combatants in areas affected by civil wars.

In her article, “Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security”, Miranda Alison combats the perception that women are inherently more peaceful than men and examines the influential role of ethnicity and insurgent ideology in the militarization of women. Alison argues that there are certain insurgent ideologies, specifically anti-state, nationalist movements that are more conducive to the militarization of women. She uses the insurgent factions in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka to support her theory that the extreme nationalist movements, or the anti-state ideology, in these movements allowed and encouraged the mobilization of the entire population, including women, in order to achieve victory. Alison describes how the state is especially threatened by the presence of women if the societal constraints of the country usually restrain women from assuming roles that include violence or power. The effect encourages the militarization of women, however she also argues that there are challenges that arise for the women combatants within the ranks of the insurgency, as societal constraints do not disappear within military ranks and they continue to lack societal security. Alison also points out how these women combatants are often faced with stigma when they return to society. (Alison, 2004)

In her article, “Women in the Local/Global Fields of War and Displacement in Sri Lanka”, Catherine Brun explores the role of displacement and poverty in the mobilization of women, specifically Sri Lankan widows and displaced female refugees. She claims

that they viewed joining insurgent forces as a last resort or as a beneficial alternative to the life of a refugee in a war-ravaged country. She compares the basic social practices to the hierarchy of the Tamil Tigers' military as she illustrates the benefits of enlisting; the higher status, security, and resources that are given to members of the cause. Using historical accounts of several prominent Sri Lankan women combatants, Brun explains how enlisting also often provides women with the opportunity to escape from the restraints of society and gives them the chance to improve their social standing, which could also be an incentive for women to enlist in insurgent forces. This theory presents a compelling alternative force of mobilization in Sri Lanka. (Brun, 2005) However, this last alternative theory of mobilization is indirectly associated with duration, the longer the duration, the more time women have to rise in the ranks of the insurgency.

The literature described in this section offers a limited examination of the direct effect of civil war duration on the mobilization of female combatants, but it does provide structure for assessing the proposed theory by offering various alternate theories regarding duration and women combatants. These literatures also provide possible objections that may arise, and by indentifying alternative theories about the relationship between duration and women combatants, it is possible to gain a more comprehensive view of this relationship. Using the following case studies, with the consideration of alternative theories, I aim to determine whether duration had an effect on the mobilization of women militants in Sri Lanka and Nepal. The women units in the Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers and the Nepalese Maoist Army/People's Liberation Army have joined the insurgent groups in their respective countries after years of conflict and violence and I

aim to determine the role of duration in this mobilization. Hopefully, the research that has been previously conducted, combined with my case studies, will support my claim that as civil wars duration increases, women in affected areas are more likely to be mobilized to join the fight.

Theory:

The duration of civil war is a relevant factor to study in order to help us understand rebel groups' chosen tactics and strategies as the civil conflict progresses. It is also a relevant factor for measuring the effects of civil war on populations in affected areas. By determining the effect of a civil war on a population, it may be possible to determine why populations tolerate civil wars, mobilize to fight in them, or pressure governments and rebel leaders to end them. It is logical to assume that the duration of a civil war influences the effects of a civil war on a population. The longer the war persists, the more a population has to endure violence, societal division, and perhaps lack of resources. This presumably causes a reaction within the population. Non-combatants may be mobilized in order to escape from, or to rectify, the effects of civil war, and initial combatants may need to gain access to more resources that have been depleted during the conflict, in order to achieve victory. When engaged in civil conflict, the main goal of rebels is victory. In order to achieve victory, insurgent forces must mobilize any and all resources at their disposal in order to make this victory more likely. The longer wars persist the more resources they have to mobilize. Since women constitute half of every national population, they increasingly cannot avoid becoming directly involved in the conflict if the duration is long. As a civil war increases in duration, its negative effects spread, and this factor, combined with an insurgency's need for resources, makes the mobilization of women as insurgent forces more likely. There is thus a clear logical connection between increasing duration and the mobilization of women as formal combatants. The rebels need to mobilize women as duration increases as they must mobilize more resources, and the women themselves need to mobilize as the duration of

the civil conflict increases in reaction to the long-term effects of the civil war. As my hypothesis, I predict that as civil war duration increases, women living in areas of civil conflict are more likely to be mobilized to become formal combatants.

The subject of the mobilization of women combatants is of interest for both the assessment of women combatants in civil war and for determining the full range of effects of duration on populations in areas affected by civil war. The potential factors that cause duration have been extensively studied, since determining what causes civil conflicts to continue is significant for achieving civil conflict resolution, understanding the process of violence during a civil war, and discouraging the initiation of new civil wars. In addition, the effect of duration on other factors, such as recruitment, is relevant to study in order to understand the effects of duration in civil wars. I intend to take the study of civil war duration one step further and examine the effect of duration in an area that is limited in comprehensive research and information: the role of women combatants in civil warfare. This is an area that is growing in significance, since women around the world are increasingly frequently observed as formal combatants. This is evident by the increasing number of women in the United State military, the increasing number of female suicide bombers in various conflicts, and the formation of all-women militant units (such as in Sri Lanka, Nicaragua, Eritrea and Nepal) in various civil wars during the past thirty years. It is obvious that women are not traditional fixtures in civil warfare, as most forces have consisted of males in the history of modern warfare. But the presence of women is evidently increasing, and understanding why this is occurring will shed light on women combatants and further develop scholars' understanding of civil conflict. In

order to understand civil conflict and understand women combatants themselves, more research must be conducted in regards to the mobilization of women. Duration appears to influence the mobilization of women and I intend to examine this relationship in order to contribute much needed research on women combatants in civil wars and on the effect of duration on this factor of civil wars.

Several objections to the theory that as civil war duration increases, women are more likely to become mobilized into formal combatants, require consideration. First, there are other factors that could cause women in areas where a civil war has had significant longevity to mobilize into formal forces. The studies presented in the literature review illustrate that the ideology of the insurgent group, displacement, and poverty all affect the mobilization of women as combatants. Factors of recruitment, like poverty or ethnic tensions, could logically affect women since they constitute half of the population. There may be other factors that prevent the mobilization from occurring, such as cultural restraints on women as soldiers, the strategy of the insurgent group (i.e. operating using smaller guerrilla bands may not create a need for women to enlist since the male population will suffice), the severity of the civil war does not require women to become mobilized, or the civil war is removed from the main body of the population, but goes on for years. Secondly, there may be examples of wars where women were never mobilized, despite the longevity of the conflict, and such outliers, if plentiful, would raise doubts about my theory.

In response to these objections, I would claim that a longer duration causes women to mobilize, but a longer duration does not ensure the presence of women combatants. Additionally, when critiquing a political theory it is wise to consider the opposite direction of the hypothesis, as this factor may arise as a legitimate objection if the opposite direction of the theory disputes the initial claim. In other words, does having shorter civil wars make it *less* likely for women to be mobilized into formal forces? Or, does the circumstance of the conflict inevitably cause the mobilization of the women population and a shorter duration does nothing to defer the mobilization of the women population? When considering the reverse of the proposed hypothesis, the mobilization of women could also cause the civil war duration to increase, rather than duration causing the mobilization of women. While these possibilities do not conform with my theory, these questions may arise as a critique of my theory and should therefore be acknowledged. It is possible that other circumstances of a civil war affect the mobilization of women more than duration; such as recruitment tactics or the severity of the conflict. However, I intend to discover if duration causes the mobilization of women combatants into formal, insurgent forces in any way, regardless of other factors. In this instance, we can claim, by using the same logic used to determine if increasing duration increases the likelihood that women are mobilized, that shorter civil wars do make the presence of women combatants less likely. If a civil war is shorter, there is less need for the insurgents to mobilize resources and less need for women to mobilize in reaction to the effects of long-term civil conflict.

These potential objections must be addressed and challenged through the examination of the effect of increasing duration on the mobilization of women in the populations of affected areas to become formal combatants. Acknowledging these objections illustrates the beneficial aspects of the proposed hypothesis, over these objections. Most importantly, the proposed alternative theories don't distinguish *when* women will become involved as participants; for example, the ideology of a rebellion is likely constant, therefore suggesting that ideology affects mobilization does not provide information on the timeline of women's involvement in the conflict. The argument of this manuscript specifically suggests that women are less likely to be involved in the beginning of the conflict and more likely to become involved as the war progresses. The focus of the hypothesis is to determine *when* women become involved as formal cadres, unlike many of the objective theories that may arise.

Research Design:

My hypothesis predicts that as a civil war increases in duration, women in the affected area are more likely to mobilize and formally join insurgent forces. This will be tested by conducting case studies of two conflicts that feature many similar circumstances: the civil conflict in Sri Lanka and the civil conflict in Nepal. In both instances, women were mobilized to join formal ranks in the insurgent forces. Both cases are notable for their significant involvement of women combatants and there has been a proportional amount of field research conducted regarding these women militants, making these cases ideal for analysis. I chose these cases because pairing them creates a research design with several useful controls built in. However, both cases have important differences, such as different type of insurgency (rebellion versus secession), different outcomes, and different durations, which might influence any conclusions reached in the study. These cases are also both examples of developing nations where women usually assume a submissive, non-equal role in society based on the culture and religion of the area, which makes the mobilization of women in these nations especially interesting. The built in controls, the differences, the significant presence of organized women units in both insurgencies, and the inherent, compelling factors of these cases make them particularly useful and interesting cases for testing the proposed hypothesis.

The combination of these cases permits several useful controls to be built into my research design. Both civil conflicts, the struggle of the Liberation Tamil Tigers Eelam in Sri Lanka and the Nepalese Maoist Army/People's Liberation Army movement in Nepal, took place during the late 1980's, the 1990's or early 2000's; although the Liberation

Tamil Tigers Eelam Struggle had a longer duration. Despite their differing climates, both nations have terrain conducive to insurgent movements, with Nepal's massive Himalayas and Sri Lanka's dense tropical forests. Both nations are located in Asia, and each has cultural connections with neighboring India in regards to societal practices and language base. Both nations operated under repressive governments before the conflict began and this control variable is significant to the study of the mobilization of women; Nepal's monarchy limited the participation of civilians in government and the Sinhalese Sri Lankan government removed many Tamils from power after Sri Lanka's independence from Britain and then refused to acknowledge anti-Tamil pogroms occurring in Sri Lanka. This variable is particularly pertinent as it could be another possible cause of mobilization according to Sunila Abeysekera and Jeremy Weinstein and Macartan Humphries, and is also a common factor in the study of duration. (Abeysekera, 2007; Humphries and Weinstein, 2004) Civilians in both Nepal and Sri Lanka have also both experienced displacement due to the civil conflict, and the presence of displacement in both cases thus acts as a control variable. Both cases also have low gross domestic product (GDP), which provides a useful control variable. Hinduism and Buddhism are the two main religions in both nations, and this variable is part of the last control variable: ethnic-fractionalization. (Abeysekera, 2007; Bhadra, Chandra, Shresta, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007) Both cases display some degree of ethnic fractionalization as indicated by ethnic demographics and by the variety of languages spoken in these countries. This control variable is particularly pertinent to the mobilization of women and the duration of the conflict as it could be another possible cause of mobilization

according to studies completed by Miranda Alison and Jeremy Weinstein, and is also a common factor in the study of duration. (Alison, 2004; Weinstein, 2004)

In my case studies, the independent variable is the duration of each conflict and the dependent variable is the mobilization of women from the civilian population. I have defined these cases as civil wars using the Codebook for the Intra-State Wars as defined by the Correlates of War (COW) Project, Volume 4.0 by Meredith Reid Sarkees.

(Sarkees, 2007) In order to define the mobilization of women, I will be considering the total percentage of women operating in *formal* cadres in rebel forces out of the total number of insurgent forces to be a significant reflection of mobilization. Duration will be measured by years of the conflict between the same factions. This will include recurring civil wars, as long as the conflict is between the same factions; this will reflect the longevity of the conflict.

In regards to relevant control variables, there are three elements that play a significant role in both the mobilization of women and duration and if there is little to no variation of these factors between the two cases, it can be assumed that these elements did not affect the relationship between duration and the mobilization of women in one particular case. Population will be measured using the official national census taken closest to the years of conflict and will include the entire population in order to include young women who may not be considered adults by international standards of census. The amount of women in a population is a reflection of the resources available to an insurgent group, and this control variable can affect both the mobilization of women in

the population and the duration of a conflict. Ethnic-fractionalization, another control variable, will be defined by the existence of two or more prominent languages within a nation. This definition allows for the possibility one line of fractionalization can cause significant ethnic divides within a nation. The last significant variable is poverty, and I will be using the United Nations Statistics Division's reported data regarding GDP per capita values (in U.S. dollars) for each year of the conflict in each nation to measure this variable and its role in affecting the relationship between duration and the mobilization of women in affected areas. These values include Gross Domestic Product by type of expenditure, the Gross Value Added by kind of economic activity, both at current and at constant market prices, and the Gross National Income (GNI). Decreasing GDP per capita values will affect the mobilization of women in these areas and I will consider the nation to be "impoverished" once the value drops below \$1,000.

Now that the independent and dependent variables, along with other pertinent variables have been identified it is possible to begin the case study. The literature on civil war duration and the literature on women combatants have been presented, so it is possible to compare the cases against expectations from these relevant works. For the first part of the case study section, I offer a brief historical summary of the Sri Lankan civil conflict. Next I examine the recruitment of women combatants into rebel forces in Sri Lanka, highlighting particularly the impact of duration on their mobilization. Then I briefly analyze women's operation within the insurgent organization, identifying the role of duration in their continued participation in the insurgent forces. This illustrates the role of duration in their choice to remain mobilized, which contributes to our

understanding of the strength of their initial mobilization. Secondly, I conduct the same type of historical summary of the civil conflict in Nepal. I examine the initial mobilization of Nepalese women and the role of duration in this mobilization. Then I briefly examine the role of duration in their continued participation. Thirdly, I complete a brief analysis of the effect of the control variables on the relationship between civil war duration and the mobilization of women in affected areas. Lastly, I compare both cases, summarize the implications of the case study findings in regards to my hypothesis, and present my findings in the conclusion section.

Case Studies:

SRI LANKA

During British rule, ethnic Tamils in Sri Lanka were provided with educational and occupational opportunities denied to the majority Sinhalese population. Following Sri Lanka's independence, the Sinhalese gained control of the Sri Lankan government, expelled the Tamils from positions of power, and instigated widespread discrimination against the Tamil population. Prior to the Tamil Eelam Movement, Sri Lanka experienced other post-independence insurgencies. The first insurgency was started by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP, People's Liberation Front), a Maoist movement that was fueled by the high rates of youth unemployment, economic deprivation, and social marginalization. The movement was male-dominated; however, it is estimated that 14,000 young men and women were detained and placed in rehabilitation centers following the conflict's violent suppression by the Sri Lankan government. These detentions, in turn, revealed the presence of women in early insurgent forces. Concurrently, as state repression increased to quell the JVP movement, the resulting violence and already-existing tensions between Sinhalese and Tamils caused anti-Tamil pogroms in the south to increase as well. More and more Tamils migrated to the north where the Tamil population was larger and more concentrated. In 1983, anti-Tamil pogroms sparked the murder of 13 Sinhalese soldiers in Jaffna, making the year a turning point in Tamil and Sinhalese tensions. The retaliation by the Sri Lankan government left 400 to 2,000 Tamils dead and another million displaced. This marked the official beginning of the Tamil insurgency (Stack-O'Connor, 2007).

In 1983, several separatist groups were formed and women were soon recruited as logistical support for each of these factions, and later as formal soldiers. The Liberation Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) established hegemony over the other separatist groups soon after the beginning of the insurgency. Despite numerous attempts at peace talks and ceasefires, the LTTE grew more violent over the next twenty years of conflict. In 1991, an LTTE suicide bomber assassinated Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and in 1993 the LTTE assassinated Sri Lankan president Ranasinghe Premadasa. The LTTE cut water supplies throughout Sri Lanka, destroyed naval and army bases, and engaged in countless battles with Indian peacekeepers and Sri Lankan military forces. Finally, in 2002, the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government agreed upon a ceasefire; it is estimated that 700,000 people were killed over the course of the 19-year conflict. (Abeysekera, 2007) Beginning in 2006, rogue factions of the LTTE resumed attacks against the government and these continued until 2009 when the Sri Lankan army overran the last rebel controlled territory in Northeast Sri Lanka. (BBC, 2012)

The independent variable, duration, is drawn from Meredith Sarkees' recent updates of the Correlates of War Project's civil war dataset. Sarkees' data indicate that the civil conflict between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamils lasted for 19 years, from 1983 to 2002. According to Sarkees, the LTTE resumed conflict with the Sri Lankan government in 2006. (Sarkees, 2007) I will only be considering the conflict from 1983 to 2002, since Sarkees's table is not current with the status of the LTTE-Sri Lankan conflict beginning in 2006, and because the renewed conflict in 2006 is driven by rogue factions of the LTTE rather than by the original, main insurgent force. The 1983-2002

conflict is the focus of this case study. In order to conclude that the duration of this conflict made the mobilization of women in Sri Lanka more likely, the mobilization must occur after a significant portion of the nineteen-year conflict had occurred, or the overall female mobilization would have had to increase as the conflict progressed.

In regards to factors that affected the duration of the conflict, it should be noted that the Tamils fractioned into several groups, with the LTTE gaining hegemony as the war progressed; the presence of multiple players, according to Cunningham's article, contributes to a longer duration. (Abeysekera, 2007; Cunningham, 2006) In addition, Collier, Hoeffler, and Soderbom's proposed elements that theoretically elongate conflict, such as low per capita income, high inequality and a moderate degree of ethnic divisions, are all present in the Sri Lankan conflict. (Abeysekera, 2007; Collier, Hoeffler & Soderbom) These articles reveal potential influencers of the duration of the Tamil insurgency. They also reveal that Sri Lanka's civil war duration is relatively understandable when compared with regular variables; while this will not affect the proposed hypothesis, it does contribute to the overall understanding of the civil war duration data. Now that the causes of duration found in the case study have been identified and the duration of the Sri Lankan conflict has been defined through Sarkees's COW data, the dependent variable can be explored and the relationship, or lack thereof, between duration on this dependent variable can be determined.

The dependent variable, the mobilization of the women in Sri Lanka, is indicated by the initial mobilization of women into Tamil forces. One Tamil militant group, the

Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), was the first organization to recruit women in 1983; other groups followed suit. (Abeysekera, 2007) During the initiation of the insurgency, the Liberation Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) ascended to become the most powerful of the Tamil insurgent groups and began to recruit large numbers of women. Abeysekera's studies point to the connection between the militarization of women and the LTTE's need for a larger base for recruitment, especially after a large number of arrests of male cadres in the mid 1980's. (Abeysekera, 2007; pp 84-85) Women in the LTTE were receiving formal weapons training in 1984 in India, they were introduced into battle in October 1986, and in 1987 the official Women's Wing of the LTTE was established. (Abeysekera, 2007) It is estimated that 20-30% of all LTTE cadres during the conflict were women and 6,000 out of the 18,000+ LTTE cadres killed during the conflict were women.

The increasing use of women as suicide bombers in Sri Lanka during the 1990's also shows that women became the ideal soldier for such tactics, as they elicited greater media attention and they were able to travel undetected. (Gunawardena, 2006) In the article, "Lions, Tigers and Freedom Birds: How and Why the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam Employs Women", Alisa Stack O'Connor investigates how and why the Tamil Tigers used women as combatants, specifically as suicide bombers. She argues that women are particularly attractive as bombers, as the subservient role in Sri Lankan society makes the impact of their actions much more threatening to the state and gains more media attention for the cause. She uses examples of female suicide bombers from the Popular Liberation Front of Palestine and the Liberation Tamil Tigers Eelam and

reveals how the women's role in these media stunts support her claims. Stack-O'Connor presents a legitimate argument that explains the use of females as suicide bombers and through this study of the recruitment of suicide bombers, she reveals the causal relationship between the insurgent's use of women and the modernizing role of women in these societies. Stack-O'Connor's conclusions support the proposed hypothesis that women were mobilized as the civil conflict progressed, since, as evidenced by her research, they offered unique advantages as suicide bombers once the tactic became popular. (Stack-O'Connor, 2007)

The rapid mobilization of women suggests that increasing duration did not play a role in the militarization of women and that the rapid displacement or ethnic grievances played larger roles in the initial mobilization. Although women in Sri Lanka had experienced the effects of war from the independence movement in the 1950s and during the earlier conflict of the JVP, duration does not appear to cause the mobilization of women to join the Liberation Tamil Eelam Tigers insurgency beginning in 1983. The prolonged duration of their exposure to war could very well have affected the rapid mobilization of women following the events of 1983. However, the rapid mobilization and the fact that the conflict continued fifteen years after the mobilization of women indicates that there is no clear connection by which duration made it more likely for women in Sri Lanka to mobilize.

To go beyond the initial mobilization, the duration of the conflict following the initial mobilization of women and formation of women cadres may have indirectly

affected the continued mobilization of women. According to studies by Stack-O'Connor, Brun, and Alison, widespread displacement influenced many to join the LTTE in order to escape the resulting poverty. (Stack-O'Connor, 2007; Brun, 2005; Alison, 2004) Alison claims that the violent government oppression associated with this particular conflict was also a force for mobilization as Tamil women sought to fight for the rights of their ethnic group. Another mobilization force that was influenced by the duration of the conflict was the ability of women to climb the social ladder as the conflict progressed. Women rose in the ranks of the rebel forces as the conflict continued, and their increase of power, respect, and control influenced other women to continue to mobilize.

An example is offered by the following. In 2004, the LTTE supported candidates for the parliamentary elections. It nominated one woman, marking the first time that a Tamil political party had nominated a woman to run for president. Interestingly, despite the strong role of women in Tamil Eelam forces, women retained little power overall in government following the conflict, with only 5% of government seats held by women in 2007. This discrepancy marks setbacks for Sri Lankan women as a whole, but indicates that the duration of the conflict gave Sri Lankan women the opportunity to gain political and social power, a factor potentially influencing female militarization.

NEPAL

The country of Nepal was formed by the unifications of several small principalities located at the base of the Himalayas that were governed by local chieftains.

This unification began around 1761 and continued throughout the fourteen-year war with the British that concluded in 1916. During the mid-nineteenth century, Junga Bahadur Rana violently took over the role of king, or Rana, and established a hereditary monarchy. This regime provoked rebellion in 1850 and King Tribhuvan liberated Nepal and formed the first Nepalese democracy. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shresta, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007) Although the monarchy and the democratic government coexisted for several years, King Mahendra revoked the multiparty democracy less than ten years after its formation and established the partyless *panchayat* system. The panchayat system was based on the concept of “development first, democracy later.” (Joshi & Mason, 2007: 403) Under this system, political parties were abolished and new parties were forbidden to form. The population elected leaders, who had been approved by the monarchy to run directly for offices at the village level. (Joshi & Mason, 2007)

In February 1996 a Maoist insurgency began, starting in three or four remote districts of western Nepal. This movement could have presumably been triggered by the vast Maoist movement in neighboring China during the first half of the twentieth century. It appears to have grown out of the population’s frustration with the high poverty levels in Nepal and lack of political representation. The Maoist movement gained momentum for the next four years, clashing with government police in rural areas, destroying factories and other prominent buildings, and assassinating government officials. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shresta, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007)

In 2001, King Birendra and most of the royal family were assassinated and the Nepalese government declared a state of emergency, deploying the Nepalese Army to keep the peace. The United States committed \$12 million dollars to train the Royal Nepalese Army in 2002, and large-scale battles began to occur between the Royal Nepal Army and the Nepalese Maoist Army/People's Liberation Army. Potential ceasefires were proposed during 2003 and 2004, but no agreement was reached and the Maoist forces grew and continued to engage in guerrilla warfare aimed at Nepalese police and military units. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shrestha, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007)

In 2005, after violent government crackdowns and the suspension of all Internet and telephone connections and news reports, the Maoists declared a four-month ceasefire and engaged in negotiations with politicians opposed to King Gyanendra. Violence renewed late in 2005, until the Nepalese government relaxed tension by removing the designation of the Maoists as a terrorist group. In addition, newly-elected Prime Minister Girija Koirala engaged in peace talks with the rebels aimed at reforming the constitution to permit more democratic practices. On November 21st, 2006, the Comprehensive Peace Accord was signed by Prime Minister Girija Koirala and Maoist leader Prachanda, signaling the end of the conflict, the end of the monarchy, and the restoration of Parliament. The conflict that had left 13,000 dead and 200,000 persons displaced was finally over. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shrestha, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007)

The independent variable, duration, is drawn from Meredith Sarkees's updates to the Correlates of War Project. This source indicates that the civil conflict in Nepal lasted for six years from 2001 to 2003, then 2003 to 2006. (Sarkees, 2007) In regards to factors

that affected the duration of the conflict, it should be noted that the conflict between the Nepalese Maoist Army/ People's Liberation Army and the Nepalese government is a recurring war; a factor that, according to Walter's article, is caused by duration. (Walter, 2004) It is also important to note that the Nepalese Maoist Army/ People's Liberation Army as a militant group remained relatively cohesive and did not fraction into several groups; therefore eliminating the presence of multiple players, which, according to Cunningham's article, contributes to a longer duration. (Gautam, Banskota & Manchanda, 2001; Cunningham, 2006) However, Collier, Hoeffler, and Soderbom's proposed elements that theoretically elongate conflict, such as low per capita income, high inequality and a moderate degree of ethnic divisions, are all present in the Nepalese conflict. (Gautam, Banskota & Manchanda, 2001; Cunningham, 2006) These articles reveal potential influencers of the duration of the Maoist insurgency. Now that the causes of duration found in the case study have been identified and the duration of the Nepalese conflict has been defined through Sarkees's COW, the dependent variable can be explored and the relationship, or lack thereof, between duration and this dependent variable can be determined.

The dependent variable, the mobilization of the women in Nepal, is measured using United Nations's statistics regarding the percentages of women in the People's Liberation Army of Nepal. Of the estimated 19,602 people making up the PLA, approximately 3,846 were women, about 20% of the combatants. (Arino, 2008; pp 88) These figures are lower than those reported during the conflict, which suggested that women comprised 40 to 50 percent of the Maoist forces. (Hutt, 2004) The first

appearance of women in formal cadres, even in leadership roles, appeared in 2001, the initial year of the conflict, suggesting that duration did not have a significant role in the initial mobilization of women. (Gautam, Banskota & Manchanda, 2001)

Instead, Gautam, Banskota and Manchanda's findings suggest that women were mobilized due to the lack of options that existed for widows and refugees and due to the call to nationalism from the Communist insurgency. They and other scholars cite the appeal of the Maoist ideology, which calls for greater female rights in society, as the cause of female mobilization. Prior to the beginning of the conflict, Maoists began making specific propaganda directed at women, as the Maoist movement promoted the idea that equality was essential to the survival of the movement. Women constituted over half the population in 2001, which made them valuable recruits as the conflict progressed and spread throughout the country, increasing the need for more man(women)power. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shrestha, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007)

The duration of this 6-year struggle further affected the mobilization of women after the initial integration of females into insurgent forces. After women were first mobilized, Maoist ideology spread even more rapidly amongst the female population, encouraging equal land rights for women and more social freedoms. Increasing government oppression, increasing displacement and separation from families, and increasing poverty from the disruption of the economic system were all factors that continued to attract more women to the cause. As the movement grew rapidly in the early

2000's, so did the need for new recruits and victims of government violence, specifically widows, or displaced women were called up to join the insurgent forces.

Another compelling influential factor that resulted from the increased duration of the conflict was the necessity and ability of establishing female leadership within insurgent forces. While this leadership was not as extensive as it was in Sri Lanka, there was some opportunity to rise through the ranks of all-female units as the conflict continued in duration. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shresta, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007) Like in Sri Lanka, following the end of the conflict, women did not maintain their leadership roles, as evidenced by the fact that in 2007, following the resolution of the conflict in 2006, women held a mere 17% of the seats in Parliament. (World Statistics Pocketbook, 2007) These factors, the increased poverty, the strong role of women in the population, the opportunity to rise through the ranks to leadership positions and the violent government response are all factors that increased in intensity with the increase in duration. However, duration was not a direct factor of the mobilization of women into the Nepalese Maoist Army/People's Liberation Army, which occurred immediately as the formal conflict began.

During the conflict, international concerns regarding women soldiers and gender issues were presented to the insurgent forces but were dismissed by the Maoist factions as an issue to be addressed after the conflict. However, this issue never received sufficient attention, and, once the conflict reached a peaceful resolution, women soldiers were faced with a new challenge. The social system was not willing or able to acclimate these

warriors back into society or to rehabilitate them. Women who had spent large periods of their lives fighting now had no method of income, no societal role to play, and were rejected for their alteration of normal societal roles. The final social issue illustrates the negative effects of duration on women in affected areas, as the longevity of the struggle contributed to the incapacitation of many Nepali women combatants as they attempted to return to their lives after war. This factor is a negative result of the relationship between duration and the mobilization of women in affected areas. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shresta, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007)

ROLE OF CONTROL VARIABLES

Now that a brief historical summary of the Sri Lankan and Nepalese conflicts have been completed and the independent and dependent variables have been explored, I will discuss control variables that could influence either the duration or the mobilization of women in the affected areas. These variables do not vary significantly across the two cases, and as such they cannot account for any variation across the two cases, increasing confidence that they do not affect the relationship of my theory. Population, ethno-linguistic fractionalization, and per capita income are all factors that increase the duration of a conflict and factors that influence the mobilization of women in civil war. Since they are associated with both the independent variable and the dependent variable, a comparison of these factors between both cases supports the proposed theory as long as there is little to no variation in them. That is, they are constants across the two cases. Population reflects available human resources for the insurgent groups, which influences the mobilization of women; according to Cunningham's study of veto players, civil war

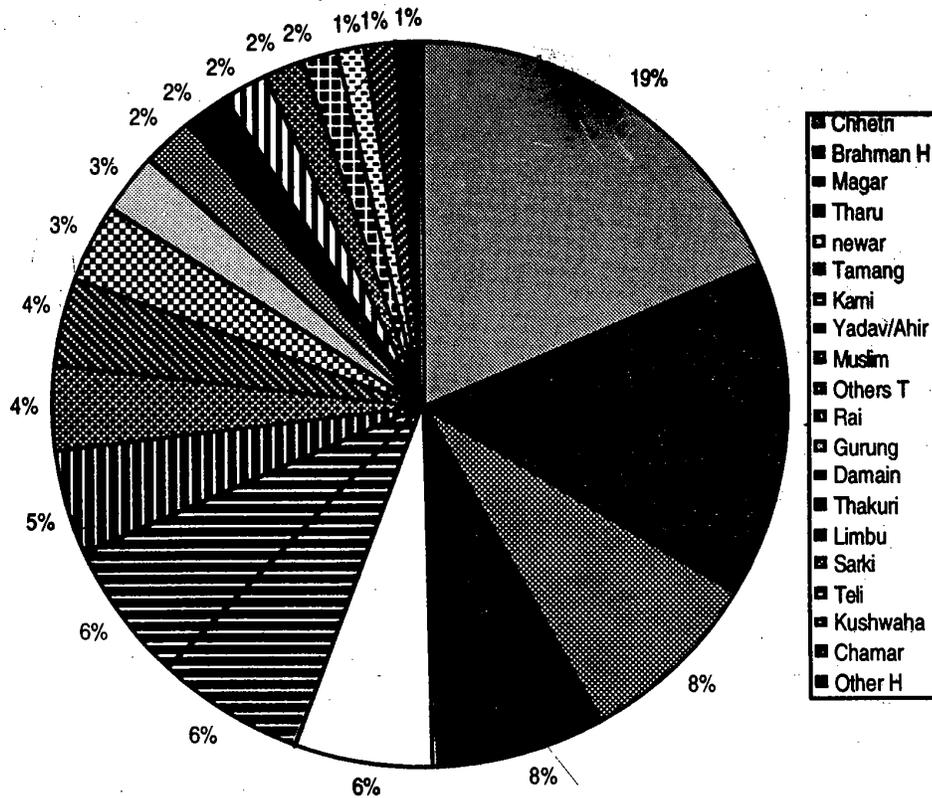
duration is directly affected by the log population. While there was no official census in Sri Lanka between 1983 and 2002, according to the United Nations census, it is estimated that the population of Sri Lanka in 1981 was 14,846,000 and in 2007 the estimated population was 19,299,000. (United Nations Statistics Division, 1981; *ibid*, 2007) Due to the large amount of migration abroad (estimated 500,000) and internal displacement during the conflict, accurate population statistics are difficult to establish. (Alison, 2004)

The population of Nepal during the Maoist insurgency is very similar to the population in Sri Lanka during the Tamil insurgency. The United Nations census data state that in 2001 the population of Nepal was 23,151,423 (United Nations Statistics Division, 2001) and women comprised 50.05% of the total population of Nepal, making them a strong pool of potential new recruits for the insurgency when government crackdowns increased in Nepal in 2002. (Bhadra, Chandra, Shresta, Ava Darshan, & Thapa, Rita, 2007) As population affects both the duration of a civil war and the mobilization of women, the fact that the populations of Nepal and Sri Lanka during their respective conflicts were relatively close, within 5,000,000, indicates that population was not an alternative motivating force on the relationship between the mobilization of women and duration in one particular case.

Ethno-linguistic fractionalization has been identified as potential causes of mobilization of women combatants according to studies completed by Chandra Bhadra, Ava Darshan Shresta, and Rita Thapta and ethno-linguistic fractionalization is also a common factor of duration as evidenced by Collier, Hoeffler and Soderbom's and Jeremy Weinstein and Macartan Humphries' assessments of duration. As stated in the research

design, I have established that having more than two languages spoken in each country reflects ethno-linguistic fractionalization for my cases. According to the United States Central Intelligence Agency's profile of Sri Lanka, there are two main languages spoken in Sri Lanka: the official language Sinhala is spoken by the majority, while Tamil is the other widely-spoken language. (CIA Factbook, 2012) There exists more than one language and this factor, combined with the historical account of ethnic tension between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, allows us to assume there is ethnic fractionalization in Sri Lanka. According to the 2001 United Nations Population Fund, the year the conflict began, Nepal was home to 102 ethnic groups and 92 languages. This ethno-linguistic fractionalization can also be seen in Figure 1 of Badri P. Niroula's study of the "Caste/Ethnic Composition of Nepal" for 1991, and the sex ratio of this ethnic-fractionalization can be seen in Table 3.1 (where the sex ratio is defined as number of males per hundred females). (Niroula, 1998, 17 & 18) The lack of variation in this structural factor of both duration and mobilization between the two cases reveals that ethno-linguistic fractionalization did not affect the relationship between civil war duration and the mobilization of women in affected areas in one particular case.

Figure 1: Population Composition by Caste/Ethnic Groups, Nepal, 1991



Source : Table 2.1

Table 3.1: Sex Ratio and Population Share of Major Caste/Ethnic Groups, 1991

Caste/Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio	Population(%)	Rank Population share
Total Population	99.5	100:00	---
1. Yadav/Ahir	111.2	4.14	8
2. Teli	109.9	1.36	16
3. Kushwaha	107.5	1.11	17
4. Muslim	106.2	3.53	9
5. Chamar	104.2	1.10	18
6. Tharu	101.1	6.46	4
7. Tamang	100.1	5.51	6
8. Newar	99.5	5.63	5
9. Brahman (Hill)	97.7	12.92	2
10. Rai	97.1	2.84	10
11. Thakuri	96.1	1.62	13
12. Kami	96.0	5.21	7
13. Chhetri	95.6	16.05	1
14. Limbu	95.6	1.61	14
15. Sarki	94.5	1.49	15
16. Magar	94.1	7.24	3
17. Damain	94.1	1.99	12
18. Gurung	92.4	2.43	11
Total 18 groups	-	82.24	1 to 18
Population 1 % and above.			

Source: CBS, 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol.I, Part VII, Table 25

With regard to poverty, the final control variable, according to the United Nations Statistics Division's reported data, the average Sri Lankan GDP value in US dollars was \$645.8, with a value of \$332 at the initiation of the conflict in 1983 and \$894 at the resolution in 2002. (National Accounts Estimates of Main Aggregates, 2012) Falling below the \$1,000 mark, these figures exemplify the poverty experienced by the Sri Lankan people during the conflict and categorize the nation as impoverished. In regards to poverty in Nepal, the average GDP value in US dollars was \$272.7, with a value of \$213 at the initiation of the conflict in 1996 and \$323 at the resolution in 2006, according to the United Nations Statistics Division's reported data. (National Accounts Estimates of Main Aggregates, 2012) These figures, well below the \$1,000 mark, reflect the intense poverty experienced by the Nepalese people during the conflict. Both Sri Lanka and Nepal can be categorized as "impoverished" under the scale set in the research design. Poverty has been identified as a cause of duration by Fearon and Laitin and as a cause for mobilization by Sunila Abeysekera, the lack of variation of this structural factor of both duration and mobilization between the two cases reveals that it did not affect the relationship between civil war duration and the mobilization of women in affected areas in one particular case. (Fearon & Laitin, 2003; Abeysekera, 2007)

The fact that control variables are constant across cases is relevant when the dependent variable varies across the cases. In such a situation it is possible to determine that the control variables didn't influence the outcome because they are constants, while the outcome is a variable. In these case studies it appears that the dependent variable, the mobilization of women, was *almost* constant. That is, that female mobilization occurred

early in the conflicts, which weakened the hypothesis, but increased over time, which favored the proposed hypothesis. Therefore the control variables can only be ruled out for the change of the role of women in insurgent groups over time, the increased mobilization of women as the respective wars continued. This logic of inference reveals the diminished role of control variables in this analysis.

Conclusion:

Comparing both cases provides an interesting perspective on the effect of increasing duration on likelihood of the mobilization of women. There were numerous similarities and differences between the cases, some of which supported the proposed hypothesis and others that did not. Both cases are similar in culture, time period of the civil conflict, and the presence of rough terrain. Both cases are insurgencies fought against the national government and both countries have experience with recurring civil war around the time period of the selected conflict of study. Both cases had durations lasting longer than five years and both were resolved with peace agreements after years of widespread violence, displacement, and economic hardship. Additionally, the circumstances of factors that are identified with both duration and mobilization (population, ethno-linguistic fractionalization and poverty/per income capita) were found to be similar between the cases. Since there was no variation in these factors between the two cases, they did not arise as an alternative force on the relationship between duration and the mobilization of women in affected areas in one particular case study. Most importantly, both cases were examples of insurgent groups that operated with formal cadres of women militants, allowing some women to hold leadership positions within the insurgent group. These similarities, specifically the civil war duration and the presence of women combatants, combined with the historical and cultural circumstances of each case, would suggest that the increasing duration of the conflict made it more likely for women to mobilize.

Despite these supportive comparisons, other similarities and differences between the two cases significantly weakened the claim that increasing duration makes it more likely for women in areas affected by civil war to mobilize into formal units. Both cases included factors that could propose alternative causes for the mobilization of women in affected areas; such as the Maoist ideology in Nepal, which inherently demands equality for women, or the immense displacement that occurred in Sri Lanka with over 1,500,000 people displaced due to the conflict. For both cases, several articles predicted that other factors such as rebel ideology, displacement, economic hardships and social opportunities cause women in these areas to militarize. Both cases were similar in that the role of duration was largely absent from literature that focused specifically on the cases. Most importantly, the most detrimental comparison between the two cases was the respective time periods between the initiation of the conflict and the mobilization of women into insurgent forces in each case. Neither case had the mobilization of women occurring after a significant number of years. In Nepal, women were mobilized into formal cadres immediately in 2001. In Sri Lanka they were mobilized into formal cadres four years after the conflict began, but the conflict lasted for another fifteen years after their mobilization. Therefore, duration does not appear to play a direct role in the initial mobilization of women in areas affected by civil war, thereby disproving the proposed hypothesis.

As evidenced by the case studies, it is difficult to determine if duration was a direct, causal factor in the mobilization of women in areas affected by civil conflict into formal insurgent forces. It is possible that these cases were outliers and that further

comparisons will yield different results that will support the proposed hypothesis. It is also important to note that while duration did not appear to play a direct role, duration influences several of the factors presented by scholars as having an effect on the mobilization of women. For example, several scholars, such as Abeysekera and Brun, claimed that the opportunity to rise in the social order caused many women to mobilize. (Abeysekera, 2007; Brun, 2005) In order to rise through the ranks once female leadership is accepted women need the conflict to last long enough to obtain power, making duration an indirect contributor to the continued mobilization of women into insurgent forces.

The focus of this analysis was to determine if increasing duration made it more likely for women in affected areas to mobilize. The analysis of the case studies reveals that duration did not have an effect on the initial mobilization of women, but may have an effect on the continued mobilization of women. This potential causation supports the proposed hypothesis, which predicts a relationship between the two variables. In order to determine if this potential relationship exists, one would need to conduct an in-depth analysis of percentages of rebels that were women for each year of the conflict, data that would require extensive gathering and processing. This analysis could establish whether there was a substantial increase in the mobilization of women as the conflict progressed; however, this type analysis was not conducted as a part of this study. The fact that the conducted analysis revealed this alternative relationship indicates that the hypothesis, which claims that duration makes it more likely that women in areas affected by civil wars will mobilize, could potentially be accurate.

To conclude, increasing duration does not appear make the initial mobilization women in areas affected by civil wars into insurgent forces more likely. The duration of the civil conflict does appear to affect the continued mobilization of women, but that relationship is not clearly causal. The hypothesis is neither rejected, nor supported, since the analysis was weakened by the results of the initial hypothesis, but the potential revealed relationship between the continued mobilization of women and the duration of the civil conflict, illustrates the need for further study to determine if civil war duration makes it more likely for women to mobilize, after the initial mobilization, as the conflict continues. Therefore, the relationship between civil war duration and the mobilization of women in the affected areas is inconclusive.

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ACADEMIC VITA of Christen Buckley

Christen Buckley
P.O. Box 786
Lemont, PA, 168051
clb5344@psu.edu

Education:

Bachelor of Arts Degree in International Politics, Penn State University, Spring 2012
Bachelor of Arts Degree in Theatre, Penn State University, Spring 2012
Minor in French and Francophone Studies
Honors in International Politics
Thesis Title: “Never Send a Man to do a Women’s job: Exploring the Effect of Civil War Duration on the Mobilization of Women Combatants in Civil War”
Thesis Supervisor: Douglas Lemke

Related Experience:

Internship with: Pennsylvania State University Office of Governmental Affairs
Supervisor: Zack Moore

Awards:

Dean’s List: 7/8 semesters
Paterno Fellows Program Participant, *College of Liberal Arts*
Phi Sigma Alpha Honor Society

Presentations/Activities:

Director of Special Events, TEDxPSU Executive Team 2011 - 2012
Rules and Regulations Committee Member for Penn State Dance Marathon 2011
College of Arts and Architecture Student Council
Pennsylvania State University International Debate Association
University Park Undergraduate Association Legal Affairs Staff Member
College of Arts and Architecture Representative in the University Park Undergraduate Association
Penn State Global Business Brigades
Homes of the Indian Nation, Schreyer Honors College Service Learning Program