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#### DOI

[10.1080/13698249.2024.2302737](https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2024.2302737)

#### Publication date

2025

#### Document Version

Final published version

#### Published in

Civil Wars

#### License

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[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Matfess, H., & Loken, M. M. (2025). Women's Wings in Rebel Organisations: Prevalence, Purposes, and Variations. *Civil Wars*, 27(1), 15-41.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2024.2302737>

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# Women's Wings in Rebel Organisations: Prevalence, Purposes and Variations

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## ABSTRACT

Women's wings are a common feature of rebellions but we lack a systematic accounting of how women organise themselves or are organised within and across armed groups. In this article we describe the functions of and variation across women's wings globally. We identify significant variation in the types, purposes, and autonomy of women's wings inside and between groups. We also highlight similarities across units, including their role in mobilising women into conflict, pressing for reforms, and creating leadership opportunities. We demonstrate that women's wings are diverse yet important sites for gendered power, negotiation, activity, and outreach within rebellions.

**ARTICLE HISTORY** Received 21 September 2022; Accepted 4 January 2024

## Introduction

In the autumn of 1970, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provisional IRA)'s Army Council formally approved membership for women as Volunteers (the term used to describe fighters in the organisation). This decision reflected women's demands to be included in the army of the long-standing republican movement aimed at ending British rule in Northern Ireland; they wanted to join the Army (Gilmartin 2018). But the Army Council's decision met fierce backlash from a vocal, well-coordinated, and perhaps unexpected group: *Cumann na mBan*, the women's auxiliary unit who had provided support for the Provisional IRA and its ancestor organisations since 1914 (O'Keefe 2013; Reinisch 2016). *Cumann na mBan* members reportedly felt that allowing women into the 'active service units' would weaken women's position within the male-dominated organisation, would disturb the historical continuity of women's contributions to armed republicanism, and would attract women more committed to the 'excitement' of rebellion rather than the political cause (O'Keefe

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2013; Reinisch 2016). At the same time, some female Volunteers viewed *Cumann na mBan* as a conservative relic that enshrined women's secondary status. One former Volunteer recalled that compared to the women's wing, 'You got to do more in the Army [...] You learnt more and you got more respect. I just went into the Army. I went into "A" Company and I never bothered with *Cumann na mBan*' (quoted in Wahidin 2016, p. 89, italics added).

Research on women's participation in armed non-state groups demonstrates the diversity, complexity, prevalence, and significance of women's participation across organisations operating around the globe (Henshaw 2016, Wood and Thomas 2017, Loken and Matfess 2023). This body of scholarship examines women's pathways into and diverse experiences of political violence (Coulter 2011, Viterna 2013, Gilmartin 2018, Hedström 2020, Giri 2021, Eggert 2022) as well as the effects of women's participation on rebel behaviour and conflict outcomes (Braithwaite and Ruiz 2018, Henshaw 2020, Szekely 2020, Thomas 2021, Wood and Allemang 2021, Brannon Elizabeth 2023). Still, there has not yet been a systematic accounting of how women organise themselves or are organised *within* and *across* these organisations into women's groups. Similarly, we know comparatively little about how rebel approaches to integrating women change as conflict dynamics shift.

This is an important scholarly omission given the landscape of women's organising in armed groups. According to the Women's Activities in Armed Rebellion (WAAR) Project dataset, at least 38 per cent of sampled rebel organisations fighting between 1945–2015 included at least one all-female unit, referred to here as a *women's wing*. These include non-combatant groups like *Cumann na mBan*, who carry weapons, conduct intelligence operations, and provide other support to fighters, but also women's military battalions, political groups, service providing organisations, and mass associations. Women's wings are important sites for gendered power, negotiation, activity, and outreach within armed groups. And, as the opening vignette makes clear, they can also be sites of gendered contestation, hierarchical entrenchment, and intra-organisational revolt.

Studying women's wings can provide us with a more holistic understanding of how non-state armed groups operate and of the experiences and roles of women within these organisations. Specifically, a closer examination of women's wings sheds light on how women exercise influence and rise to leadership positions within organisations, illuminates gendered fault lines and gender ideologies in armed groups, and highlights how women are affected by and contribute to rebel socialisation processes. These dynamics shape women's experiences and opportunities both during and after war (Hedström 2016, Eggert 2022).

In this article, we draw on novel data on women's contributions to rebel groups to provide a descriptive account of the functions of and variation across women's wings in rebel organisations operating in civil wars. We conclude that women's wings are a common feature of contemporary rebellions, that many groups include

both military and non-combatant women's units, and that there is significant variation in the types, purposes, and autonomy of women's wings across and within rebel groups. We identify variation, specifically, in the core constituencies of women's wings and the extent to which women's wings' work challenges gender norms within rebel organisations or broader societies. We also observe important areas of similarity across women's units, such as the role of women's wings in overcoming collective action issues, mobilising women into armed struggle, serving as forums to press for reforms or to centralise women's contributions, creating leadership opportunities within rebellions, and catalysing the formation of gendered social networks. We further describe the shared challenges these women's wings face in navigating broader organisational structures and transitions during post-conflict periods.

This article proceeds in five parts. First, we review the related research on women's participation in rebel groups, explaining what the study of women's wings can contribute to this scholarship. Second, we provide descriptive statistics about the prevalence of military and non-combatant women's wings in over 370 rebellions operating between 1945–2015. Third, we discuss variation and salience in the purposes and functions of women's wings, providing examples from armed groups around the world. This discussion also contextualises these different types of units within rebels' broader politico-military objectives and organisational practices. Following this, we discuss how women's wings can be a site of contestation over the 'appropriate' role for women in rebellions and examine the post-war legacies of women's units as a window into the lasting impact of conflicts' gender dynamics. Our final section summarises and outlines an agenda for future research into this subject.

## **Situating This Study within the Field**

A robust literature explores women's participation in armed non-state organisations. This scholarship illustrates the determinants of (Thomas and Bond 2015, Thomas and Wood 2018, Wood 2019, Asal and Jadoon 2020) and pathways for women's involvement in rebellion (Viterna 2006, Parkinson 2013, Oriola 2016, Baines 2017, Saksena 2018, Vale 2019). Studies in this field also examine women's experiences within rebel organisations, detailing women's rationales for joining, the roles they take on and tasks they perform, their experiences with upward mobility or gendered restrictions, and their lives during and after war (Coulter 2011, Mackenzie 2012, Viterna 2013, Wahidin 2016, Matfess 2017, Saksena 2018, Hedström 2020, Giri 2021). However, much of this work focuses on individual women's trajectories and experiences. While such analysis is critical for contextual study, it can also limit our understanding of how women in armed groups participate collectively; how they organise themselves (or are organised by rebel leaders) within predominantly male spaces; and how they, or others, mobilise gender as a political tool.

Some research examines women's units within rebellions; these are rich case studies regarding individual armed organisations on which our analysis builds. For example, Hedström (2016) and Israelsen (2018) examine women's political groups within Myanmar's ethnic rebellions. Hedström (2016)'s research on the Burmese Women's Union (BWU) – an independent women's group linked to the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) – suggests that the BWU has successfully mobilised funding and support for women's issues within the ABSDF and broader multi-ethnic communities and that the ABSDF supported the BWU's focus on gendered issues. Israelsen (2018) evaluates the Karen Women's Organisation (KWO)'s autonomy from the Karen National Union (KNU) rebellion in Myanmar, arguing that the KWO's historical lack of autonomy hindered women's political participation in the movement. She suggests that the KNU's apathy towards the KWO's work, which was largely welfare and civil-society based, impeded women's access to the group and Karen politics because the KWO lacked an independent governance system (Israelsen, 2018). Relatedly, in her work focused on South Africa, Hassim (2004, 2015) examines the African National Congress' (ANC) Women's League (ANCWL) and traces the group's development from political actors and service providers within the ANC into one of the largest and most influential contemporary women's rights movements in the country.

Other scholarship explores women's and girls' experiences within units engaging in the front-line environment. For example, Katto (2014) and Pinaud (2013, 2015) examine female military brigades in Mozambique and South Sudan, respectively. In Mozambique, Frelimo organised women into *Destacamento Feminino (DF)*, which trained female members militarily but apparently did not send them into combat (Katto 2014, Gonzalez-Perez 2021). Katto's (2014) uses interviews with DF members to account for women's experiences and to explore how participation in this wing – and in Frelimo more broadly- shaped their experiences of 'belonging'. Pinaud (2013, 2015, p. 375) considers the Sudan People's Liberation Army's (SPLA) 'girls battalion', *Ketiba Banat*, to argue that, far from a space for radical gendered politics and collective autonomy, SPLA leaders used the group to create 'a new female elite' and to fulfil 'political and social functions', including creating mythology around female fighters in the war and post-war periods.<sup>1</sup>

Reinisch (2016), Gilmartin (2018), Loken (2022) examine women's wings aligned with the Provisional IRA during the armed conflict in Northern Ireland. Loken (2022) explores how *Cumann na mBan* women provided essential logistical support for fighters in this period, keeping the rebellion afloat and shaping their combat strategies. Reinisch (2016) and Gilmartin (2018) similarly account for *Cumann na mBan*'s activities but further examine the politics within and between the women's unit, the Provisional IRA, and the Women's Department of the Provisional IRA's political wing, Sinn Féin.

This body of work emphasises the importance of women's wings of all types to rebel organisations and also highlights the complex gender dynamics within and

across women's units. While some women's wings challenge gender norms and provide women forums through which they articulate demands for gender-egalitarianism, other women's wings engage women in traditionally 'feminine', largely domestic activities or are symbolic manifestations of broader gendered narratives within rebel groups. But because existing scholarship largely focuses on individual rebellions, we know little about variation in the types, purposes, constitutions, and activities of women's wings in these organisations across conflicts. This is the intervention point for this study.

Attention to women's wings is important for five theoretical and practical reasons. First, studying women's units systematically provides an in-road into understanding how women mobilise collectively – or fractionally – during war. Moreover, we can consider the opportunities that these networks present for women for mobilisation in the post-conflict period. Second, and relatedly, variation in the establishment, type, and leadership of women's wings can shed light on rebels' intra-rebel hierarchies, gender dynamics, ideologies, and their commitments to messaging on women's issues. Women's wings are often forums for pressing gendered reforms and articulating gendered issues otherwise neglected by armed groups, but they also may reinforce traditional gender roles and hierarchies.<sup>2</sup> Comparing these approaches across cases illuminates how these dynamics work, or are hindered, at a cross-conflict level.

Third, women in rebel groups often rise to positions where they exert influence over other participants (Henshaw *et al.* 2019). Consequently, studying women's wings is in itself a way to study women's rebel leadership. Fourth, intra-rebel organisation can be a way of marking hierarchy among group members. It is critical in the study of rebel gender ideologies and dynamics to explore how rank-and-file women are actually incorporated and to evaluate the power differentials between group members (See Vastapuu, 2023). Analysing women's wings can help us assess relationships between women and men in rebellion; explore how and when women self-organised or were organised from above; account for the ethnic, political, and relational dimensions of which women ascend to leadership or other elite positions within rebel groups; and understand shifts in women's status and roles within armed groups over time. Finally, women's wings are often important venues by which rebels conduct outreach to civilian populations and engage with the international community (Hedström and Olivius 2021). They are therefore sometimes a part of rebellions' governance and diplomatic bureaucracy. In the sections that follow, we consider the prevalence, characteristics, and significance of women's wings during and after war.

## **Women's Wings: A Cross-Conflict View**

We leverage WAAR Project data (v1.0) (Loken and Matfess 2023) on the presence and primary functions of women's wings to map their prevalence across rebel groups. These data use both primary and secondary sources to provide

quantitative and qualitative measures of the visible prevalence and characteristics of women's participation in combatant,<sup>3</sup> non-combatant,<sup>4</sup> and leadership roles, as well as the distribution of identified women's wings. The dataset covers 372 rebel organisations operating in armed conflicts between 1946–2015.<sup>5</sup> The data identifies women's wings as either 'combat/front-line/military' or 'noncombatant/auxiliary', referring to the wing's primary functions. By 'noncombatant' women's wings we mean instances in which women are organised in all-female groups that engage in support, political, social, or otherwise auxiliary work; in contrast 'combat' or military women's wings are all-female units that are trained to fight together and/or deployed in combat, as well as politically-oriented organisations for female fighters, specifically, within rebel groups.<sup>6</sup> In reality, many women – and men – who contribute to rebellion do so in myriad ways that make clear that combatant and 'noncombatant' are not necessarily distinct categories. Importantly, this distinction as applied in this article focuses on the *units'* primary purposes and functions rather than the identities and complex roles of their individual members – for example, a woman combatant may also be part of a non-combatant wing's leadership and in that role work towards a non-combatant-related objective on behalf of that group.

Nearly 40 per cent of groups included in the WAAR Project data include at least one women's wing incorporated within or affiliated with the rebel apparatus. These are overwhelmingly non-combatant organisations: an estimated 32 per cent of rebellions include a known women's non-combatant wing, while around 15 per cent operate a front-line women's unit or an association for female fighters (Figure 1). Many groups include both non-combatant and military units, but women are significantly more likely to participate in non-combatant women's units than they are to fight within women's brigades or other military units, even in rebel groups that include women in combat positions. Still, some rebel groups

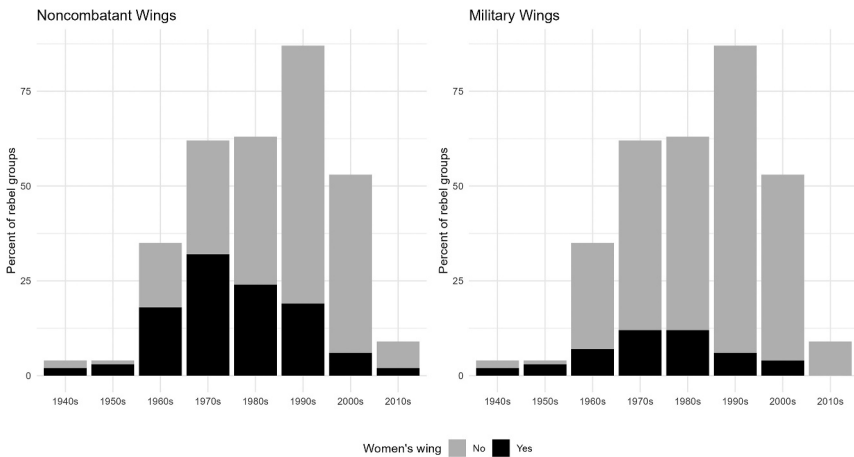


Figure 1. Women's wings by rebellions' first fight year, variation over time, 1946–2011<sup>8</sup>.

with a substantial number of women members do not establish women's wings: the level or scope of women's participation are not sufficient conditions for producing these units. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), for example, is marked by high levels of women's participation in combatant non-combatant, and leadership roles, but we were unable to identify a women's wing within the group.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, the presence and function of women's units varies widely by primary rebel ideologies and other organisational characteristics.<sup>9</sup> Women's wings appear most common in rebel groups with left-wing political ideologies. An estimated 57 per cent of leftist groups included in these data include at least one women's unit: approximately 52 per cent include non-combatant women's wings, compared with 26 per cent that incorporate women's military units.<sup>10</sup> The prevalence of women's wings (and especially the prevalence of non-combatant women's wings) within these groups may reflect the formalisation of women's participation in line with broader gender egalitarian ideological frameworks and/or comparatively unique environments where women can and desire to exert gendered political power to mobilise collectively.

Women's wings are also common in groups fighting for and/or composed of specific ethnic groups: 37 per cent of such groups operate at least one women's unit. In ethnic rebellions, women's military wings are about half as common as non-combatant wings, appearing in 17 per cent of groups compared with the latter, which are including in an estimated 32 per cent of groups. In contrast, women's units are least common in organisations with explicitly religious political ideologies, with only 7 per cent including a women's military wing and 25 per cent including non-combatant women's wings.<sup>11</sup> Though there are clear patterns, it is striking that rebel groups across a wide variety of ideological programmes have formed women's organisations.

These data suggest a decline in the visible prevalence of women's wings (both military and non-combatant) among rebel groups that began fighting in the 21st century (Figure 1). This may reflect the waning influence of leftist ideology as an inspiration for rebel groups emerging after the end of the Cold War and the relative rise of religiously-motivated organisations. It is also possible that greater norm diffusion and developments in women's rights and roles across the globe have publicised and normalised women's participation in rebel groups, resulting in greater integration of women and men in the same units. But some of the most influential contemporary groups – such as the Islamic State (IS), the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), and Al Shabaab – do have high-profile and active women's wings. Moreover, as we discuss in detail below, our data suggest that women's wings are often demanded and organised by women themselves as important sites of political organising – even in groups with gender egalitarian or relatively gender-equitable policies.

## Understanding Variation Across Women's Wings

While the data distinguishes between units for women engaged in combat and/or combat training and social, political, auxiliary, or otherwise non-combatant women's wings, there is tremendous variation within these categories. Beyond primary functions, we identify two specific axes of differentiation between women's wings: whether their activities are internally-oriented or externally-oriented and whether their activities are primarily gender-transgressive or gender-normative in their individual contexts.

By internally-oriented, we mean women's wings primarily engaged with and serving the militant arm or other groups *within* the rebel organisation, like *Cumman mBan* or DF. This can include women's groups that provide intelligence, logistical support, or medical care to fighters, or which represent female fighters' interests to rebel leaders. By externally-oriented, we mean women's wings that are primarily engaged with communities and matters outside of the rebellion, such as the KWO and the Sinn Féin Women's Department. This can include wings focused on civilian outreach and aid, political advocacy, mass-associations for women, or fundraising organisations. By gender-normative, we mean activities and labour traditionally associated with women outside of conflict in the rebellion's context, including, for example, caring for war orphans, nursing, educating, and fundraising. Gender-transgressive activities are those traditionally not associated with women outside of conflict in their specific contexts, for example, engaging in diplomatic missions or assembling bombs.

This typology is not exhaustive; it is intended to highlight variation within the categories of non-combatant and military women's units and to guide analyses of how women's wings operate and relate to the broader dynamics of rebel groups. Furthermore we conceptualise these dimensions as a spectrum, rather than as distinct categories. Conceptualising variation within women's wings as a spectrum allows us to consider how these units move along these dimensions over the course of their existence. Women's wings may shift in function, purpose, and constitution in response to several factors, including conflict dynamics, rebel group objectives, intra-unit maturation or development, audiences, and gender-transgressiveness (or not). We therefore conceptualise these axes of variation as consisting of spectrums, in which women's wings can engage in a mixture of activities and engage multiple constituencies.

For example, the Burmese Women's Union (BWU), originally founded by women in the All-Burma Student Democratic Front (ABSDF), changed its focus over time. As Hedström (2013, p. 246) recounts,<sup>12</sup>

Up until 1997, the main objective of the BWU was to increase and organize its member base. All wives and daughters of ABSDF soldiers were automatically signed up. The BWU also reached out to women living in the refugee camps on the Tai-Myanmar border, female student activists resettled in Western countries, and women living in the border regions of India and China. Once they had

a firm member base, the leaders began to organize small vocational projects for the new recruits (e.g. crocheting and weaving training). The vocational training was seen as a way to help the members earn an income while keeping them engaged with the union, and was used as a strategy to increase the women's economic independence.

The BWU engaged in such activities despite resistance from their male counterparts (Hedström 2013).

As previously discussed, organising one type of women's wing does not preclude the creation of other women's units. In many cases, several distinct wings operate within a single armed group. Consider, for example, the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist (CPN-M), which organised women's mass associations throughout the villages (Parvati 2003), affiliated with the All Nepal Women's Association (Revolutionary) to 'organize grassroots campaigns' in support of gender equality and the organisation's platform (Lohani-Chase 2014, p. 30), organised a 'women's department', under the direct control of the Central Party (Tamang 2009), and reportedly operated, if for a short time, women's combat units including 'women platoons, women squad teams, women militia teams functioning in the field' (Parvati 2003, n. p.).<sup>13</sup> This constellation of military and non-combatant women's wings within the CPN-M created a network of mobilised women, female leaders, and gender-specific collectives.

In summary, we offer this typology of women's wings as a framework to identify patterns, functions, purposes, and significance of women's wings within rebel organisations. We consider how these two axes of differentiation – primary orientation and gender normativity – manifest in women's military and non-combatant wings.

### ***Military Wings***

Women's military units are almost always imbued with some degree of symbolic resonance and gender transgression. Though many armed groups establish all-female combat units, not all of these formations regularly, or ever, participate in fighting. Whether or not military women's wings are actually active in combat is a key characteristic highlighting the degree to which they are more gender-transgressive or more gender-normative. In some instances, these units' primary purpose is discursive, symbolic, or propagandistic; though these images of armed women can challenge gender norms, they are not always indicative of women's actual participation (Pinaud 2015, Loken 2021).

Other women's battalions actively fight in military operations. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, for example, operated two active, all-women brigades: the Sothiya brigade and the Malathi brigade, formed in 1989 and 1994 respectively (Dissanayake 2017). These groups

participated in military and logistical activities. Despite the LTTE's outward commitments to gender equality and women's early support for the rebellion, the group only incorporated women into combat roles after nearly a decade of fighting. Women's participation in these roles and the eventual creation of these all-female armed units may reflect battlefield losses that forced the hands of the LTTE's leadership (Von Knop 2007, Stack-O'Connor 2007, Dissanayake 2017). Women's success in these roles and enthusiastic participation as fighters 'elevated the stature of women in the group', which resulted in female leaders earning greater agency over the women's units (Dissanayake 2017, p. 2). The frequency with which these all-female units engaged with enemy combatants suggests that they were externally oriented, though their reputation as effective fighters obviously altered intra-group dynamics.

Similarly, Kurdish Women's Protection Units (YPJ) affiliated with the Democratic Union Party (PYD) in Syria serve important roles engaging those outside of the organisation – both directly and through their symbolic resonance. This example illustrates the complex dynamics of women's participation in rebellion and of women's wings; these spaces can be meaningful in specific ways for the women in them and make meaning in different ways for those observing them. The YPJ serves as a critical mobilising and military space for women, established to enshrine women's positions in the PYD at all levels. Many YPJ participants view the group as a way to fight as a way to fight for Kurdish rights *and* for women's rights (Trisko Darden *et al.* 2019). But the YPJ is also discursively important to the image that the PYD projects to the outside world. The YPJ's fight against the Islamic State 'expanded' Kurdish militants' 'international appeal' and signified political legitimacy of their cause (Başer 2022, p. 21). Indeed, the YPJ's fight in Syria (and in particular the liberation of Kobane) drew significant international attention, shaping the discourse surrounding both the struggle for Kurdish independence and the war against the Islamic State and rendered many in the West sympathetic not only to the PYD but to Kurdish organisations more broadly (Başer, 2022). For example, writing on Kurdish militants in Turkey, Başer (2022, p. 22) argues that attention to the YPJ created such a 'positive political climate' that it 'expedited the institutionalization of the PKK women's movement in Europe'.

In other cases, women's military wings are not deployed in combat. But they can still further rebel objectives by imbuing certain subsets of women with authority and institutionalising rebels' preferred gender hierarchies. For example, while most in *Ketiba Banat* were militarily trained, Pinaud (2015, p. 381) writes that the unit 'was only operational once as a battalion' and that the members were 'kept at the rear, cooking for and nursing the soldiers'. Still, Pinaud (2015, p. 381–382) notes,

*Ketiba Banat*, a short-lived military adventure for most recruits, not only had the advantage of fixing women's contribution in history: it became the 'idea' of women's participation to the struggle [...] The SPLA used *Ketiba Banat* to demonstrate the involvement of every segment of society in the struggle [...] [s]ongs by *Ketiba Banat*, by the female SPLA commander Ager Agum, and by women's associations were broadcasted on Radio SPLA in support of the guerillas [...] In the end, *Ketiba Banat* actually presented little challenge to traditional social norms.

As one *Ketiba Banat* member recalled, 'When we go there and we are trained, we are trained to be married!' (Pinaud 2015, p. 384). Indeed, the marriages between *Ketiba Banat* members and other fighters furthered the rebels' project of building a new social and economic elite that persisted into the post-war period (Pinaud 2013, 2015).

In other cases, military women's wings are not combat units composed of women, but rather associations of female combatants. While these groups are not deployed as a unit to engage in armed combat, these groups can serve as important fora for women fighters to identify shared issues and experiences and to press for reform within armed groups. These units are more internally-oriented than externally-oriented, as their primary engagement as members of the women's wing is with other rebels rather than those outside of the group. For example, women of the DF in Frelimo, established in the late 1960s, were militarily trained and then deployed in a variety of roles in support of Frelimo's objectives, though it appears they rarely participated in combat (Urdang 1978). Militarily training women was an operationalisation of the rebels' egalitarian gender ideology and a method for rebels to demonstrate their commitment to their cause.

Yet, the DF was not only a way for rebels to organise women's contributions, it was also a method through which women shaped their experiences within the rebellion and a vehicle for some women to take up leadership positions. Reportedly, female Frelimo members' requests for a women's association led to the DF's creation and the unit provided opportunities to shape Frelimo's discourse and practices on women's issues (Urdang 1978). As one former DF member noted,

When we girls started to work there was strong opposition to our participation. Because that was against our tradition. We then started a big campaign explaining why we also had to fight, that the FRELIMO war is a people's war in which the whole population must participate, that we women were even more oppressed than men and that we therefore had the right as well as the will and the strength to fight. We insisted on our having military training and being given weapons. (Ibid, p. 27–28)

DF women further played an important role interfacing with other rebels and socialising members of the organisation. When the Frelimo formed the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) in the early 1970s to mobilise

more women into the organization, DF women “played a central role [...] educating their comrade sisters in Frelimo revolutionary ideology. (West 2005, p. 112).

Armed women’s wings can be influential, regardless of whether they challenge or uphold gender norms and whether they engage primarily with those outside of the organisation or with fellow rebels. Participation can affect the rebel socialisation that women experience, facilitate new social ties among rank-and-file and elite members of the organisation, and shape their opportunities to rise to leadership positions. The adoption of a ‘fighter identity’, regardless of whether women see combat or engage in gender-transgressive tasks frequently, can further affect how women perceive themselves and are perceived by others (Negewo–Oda and White 2011, p. 164).

### **Noncombatant Wings**

Though participation in combat often receives unique attention and may be regarded, by rebels and observers, as particularly prestigious and/or gender-transgressive, women’s contributions through non-combatant work are vital for organisational survival (Parkinson 2013). Many rebellions task women’s wings with this type of work. Though the work of these units may not involve combat, they can operate on close to the front-lines. For example, the Women’s Detachment of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) ‘undertook assignments such as soliciting information and traveling long and highly dangerous journeys to bring weapons from the rear to the front’ (Mudeka 2014, p. 91). *Cumann na mBan* women ferried away weapons after attacks, transported bombs, served as lookouts and messengers, and collected intelligence on British army movements (Gilmartin 2018, Loken 2022). Some *Cumann na mBan* women were killed by British forces or in premature explosions (Loken 2022). Sometimes women’s non-combatant work can, in the international legal sense, be considered ‘direct participation in hostilities’, but non-combatant work is unique in that those participating are decidedly not fighting while performing said labour. And in the case of women’s wings, the majority focus primarily on work beyond active fighting.

Some rebel groups establish all-female police forces to supervise and discipline the behaviour of others under the rebels’ rule. The Islamic State, for example, established women’s *hisba* units; *hisba* for the Islamic State is essentially public morality policing and enforcement of politico-religious codes. Strict gendered rules and gendered segregation of women from men in most aspects of public life constitute significant components of the Islamic State’s religious and political ideology. This meant that in Islamic State-held territories, women’s *hisba* offices enforced the Islamic State’s authority over other women to ensure such segregation. Often armed, women of the *hisba* patrolled streets, monitoring civilian women and

arresting, whipping, and beating them or cutting their fingers over minor infractions of religious codes (Cook 2023). Women in the *hisba* were also responsible for disbursing other female members' salaries, inspecting stores selling to and service providers for women, patrolling women's institutes and schools, and monitoring captured women. Some women report joining *hisba* brigades because they supported the Islamic State's cause and gendered beliefs, while others joined because it was one of the only activities that allowed them public life, work, or merely something to do (Moaveni 2019).

Units like these serve to demonstrate rebels' gender ideologies as much as they are tasked to enforce them: in this case, IS's relegation of women to a separate sphere required a women's group to oversee their activities. It is therefore an illustrative example of how in some cases, individual women's gender-transgressive behaviour (through the participation in a policing unit) can institutionalise gender-normative behaviour among other women. Moreover, this case illustrates the complex nature of participation in women's wings and rebellion more broadly. Like participants in other parts of rebel organisations, women who mobilise into women's wings do so for myriad reasons, sometimes with a complicated relationship to the groups' ideologies, objectives, and gendered expectations.

While the *hisba* brigades exemplify a break from gendered tradition for most women, in many rebel organisations women's non-combatant wings replicate pre-war gendered divisions of labour by concentrating women's contributions in tasks viewed by their constituency as traditionally 'domestic' or 'feminine'. For example, Marks (2019, p. 493) notes that women affiliated with the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Liberia formed the Revolutionary United Sisters Organization (RUSO), which 'sought to provide medical care, food, and other services to wounded soldiers and to create a social and political space for women in the male dominated organization'. In other cases, this type of work is externally-facing and focused on community welfare. For example, some organisations rely on women's wing members to care for fighters' children while they fight or if they die. The Popular Organisation of Timorese Women (OPMT) – Fretilin's women's wing – assumed responsibility for war orphans and established childcare centres 'to provide nutrition and moral and logistical support' in Fretilin camps (Da Silva 2012, p. 150). The ANCWL similarly operated childcare centres on uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK, the ANC's armed wing) bases and cared for and educated the children of ANC fighters in training or in exile (Hassim 2015). In some cases, women's wings themselves embrace more traditional gender roles and responsibilities as part of the rebels' broader political project. This is true of *Cumann na mBan*, discussed above, but also of groups like the League of Angolan Women (LIMA), the women's wing of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who 'reinforced the conservative philosophies by promoting the idea that the women were child bearers and

the women in UNITA are encouraged to bring up children according to traditions' (Campbell 1993, p. 53).

Some women's wings engage in charity work, providing services to those affected by war. For example the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW), the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO)'s women's branch is, in part, 'focused on coordinating [...] support work [...] organising charities, building orphanages, hospitals, schools, and providing classes in sewing, nursing, and adult literacy' (Gonzalez-Perez 2008, p. 99). These activities, not only because they result in tangible services but also because these activities are in-line with predominant gender norms, may improve the reputation of the rebel group among civilians, facilitating recruitment into the organisation and making it easier for the rebels to operate (Heger and Jung 2017).

A central mandate for many women's non-combatant wings is to advocate for women's interests, specifically gender equality initiatives and those, like land reform and literacy, that may disproportionately affect women within and outside of the rebellion. In this way, women's wings are often sites of concentrated political power and activism that enable women to push rebel leadership on issues they care about and to enact changes in their communities. We discuss these kinds of activities in detail in the next section, but a revealing example is the *Abakenyererugamba*, the National Council for the Defense of Democracy – Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD's) women's league in Burundi during its rebel years. Jones notes that 'this group, like the youth league, was to act as a leadership and steering committee for women members of the party, and especially, to provide a voice for women's issues during the war and in subsequent planning for the future' (Jones 2013, p. 264). The *Abakenyererugamba* pushed – successfully – for women's inclusion in politics and involved themselves in post-conflict planning for Burundi's future (Jones 2013).

Rebels also organise civilian women outside of the group in support of their causes by establishing mass associations for women or women's committees. Despite not being formal members of the rebellion, mass associations for women are consequential for women's experiences of war, the activities of women within the rebel group, and the rebel group's operations. For example, in Peru, one of the Shining Path's co-founders, Augusta La Torre, established a large organisation that was part internal women's front and part external mass association, the *Movimiento Femenino Popular*. The group itself emerged from existing women's and student organisations but allied completely with the Shining Path. They published a magazine and tens of thousands of fliers, went to markets and villages to explain gendered emancipation to local women, worked in schools, and organised conventions for civilian women focused on class and the gendered components of Maoism (Guiné 2016). Like other mass associations, *Movimiento Femenino*

*Popular* aimed to mobilise civilian women in support of the Shining Path's ideologies and practices (Guiné 2016).

As the *Movimiento Femenino Popular* demonstrates, like women's military wings, women's non-combatant units can engage in a mixture of internally and externally oriented activities. Another example is the MWO, affiliated with the NMSP, which provides both logistical support to the fighters and engages in charity work among the communities that the NMSP purports to fight for. The organisation reportedly runs literacy and outreach programmes to civilian communities, including displaced populations (South 2003, Saunders 2005, Kyed and Gravers 2014, Takeda and Chosein 2021). This organisation engages in a mixture of relatively gender-normative and gender-transgressive works, mixing, for example, charity work with lobbying for political representation. Though sometimes positioning itself as an independent NGO, the MWO pressures the NMSP on women's issues, including successfully campaigning for women's representation in the NMSP court system, lobbying for a quota system within the organisation, and pressuring the group to include women in the Central Executive Community (Maraoh 2008, Murage 2017). Groups like the MWO can leverage their role as externally facing organisations to push for internal changes.

Women's wings can further serve as effective spokespeople for rebels or as liaisons with the international community, whether promoting gender-normative or gender-transgressive images of women in the organisation. For example, in 1985, the *Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses Luisa Amanda Espinoza* (AMNLAE) – the Sandinista's women's organisation – published a poster of 'Miliciana de Waswalito', Orlando Valenzuela's now-famous photo of a Sandinista woman breastfeeding a baby with a rifle slung over her back.<sup>14</sup> The poster included the words 'Nicaragua must survive' in Spanish and in English, suggesting intentional international reach (Loken 2021). In a more direct example, the Karen Women's Organisation (KWO) has brokered partnerships with a variety of international NGOs and remains active in raising awareness about the effect of the conflict in Myanmar on Karen communities. In 2021, for example, the KWO took to social media to condemn an insensitive tweet by a *Foreign Policy* magazine employee about the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA, the militant wing). Their rebuke not only attracted media attention, but also demonstrated the organisation's adeptness at engaging the international community and raising awareness (Paing 2021).

Reflecting on the experiences of Kachin women's rights activists and the activities of the Kachin Women's Association (KWA, a group formally affiliated with the Kachin Independence Organisation) and the Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT, a nominally independent organisation with robust ties to the KWA) Hedström and Olivius (2021) observe that these groups are well-placed to leverage international norms regarding women's rights to draw attention to the crises they face and to build support for armed

struggle. They also note that, though ‘women’s norm-translation activism has made them useful to the Kachin struggle and generated respect and recognition, giving women’s rights activists a platform and a voice in shaping local governance structures’, it has also facilitated ‘a gendered division of labor – where women’s unpaid reproductive labour and support in the service of war – is entrenched, contributing to insecurity, exploitation, and depletion for women’ (Hedström and Olivius 2021, p. 390). The experience of KWAT underscores the need to consider the ways in which women’s wings can be co-opted by the broader political movement that they are associated with, ultimately limiting the extent to which these organisations can advance women’s interests. As with armed women’s wings, non-combatant units can provide women with a mechanism to overcome collective action issues, produce a shared new identity, and develop networks of like-minded women.

### **Contextualising In-Group Relationships: Women’s Wings as Part of the Whole**

Women’s wings are almost always organisationally subordinate to the rebels’ central political leadership, but there is significant variation in their autonomy and political power. In some instances, women’s wings were formed by women themselves, whereas in other cases, (largely male) rebel leadership mandated and facilitated the creation of these organisations. As such, women’s wings can be a reflection of rebel women’s autonomy and an articulation of women’s agency, but they can also indicate subordination of women to the organisation.

An important pattern that emerges across many rebellions is that women exercise a degree of autonomy in establishing and developing women’s units from the ‘ground up’. As previously discussed, women often endeavour to establish women’s wings as spaces to push back against patriarchal norms and to promote women’s voices, needs, and rights. For example, in Sinn Féin, the Provisional IRA’s political wing, the ‘roots of the Women’s Department resided solely with the agency of republican women themselves with little input from the male-led leadership’ (Gilmartin 2018, p. 130). As Sinn Féin became more involved in formal politics, women saw and demanded a space to discuss and push issues important to them, specifically those concerning the status of and opportunities for women in the movement and women in Northern Ireland (Gilmartin 2018). The Women’s Department further exerted influence over the group’s political strategies and ideological governance:

The Women’s Department also shaped Sinn Féin’s more ‘transformative governance efforts’ by introducing women’s rights policies into the organization’s agenda. The department’s policy document—unanimously supported at that year’s party conference—outlined social and legal transformations expanding women’s rights to childcare support, divorce, and contraception [...]

Encouraged by the Women's Department, Sinn Féin began providing childcare or paying childcare costs for members to participate in the organization's functions throughout the 1980s. (Loken 2022, p. 167)

But in other groups, women's wings struggle to exercise internal political power or to entice rebel leadership to focus on gendered issues. In many groups women's wings are a somewhat 'top-down' affair, created by rebel leadership as a way to 'manage' women's contributions. For example, in Mozambique, the OMM emerged from DF with a broader revolutionary focus and a mandate to bring women into Frelimo's fold. But once Frelimo won their first war (Mozambique's independence war), their relationship with the OMM became more tenuous. OMM's scheduled 1984 conference was delayed for months because, reportedly, some 'male Frelimo cadres felt threatened by the direction the discussions were taking [...] they wanted to regain control of the process leading up to the actual conference' (Sheldon 1990, p. 3). As one member of the OMM's secretariat recalled, 'The Party thinks that because it created the OMM it can direct it. So the OMM will have problems when it begins to threaten the privileges of men' (Sheldon 1990, p. 4).

Moreover, many rebellions include more than one women's wing, often with different functions. Different women's units within the same organisation sometimes enjoy varying degrees of autonomy and may therefore leverage different tactics in their relationships with rebel leadership. The ANCWL and its successor, the Women's Section, are illustrative examples. Before the South African government banned ANC and the Women's League's activities halted, the ANCWL enjoyed a degree of independence and women had to apply to become members; in contrast, all ANC women-in-exile were members of the Women's Section. Furthermore, though 'the Women's Section repeatedly requested greater autonomy in decision-making [...] it was prepared to concede broad policy decisions to the NEC [National Executive Committee]' (Hassim 2004, p. 446).

Concerns over the activities and the autonomy of women's wings within armed groups can catalyse not only tension between the rebel leadership and women's wings, but between rebel women and among women's units. There was reportedly a focal breakdown between the ANC's women's wings and women in the ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Hassim (2004, p. 450) relays the comments from a National Preparatory Committee report, which observed that 'a gulf seemed to exist between the Women's Section and women in the military, with the Women's Section playing almost no role in providing political direction to women cadres. Visits by the Women's Section to the camps tended to focus on the immediate social welfare needs of women cadres, rather than on the strategic issues of the role women cadres could play if deployed inside South Africa'. Tension between women affiliated with the same rebellion underscore the limits of

terms like 'women's interests', which obscure meaningful differences in how women think about their objectives and contributions.

In other cases, women's units with different focuses within the same rebellion may work relatively well in tandem. Several rebel groups include a women's political wing, mass women's committees, and women's armed brigades, and these groups can often strengthen each other's objectives. As we previously discussed, evidence suggests that women's units within the CPN-M worked collectively to advance gender equality and call attention to gendered issues. The women's department within the political organisation mobilised with village level women's organisations, and in another case surveyed women in the fighting forces about gender discrimination as part of an organisation-wide assessment (Tamang 2009).

Importantly, women's wings are often the central organ for advancing gendered issues from within rebellions. Women's wings can be the catalyst and fora to challenge patriarchal norms within armed groups and to press for greater gender-egalitarianism within rebellion. These units often lobby for more representation for women or other pro-woman reforms while also being tasked with implementing reforms they disagree with, highlighting the tensions between their role as a body to represent women's issues and implementing the rebel leadership's agenda. For example, while the Association for Women Fighters of Tigray (AWFT, also called the Women's Fighter Association or WFA) within the TPLF helped implement reforms in the mid-1980s that legalised marriage and childbirth, there was frustration among members about these changes (Teklu 2015; Matfess fieldwork). In the late 1980s, the TPLF's leadership criticised the AWFT for pressing too resolutely on women's issues (Teklu 2015). As this example underlines, women's units, regardless of type, serve not only as forums for women to address their shared challenges and to incorporate women into rebel activities, but also often to actualise rebels or activists' expectations of what roles women should play in society. Women's wings therefore provide a tangible way to identify rebels' gender ideologies and the extent to which they implement reforms in line with their gender ideology within the organisation, as well as a lens for understanding how women in rebellion perceive and respond to gender discrimination.

Moreover, women's spaces within rebellion can serve as gateways for women's integration within the broader movement. Writing on militant groups that fought in Lebanon's civil war, Eggert (2022, 11) contends, '[N]early all organizations which deployed female fighters had had a long tradition of engaging women in separate non-violent political women's wings [... they] provided women with a space to gain political experience and confidence before the war started and highlighted that there was a place for women in the struggle'. Former fighters emphasise this pathway as a crucial factor in women's front-line participation in Lebanon (Eggert (2022).

Finally, an important consideration is how women's wings, particularly public-facing ones, interact with non-rebel NGOs and women's rights organisations in society during and after conflict periods. Some women's wings have had contentious relationships with independent civil society organisations, limiting the extent to which they can be a part of collaborative mobilisation outside of the auspices of the rebel group. During the 1985 UN Women's Conference in Nairobi, for example, the SWAPO Women's Council delegation did not join forces with the Namibia Women's Voice (NWW) delegation. According to Stember's (2021, p. 84) interview with NWW member Lindi Hartung:

SWAPO was very angry that we were there. They were telling the people that we were not supposed to be there ... they felt they are the people who should be representing Namibia. We didn't care - we were there. But they treated us very badly at the conference. They were saying all these years they were the ones that were representing Namibia women. Suddenly, there were 20 women from Namibia, and they didn't want us. Each country had to work on its own program. And they don't want to meet with us. It was negotiation, negotiation, until later they came. But they didn't want to actually; they gave us the cold shoulder all the time ... So, you say you represent us, but you don't want to speak to us. It's very strange, neh? So we were there, and they didn't like it.

Leaders of the SWC reportedly faced pressure from SWAPO to subsume NWW (Soiri 1996). In sum, a wide range of processes and relationships can result in the creation of a women's wing. Moreover, available data makes clear that there is significant variation in these units' longevity and their influence within rebellions.

## Women's Wings in the Post-War Period

Because women's wings are so often involved in political and social work, they can function akin to civil society organisations – with militant affiliations – during war and build important domestic and international relationships. Moreover, they can be powerful mobilisation and negotiation vehicles for women seeking political access. When rebel groups disarm and reintegrate into civilian life (or into the government structure), women's wings therefore experience myriad fates.

In many cases, women's wings disband when rebellions do, and some women transition into NGOs and other civil society organisations. In other cases, women's wings persist as women's departments in political parties or as civilian women's groups. The ANC Women's League, for example, remains the ANC's women's political organisation in South Africa and advocates for women's liberation in the country and inclusion in politics. After the end of apartheid rule, the ANC Women's League organised launching a women's rights movement, 'a national women's

structure that would link women across racial and ideological divisions' (from which it later withdrew) (Hassim 2002, p. 699). The group also publicly demanded, including internally and through writing to national press, that the ANC 'address its failure to include women' in the country's democratic transition [...] There could be little doubt that women's marginalisation from politics was being challenged as never before" (Hassim 2002, p. 700).

Relationships between women's wings and rebel leadership often change over time and in the post-war period. Take, for example, the change in attitude of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)'s women's wings after the war in El Salvador. Luciak (2002, p. 68) notes that during the war,

[T]he women's groups created by the FMLN were often used to secure funds from development agencies eager to support women's organizing. The [FMLN] leadership viewed its affiliated women's groups as perfect vehicles to raise funds for the party. Monies contributed by development agencies for the purpose of strengthening women's organizing were frequently spent for general party purposes instead. Following the peace accords, female militants resented being treated as pawns to raise funds for the party coffers, a role they had acquiesced to during the war.

Eventually, some of these groups went on to be independent NGOs, focused on women's issues.

Ultimately, many women leverage networks and political access engendered by rebel women's wings into collective action in post-war periods

Other women's wings retain complicated relationships with militant groups. For example, the OMM persisted as Frelimo's women's wing once the group took power in 1975 and remained so until after the subsequent civil war – between the Frelimo government and rebel challengers – ended in the early 1990s. According to Banks (2021), 'From the 1980s, the organization's internal regulations explicitly stated that the OMM was an "arm" of Frelimo, and that the party directed its activities. The OMM's structure replicated that of Frelimo, and each section was required to report to their equivalent level within the main party apparatus as well as to their immediate superior within the OMM'. The group was responsible for social-political outreach to women including political and literacy education, pushed for wide-ranging gender equality, and housed a foreign affairs department (Banks 2021). But women in the OMM were also reportedly specifically targeted by Renamo, the primary rebellion opposing the Frelimo government (Sheldon 1990).

Near the civil war's end, in 1990, the OMM voted to separate from Frelimo and become an autonomous organisation. OMM members attribute this choice to an identity crisis spurred by the end of the war and transition to democracy; Frelimo created a new internal and potentially competitive

'Women's League' and the OMM hoped to expand their work and seek new directions (Disney 2008). The OMM wanted to be 'for women', not 'for Frelimo' in a new multi-party system. But ultimately the groups re-affiliated, with the OMM re-joining Frelimo in 1996. Born from Frelimo's history as a rebellion and then as a government under siege, the OMM was unable to disassociate itself from the party and build an autonomous identity (Disney 2008). Moreover, according to women in OMM leadership at the time, the OMM was losing members to Frelimo's Women's League, both Frelimo and OMM needed each other to satisfy their electoral bases, and OMM struggled without the financial advantages of being associated with the ruling party (Disney 2008). In sum, the OMM exemplifies how the legacies of conflict and women's post-conflict political engagement are often inextricably linked to the dynamics of women's wings during war.

## Conclusion

Despite a surge in research about women's roles in rebel groups, there has yet to be significant comparative research into the intra-rebel organisations that are created of, by, and for women. This article uses novel data to provide a descriptive account of the prevalence of these organisations and leverages qualitative details from a variety of cases to illustrate variation in the types of women's wings among rebel groups. In providing examples of women's wings affiliated with rebel groups around the world, this article underscores how these associations can affect women's prospects for obtaining leadership roles in the group, alter female rebels' socialisation experiences, and offer opportunities for them to overcome collective action issues to press for reform on women's issues.

In introducing this data on women's wings and offering a descriptive overview of variation among these groups, we hope to catalyse additional research into these organisations. Further research is needed to explain why some rebel groups include all-female units while others do not. As discussed, though many relatively gender-egalitarian and politically left-aligned groups do include women's wings, many do not. Some large, durable organisations with high levels of women's participation also lack distinct units for women and instead integrate women and men fully into the primary rebel apparatus. This could be an ideological choice, a structural impediment, or a strategic decision. While the WAAR data that we rely on in this article can tell us a lot about the scope, scale and purposes of women's wings, we know little about the causes and consequences of variation within and across rebellions. Future research can use the framework we present here to interrogate these trends within conflicts and comparatively. Similarly, this research agenda can illuminate how women mobilise on gender-specific issues in the context of broader political mobilisation and explore how women press for their rights and

preferences in rebel groups that do not include all-female units. Do women participating in rebellions without women's wings face unique collective action problems? Is full integration a sufficient condition for overcoming them? Future work could help us further unpack the dynamics of agency and authority within and between women's wings and rebel group leadership.

Furthermore, this line of research could shed light on the relationship between rebel ideology, operational concerns, and the existence and responsibilities of women's wings. Furthermore, additional research into the post-conflict trajectories of these women's wings could add much to our study of the effects of war on women's rights and representation. Such research could also shed light on what makes a women's wing durable and what characteristics are associated with ephemerality. Finally, additional research is needed to parse how women's participation in non-state armed groups (in women's units and outside of them) changes in magnitude over the course of a conflict.

## Notes

1. *Ketiba Banat* was specifically composed of girls and young women and is referred to by Pinaud (2013, 2015) and the SPLA as a 'girl's battalion'.
2. We extend our thanks to participants in the Feminists Takes on Rebel Warfare and Civil War meeting for emphasizing this point.
3. Also referred to here as 'front-line' or 'military' roles. This category includes 'activities involving participation in armed combat (including but not limited to the use of guns, grenades, bombs, and other weapons) and/or combat training; the perpetration of violence; or otherwise in the front-line environment in support of the group' in a rebel-affiliated group that is all-female (Loken and Matfess 2023).
4. Also referred to here as 'auxiliary', roles. This category includes 'activities involving identification with the structure, goals, ideology, or effort of the group and offering general supportive, non-combat labor; includes but is not limited to nurses, medics, cooks, spies, scouts, intelligence officers, smugglers, couriers, planners, administrators, recruiters, mobilizers, radio or weapons operators, guards, and camp followers; includes armed participants working in non-combat job' in a rebel-affiliated group that is all-female (Loken and Matfess 2023).
5. The dataset is based on the UCDP v.1–2015; using their list of non-state armed groups as a basis, Loken and Matfess (2023) further refine the category to exclude 'military factions, transitional governments, and coup organizers'. Importantly, this dataset reflects analysis of available information, which is often limited by the aforementioned androcentrism of work on war and armed groups and biases in reporting and accounting during conflict. The WAAR dataset is the most comprehensive account of women's participation in non-state armed groups, however, it still reflects the biases in who and what are considered worthy of memorialisation. For more information on the means by which this data was collected, collated, and analysed as well as limitations, please see Loken and Matfess (2023).

6. The codebook for this dataset provides greater detail on the differentiation between these groups; Loken and Matfess (2023) describe some of the difficulties in untangling overlapping combat and non-combat contributions.
7. The organisation does include *Mujer Fariana* which is, as best we can tell, an organisation of ex-combatants that was formed after the peace agreement (c.f. Ehasz 2020).
8. 'First fight year' data is from the Foundations of Rebel Group Emergence (FORGE) Dataset, 1946–2011
9. To develop these measures we rely on the FORGE Dataset, which shares 323 observations with the WAAR Project dataset.
10. This includes rebel groups identified by FORGE as having either a leftist or explicitly communist ideology.
11. This includes rebel groups following any religious ideology, including Islam and Christianity. The FORGE codebook's criteria for religious ideology reads: 'Indicator (0=no, 1=yes): did the group proclaim a religiously-oriented political ideology?'
12. Thank you to Jenny Hedström for this information.
13. N.B. Comrade Parvati was a leader in the CPN-M. Thank you to our anonymous reviewer who pointed out that these military wings are transitory.
14. The AMNLAE was named for the first Sandinista woman killed in combat during the revolution.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

The work was supported by the American Political Science Association APSA and the United States Institute of Peace [Matfess was a peace scholar fellow].

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