

**FROM COMBAT TO THE KITCHEN:
THE REINTEGRATION OF FEMALE SOLDIERS IN
MOZAMBIQUE**

By
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ABSTRACT

**From Combat to the Kitchen: The Reintegration of Female Soldiers in Mozambique
By Trista Guertin
January 2004**

The process of demobilisation, demilitarisation and reintegration is a critical component of post-war reconstruction, where soldiers create a new civilian life for themselves and re-establish roots within their community. Reintegration addresses the needs of individuals and facilitates social cohesion. In general, there has been little consideration given to military women and their dependants. Military women have experienced discrimination in regard to access to training, resources and assistance during reintegration. Mozambique suffered through almost three decades of conflict in a war for independence that was immediately followed by a civil war. Throughout both conflicts, from the 1970s through to the early 1990s, women were members of the military, either voluntarily, conscripted, or abducted and served in a number of roles, including frontline combatants, police officers, intelligence and nurses. This study briefly explores their military experiences, but concentrates on their experiences during demobilisation and their subsequent reintegration into civil society. Typically, military women have been excluded from or have not received adequate resources, as happened in Mozambique. Future peace support operations need to consider military women and better meet their needs and the needs of their dependants during the reintegration process.

“Women’s role in war efforts world-wide, including the DRC, East Timor and Cambodia, must be recognised. They cannot simply be sent back to the kitchen after the fight is over. DDR programmes must take into account the special needs of female combatants but also of women or girls who often accompany ex-combatants into the camps.”

Ms. Elisabeth Rehn

Independent Expert on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding.

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This paper is dedicated to the women soldiers of Mozambique, past and present. Without their generosity and strength, this paper would not have been possible. Their struggle continues, but may their hope remain, for them and their children.

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To Mom, Dad, Scott, Judith, Liz and Larissa: Your support has meant a great deal to me over the years and I could not have done this without all of you. Thank you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--|
| ACORD | Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development |
| ADEMIMO | Association for Disabled Military & Paramilitary Members of Mozambique |
| AMODEG | Mozambique Association of Demobilised Combatants |
| BICC | Bonn International Centre for Conversion |
| CEDAW | Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CIDA | Canadian International Development Agency |
| CPCC | Canadian Peacebuilding Co-ordinating Committee |
| CSW | Commission on the Status of Women |
| CUSO | Canadian University Services Overseas |
| DFAIT | Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade |
| DDR | Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration |
| FAM | Mozambican Armed Forces/Forças Armadas de Moçambique |
| FRELIMO | Front for the Liberation of Mozambique |
| GAD | Gender and Development |
| GNP | Gross National Product |
| GPA | General Peace Agreement |
| IDRC | International Development Research Centre |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development |
| ONUMOZ | United Nations Operation for Mozambique |
| PFA | Platform for Action |
| PPC | Pearson Peacekeeping Centre |
| PROPAZ | Peace Promotion Program of Mozambique |
| RE | Reconstruido a Esperança/Rebuilding Hope |
| RENAMO | Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana/National Mozambique Resistance |
| SAP | Structural Adjustment Programme |

| | |
|--------|---|
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Economic Social Cultural Organisation |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| UNIFEM | United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| UNOCAH | United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Co-ordination |
| WAD | Women and Development |
| WID | Women in Development |
| WSP | War-torn Societies Project |
| ZANU | Zimbabwe African National Union |

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The process of demobilisation, demilitarisation and reintegration (DDR) is recognised by the United Nations (UN) as a critical component of post-war reconstruction, where soldiers create a new civilian life for themselves and re-establish roots within their community. In addition, DDR is a necessary component of peacebuilding, as former UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali has stated, “effective reintegration of combatants is also essential to the sustainability of peace.” The demobilised can make contributions to both their own reintegration and to the broader tasks of national reconstruction. Former soldiers generally face a sense of social and self-rejection following conflict since they are no longer supporting a cause and may be considered outcasts by their communities. Reintegration addresses the needs of individuals and facilitates social cohesion.

The DDR process must be multifaceted and holistic, giving military, economic, social and psychological dimensions equal consideration. The process assists combatants in leaving service, removes arms and weapons, and provides the necessary support to develop their potential to become productive members of society. DDR can help soldiers develop financial independence and become self-reliant. This in turn will assist economic and human development and foster a sustainable peace and security within a country rebuilding in the aftermath of conflict. The reintegration process can include land allocations, literacy and vocational training, education, medical and health care, the provision of clothing, food and shelter, and access to micro-credit loans and counselling services.

In general, there has been little consideration given to military women and their dependants. Their existence was at first completely overlooked. Since their numbers were fewer and they were less likely to return to war or become criminals, these women were neither considered a priority nor recognised as a group with special needs. Military women have experienced discrimination in regard to access to training, resources and assistance during reintegration. During the post-conflict phase, gender has usually been viewed as a secondary priority, if considered at all. Yet a person's gender defines his/her entitlement to resources and their social mobility, and more often than not, women are denied access to resources crucial for their own survival. Since men and women experience and respond to conflict in different ways, it is essential to consider these differences in programme design and implementation of a peace support operation as well (Date-Bah, 1996).

With the adoption on October 31, 2000, of Resolution 1325, the United Nations Security Council Resolution on women, peace and security, the international community formally recognised that gender equality must be achieved and should be considered an integral component to post-war reparations. Resolution 1325 was the result of years of lobbying by the international peace community and emerged from a body of feminist scholarship that suggests that understanding the effects of gender ideologies is fundamental to successful peacebuilding. One particular gender dimension has been typically overlooked within peacebuilding interventions in the past. Point 13 of Resolution 1325 addresses this issue: "all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-

combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants.” In Mozambique, it is apparent that these considerations were clearly not made.

The goal of this research is to give voice to the experiences of former female soldiers in Mozambique. From these voices I make recommendations for future initiatives because it is imperative that the UN learn from past experiences and correct for the shortcomings. This research gives a voice to women who have participated in either the independence of or civil war within Mozambique. I will analyse a wide range of demobilisation literature including case studies and reports which stress the importance of the DDR process and the inclusion of women in these processes, but which also illustrate the extent to which gender considerations have been excluded in the past and at what cost. Drawing on feminist theories, I will evaluate the DDR process, particularly the contribution of the reintegration process of military women to the sustainable peace and development of a post-conflict country. I will illustrate the importance of reintegration programmes, which are necessary to help former military women and their dependants to reintegrate productively into civil society.

In particular, I draw attention to the plight of military women, who served in the militaries and paramilitaries as combatants, nurses, messengers, porters, labourers, administrators, cooks, wives and slaves. In the past, they have often been overlooked and their needs neglected. I will determine whether the internationally designed interventions, or lack thereof, have met selected social, economic and psychological criteria or have increased gender disparities. I have sought to discover each woman's

particular military experience; their demobilisation experiences; and the difficulties or problems they have encountered since demobilisation.

My hope is that my research can be used to increase awareness and understanding of the plight of the female soldier within Africa and that it can validate or give voice to life experiences, and improve processes so that women in similar circumstances face an easier transition into civilian life. The data collected will facilitate analysis into the reintegration process of female soldiers into civil society in Africa. A framework of a holistic, gendered reintegration process will be developed to empower military women and to encourage their further integration into the planning and implementation of future peacebuilding interventions, thereby assisting in the creation of a sustainable peace and fostering equitable development within post-conflict societies.

Female soldiers in Mozambique

Mozambique suffered through almost three decades of conflict in a war for independence that was immediately followed by a civil war. Throughout both conflicts, from the 1970s through to the early 1990s, women were members of the military, either voluntarily, conscripted, or abducted and served in a number of roles, including frontline combatants, police officers, intelligence and nurses. This study briefly explores their military experiences, but concentrates on their experiences during demobilisation and their subsequent reintegration into civil society. Typically, military women have been excluded from or have not received adequate resources, as happened in Mozambique.

Future peace support operations need to consider military women and better meet their needs and the needs of their dependants during the reintegration process.

It is unclear how many girls were kidnapped during the civil war, or how many never returned to their homes. The international humanitarian community, at the end of the conflict in 1992, failed to recover the majority of girls given by the National Resistance Movement of Mozambique (RENAMO) forces to regional leaders, partly because they failed to recognise girls' unique post-conflict predicaments (Mazurana and McKay, 2001). One UN Development Program report epitomises the problem: When demobilised RENAMO soldiers boarded vans to return to their home districts, girls and women were simply left standing by the roadside. Other girls, not lucky enough to be abandoned, were forced to accompany soldiers back to homes that were not their own (Jacobson, 1999). Thompson (1999) reported how astonishing it was that Mozambican girls and women still accompanying soldiers at the time of demobilisation in 1994 were neither counted, addressed, nor cared for. They have remained invisible because it appears that no one among either the international or national agencies knows exactly what happened to them, demobilisation did not occur and neither did family tracing.

The women interviewed served in either the war for independence against the Portuguese from the mid 1960s until 1975, or the undeclared civil war from 1975 to 1992; all are eligible for membership in the Mozambique Association of Demobilised Combatants (AMODEG). Women who participated in the conflicts may have joined voluntarily, as some of the women interviewed admitted who served during the independence war. Then President Samora Machel and his first wife, Josina, encouraged

women to get involved in the conflict and mobilized them through military and civic education. These women were galvanized to join the ranks of men to defeat colonialism and oppression and to fight for the emancipation not only of the country but of women as well. However, during the civil war, the majority were forced to join, either conscripted by the government (a policy initiated in 1978, and still carried out today) or abducted by RENAMO soldiers.

Women and the Military

Stereotypes regarding women and their traditional roles abound throughout the world; typically women are still portrayed as helpless, passive and powerless. Societies have generally depicted women as victims of war. However, this is simply not the case and it must be recognised that women have been actively involved in wars at all levels (Sorenson, 1998). Most people within society subscribe to the idea that women's roles during conflict are to support the troops, by staying at home, providing shelter, food and care for their children, the sick and the elderly, believing the military has been and remains a mainstay of the male domain. Soldiering and war are typically thought of as a man's duty, offering little opportunity or need for women (Moser, 2002). In reality, although less in number, women have actively participated in combat and their participation is becoming more common. Since 1945, it has become more common for women to take up arms as members of the armed forces, either voluntarily or involuntarily, serving in both support and combat roles. Throughout the world, especially in countries such as El Salvador, Colombia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe and Eritrea, women have joined both national armies and paramilitary and guerrilla groups (Nemuire, 1995).

The world-wide recruitment of young girls and women mainly occurs in rural areas, particularly amongst young women with low levels of education, between the ages of 15 and 17 years of age (Moser, 2002). A woman can be motivated to join an armed conflict by several factors. Typically, oppression and the daily grind encourage young women to leave their homes and families for what is perceived to be an adventure and escape. Recruiters portray the militaristic lifestyle as one of adventure, and this can appeal to women as well as men. Alternatively, by the time women join armed conflicts, political decisions have been made and the conflict has begun (Skjelsbaek, 1997). At this point, women may be joining the conflict to defend themselves, since they will not have the power to change the situation (Skjelsbaek, 1997). Some feel that their participation may be the only way to protect their children, as cited by Salvadoran guerrilla fighters (Bennett et al., 1995).

A large number of female soldiers may be serving in the armed forces against their will. Kidnapping of women and children is prevalent in order to provide additional support for the troops. These women will be used for sex, becoming “wives” for the men, or be forced to cook and clean, nurse wounded soldiers or serve as messengers or as porters of materials and supplies. Placing these women in such situations can be treacherous for them, exposing them to threat of attacks from opposition forces as well as from their abductors (Lindsey, 2001).

The idea of the female warrior is foreign to most societies and in the past has largely been ignored by researchers and donors. What little research that does exist cites women as having various reasons for their participation in the conflict (Skjelsbaek, 1997).

Participation in a conflict allows women unprecedented access to opportunities usually restricted only to men. Female soldiers can be empowered both as individuals and as a group (Skjelsbaek, 1997). At this time, women can be heroic, strong and brave on equal terms as men. Their numbers are fewer than their male counterparts, and their roles are varied and less likely to involve front-line combat, but their presence is undeniable.

Women's participation within armed conflicts affords them unprecedented opportunities for equality (Montgomery, 1982).

Typically, there have been large gaps in ideology and practice when it comes to the experiences of women and war and usually there is a lack of appropriate policies to deal with them. Most analyses of conflict have been ungendered and have failed to acknowledge how international and national structures of power and patterns of resource allocation are based on gender inequalities (Byrne, 1996). The militarisation of a society affects definitions of masculinity and femininity and the allocation of men's and women's gendered responsibilities is imperative (Enloe, 1983). During both the conflict and post-conflict phase it is essential to recognise the situation these women soldiers are in, and the subsequent impact of their experiences on their lives and those of their dependants. There exists proof that a more gender-sensitive approach which emphasises women's specific experiences helps to eliminate the damaging effect of homogeneous interventions in post-conflict reconstruction, particularly those interventions which focus mainly on men and ignore women (Sorenson, 1998). As in Mozambique, females accompanying male soldiers were not given a choice of location during demobilisation. They were simply put on the trucks to follow the men home without any voice on the matter.

Despite opportunities for equality for women during a conflict, the advent of peace usually brings a reversion to pre-war social conditions and to life under a patriarchal system. For instance, throughout the conflict in El Salvador during the 1980s, women's participation was very high, attributed to the combination of Marxist ideology and women's liberation. The war was viewed not only as a battle for equality between rich and poor, but also for equality between men and women. The women fought alongside men as their equals. However, with the advent of peace in 1992, El Salvador returned to previous value-systems and norms which benefited men over women (Montgomery, 1982). This pattern suggests that patriarchal ideologies and institutions need to be carefully assessed when analyzing military women's post-conflict experiences.

Once demobilised from the military, female soldiers face many challenges. Some of these challenges are similar to their male counterparts, while others are unique to their gender and as such, special consideration is imperative. Female ex-soldiers may find reintegration into their new or former communities difficult. Family and community members may treat them with hostility and suspicion for breaking with traditional gender and social roles. These women may also face barriers from participating in reintegration programs due to a lack of child care facilities (Sorensen, 1998). Without proper support, full reintegration will not be possible. It may be more advantageous for these women to resettle in urban areas, where norms may be more relaxed and there may be increased economic opportunities. Unfortunately, urban centres may not offer any better child care facilities and may also be lacking in shelter and social networks for the women (Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2000; Sorensen, 1998).

Analytical Framework

In order to assess the impact of the reintegration process of female soldiers, a Gender and Development (GAD) model will be utilised and applied to the reintegration process of DDR. The GAD approach focuses on the socially constructed differences between men and women and emphasises the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations, while also paying attention to economic and political factors. It stresses the importance of achieving gender equity, which denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for men and women, recognising their different needs and interests, and requires a redistribution of power and resources (Reeves and Baden, 2000). Most analyses of conflict are largely ungendered and fail to recognise the ways in which the international and national structures of power and patterns of resource allocation are based on gender inequalities (Byrne, 1996).

A GAD approach will help research into the experience of military women in Mozambique as it specifically raises the question of the differing needs of male and female combatants and whether past and current interventions serve to increase gender disparities. In addition, applying a GAD approach to outline a holistic gendered reintegration process will facilitate equity with their male counterparts and will not compound old problems, such as discrimination against women, social exclusion and the feminisation of poverty (Date-Bah, 2000). By utilising GAD and adapting the reintegration process for military women and their dependants, both women's practical and strategic needs will be met and utilising GAD and adapting the reintegration process for military women and their dependants will advance their empowerment.

The criteria used for analysing the reintegration process will include economic, cultural, physiological, social and psychological factors. It will be necessary for any DDR process to consider all these factors in order to take a holistic approach. Failure to meet the needs of one or more of the categories could jeopardise the future of the soldiers by creating gaps in the provision of resources necessary for rebuilding these women's lives.

Research Methodology

For my research I used qualitative research methodologies. The research is based on in depth, semi-structured interviews with female members of three organisations based in Maputo, Mozambique. The research process included individual interviews and focus groups. I targeted women who had different backgrounds, and levels of education, who participated in either the independence war or the civil war, and who had fought for either the FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) or RENAMO. The women involved in the interviews were either members of AMODEG, the Association for Disabled Military and Paramilitary Members of Mozambique (ADEMIMO) or the Peace Promotion Program of Mozambique (PROPAZ). The questions and objectives of my research were clearly explained through the use of an interpreter. Participating organisations asked for volunteers within their membership to participate in the interviews. All women who expressed an interest were interviewed and more detail on this will be discussed further.

Target Groups

Women who served in the military and paramilitary forces have unique stories and are divided into differing categories. The women who were interviewed served in the military during the independence war or the civil war. Those who served during the civil war were divided by whether they served with FRELIMO or RENAMO. The interview process included 4 group interviews consisting of three women each, and fifteen individual interviews. Twenty-seven women were interviewed in total: 25 FRELIMO women and 2 RENAMO. It was difficult to access RENAMO women within Maputo, despite repeated requests and attempts on the part of the researcher, the reasons for which varied. I was told that many of the women lived in outlying areas of the city and could not make it into Maputo for the interview, while others saw the political situation too delicate to ask specifically for RENAMO women to participate in an interview. Others felt that northern areas of the country would provide a greater concentration of RENAMO women than Maputo.

Of the women interviewed, 3 were members of ADEMIMO, 3 were employees of PROPAZ, and 21 were members of AMODEG. Interviews were conducted at each organisation's office respectively, and lasted between 45 minutes to an hour for the individual interviews and an hour and a half to two hours for the group interviews. The group interviews were particularly challenging, as the women were initially quite shy. Typically I tried to start the interview with a general discussion about my work in Maputo and tried to ease the women in a discussion with me. Another challenge was the time constraint – interviewing three women at a time tended to take a bit of time and the women sometimes lost interest in listening to the others, particularly if one woman

dominated the conversation. Although efforts were made to engage all women in the conversation, in a few instances, it was easier to spend a few extra minutes with one particular woman after the group interview concluded to garner additional information.

I located these women through the Women's Department of AMODEG, ADEMIMO and PROPAZ. Created near the end of the war in 1991, AMODEG was the first organisation designed to serve demobilised soldiers, both from FRELIMO and RENAMO, in a non-partisan manner. Its main agenda was to advance their social situation. Members include those demobilised by the United Nations Mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and those who were demobilised before the General Peace Agreement (GPA). AMODEG's objective was to "incorporate all demobilised soldiers within the association, in order for them to participate in an active and organised fashion in the reconstruction and socio-economic progress of the country" (Schafer, 1998; 208). AMODEG's mandate was to carry out activities to improve members' lives, to provide support for their economic initiatives, to contribute to their scientific, cultural and professional knowledge and to protect and guarantee the rights of demobilised soldiers and their dependants. AMODEG was also created to campaign on behalf of the soldiers for legislation that would procure economic and social benefits and to work with appropriate government departments in securing suitable employment.

ADEMIMO is dedicated to supporting the social reintegration of disabled war veterans in Mozambique. It seeks to sensitize and support disabled veterans in terms of their integration and active participation in all economic, social and cultural activities within Mozambican society. PROPAZ is a group of demobilised women, ex-combatants

and disabled veterans working as peace promoters at local and national levels. All of their staff members are demobilised soldiers who agreed to be interviewed.

Semi-structured Interviews

The interviews were fascinating and very interactive. Each woman, while generally reticent at first, usually opened up and had a lot to contribute. It was a learning process for the interviewees and me. Awareness was raised on both sides. The women always commented on how much they appreciated having an opportunity to discuss their experiences and concerns, as many had never done so previously. The participants were asked if I could share some of their narratives in my thesis and they all gave their permission although some have requested anonymity. The rights and dignity of all participants have and will be respected.

Individual interviews provided the women an opportunity to discuss their experiences and thoughts during conflict and through the reintegration process. Program staff provided a synopsis of current and past programs and an assessment of their strengths and weaknesses. Specifically, the interviews identified areas of need and gaps in services. All interviews were semi-structured, which allowed participants to fully detail their experiences and voice their opinions. Four focus groups with three participants in each were also completed; three at AMODEG and one at ADEMIMO. In these groups, I asked soldiers to share their experiences while in the military, and more importantly, following their demobilisation during the reconstruction phase.

The individual and group interviews allowed the women to discuss experiences they previously may not have been comfortable discussing. Little prior knowledge has been generated about the reintegration process, and data collected from these interviews will be important in assessing the needs of soldiers and whether the demobilisation, such as it was in Mozambique, met them. As a foreign researcher, particularly one who couldn't fluently speak Portuguese, I found it difficult to fully connect with the women. As I was not able to speak directly with them and had to use an interpreter, it was difficult to establish the same connection when two people are speaking the same language without an intermediary. I found this to be especially detrimental when the discussion was particularly sensitive or the women became emotional. However, I was fortunate to work with an interpreter, also a woman, who was able to make that connection for me. In other ways, being a foreigner was advantageous. The women interviewed were extremely supportive of my work and were interested in sharing their stories, which up until then, had not been told. I believe that having a foreign audience was even greater incentive to impart their experiences.

Statement of Limitations

Although efforts were made to include more members of RENAMO in the interview process, this proved difficult, for reasons I am not quite sure. There were definitely political issues and some of the participating organisations seemed uncomfortable with my request to interview more RENAMO members. Time and financial constraints prevented me from travelling to northern regions where more access to RENAMO members might have been easier. The same holds true for former girl soldiers. While an interview with a psychologist from Rebuilding Hope (RE) was able to

provide a brief synopsis of their experiences, there is much more to learn about these young girls. Their experiences need to be documented as well. Working in Portuguese was also challenging. Although I worked with an interpreter, I fear that some of the information may have been lost in the translation.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the literature provides an overview of the evolution of gender and development as a policy initiative and programming directive. It facilitates an understanding of the importance of gender equality and its relationship with sustainable peace and development. Furthermore, it establishes a link to the importance of DDR programs in peacebuilding and the inclusion of women within initiatives. Post-conflict environments can provide a unique opportunity to establish gender equality and to foster self-reliance, particularly for women, and in this case, military women, when gender analysis is undertaken. This literature review also illustrates that little research has been generated to suggest that this reintegration process has occurred. While the importance of including women in DDR is stressed throughout, it remains unclear if and how this has been translated into practice.

Some African countries have suffered through a number of protracted civil wars that have reduced economies and infrastructure to ruins, bringing political upheaval and fierce competition for scarce resources. In response, peace support operations have increased to meet the demands of these new complex political emergencies. The international community and newly established national governments struggle to design interventions to meet the needs of its citizens, create self-sufficiency and a sustainable peace, thereby establishing a link between relief and development (Maxwell and Buchanan-Smith, 1994; UNDP-DHA, 1997; Baden, 1997).

Interventions demand that the issues of conflict and relief incorporate development policy debates for the successful creation of peace and rebuilding society.

As a result, attention is now being focused on the gendered aspects of conflict and peacebuilding and the different ways in which gender is relevant during each phase of a conflict. Addressing the needs of men and women, boys and girls and understanding their particular resources is now recognised as a priority, although it is slow to translate into policy and programming. The focus of conflict, development and relief has recognised that women are particularly affected by war and have an increased burden placed upon them during post-conflict situations, yet women's interests and agency are generally sidelined during the formal peace process (Sorenson, 1998).

Peace support operations usually treat women as invisible, or simply reinforce gender-based stereotypes and power relations, often neglecting situational realities (Baden, 1997). In the creation of demilitarisation, demobilisation and reintegration programs for ex-combatants, little has been done to acknowledge the different roles of both men and women combatants during a conflict. Female ex-combatants have not received programming that accounts for their needs. Instead emphasis has been placed upon the needs of the male ex-combatant, treating women as dependants thereby re-emphasising the 'male breadwinner' model (Date-Bah, 1996), not to mention the complete disregard of women's psychological and physiological needs.

Feminist analyses confirm that while different societies adhere to differing gender ideologies, male oppression of women is universal. In addition, oppression of women varies across classes, races, geographical locations, sexual orientations or physical and mental disabilities. Achieving recognition of women's rights and agency has been a long and arduous task. Despite accounting for over 50 percent of the world's population,

women's issues only truly began to receive significant attention during the latter half of the twentieth century¹. When the UN was created in 1945, the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was commissioned to prepare recommendations and report to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields. The creation of the CSW was an important first step in what became a series of efforts intended to foster greater consciousness about gender issues and women's issues in particular. However, it would be another two decades before any serious recognition of women's rights would occur.

Awareness of the necessity of including women into peace support operations owes its existence to the development of the theories of Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and GAD. A number of organisations in both the North and South have worked for decades in pursuing social welfare causes, reform and empowerment for Third World women. However, it has only been in the past thirty years that the interconnecting of feminist and development concerns have evolved into a specific planning field (Moser, 1993).

Earlier development initiatives, beginning in the 1930s, generally ignored women. Development was associated with modernization and it was assumed that the adoption of western technology, institutions and beliefs paved the road to economic success for Third World countries. The creation of the modernization paradigm viewed development as a linear process. "Backward," "tradition-bound" peoples needed to embrace Western

¹ Recognition within the UN Charter was in thanks due to the strength and courage of women like Mary Wollstonecraft and Harriet Taylor, the women's suffragette movement and the women's rights movement.

values, institutions and technology and modernize their societies. Economists and development experts did not question whether or not modernization was the correct route to take, but only how to achieve transformation as quickly and completely as possible. During the 1940s and 1950s, development planners facilitated the design of projects around the world to modernize the colonies. Most of the projects failed, yet this did little to shake the developers' faith in modernisation. As decolonisation began in the late 1940s, newly independent governments hired the former colonial development experts to help them achieve economic development based on the United States, which was used as the role model for success (Rioux and Hay, 1996).

By the 1970s however, development had achieved little. Yet Third World leaders and development experts from the West continued to believe western development policies would help Third World economies succeed, never questioning whether this expected prosperity would reach across classes, races and genders. When the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, known as the Brundtland Report, was released it led to a broader interpretation of development, and the notion of sustainable development was born (Rioux and Hay, 1996). It proposed that development, to make any significant impact, had to be implemented in a number of areas using a variety of tools. This included the environment, human rights, democracy, gender equality, social justice, peace and security (Rioux and Hay, 1996).

Gaps in development between the sexes were not discussed until 1970, when Ester Boserup offered a global overview of women who were disadvantaged, and whose already disparate situation was often reinforced or worsened by development

programmes. Boserup's research found that most development efforts ignored women and that more often than not, projects, particularly those involving technology had only served to undermine women's economic opportunities and autonomy. Since training in new technologies was only offered to men, while the men received new opportunities and increased knowledge, women's access to both technology and knowledge was denied. Boserup was able to successfully challenge the notion that Third World modernisation would consequentially lead to gender equality.

The acceptance of Boserup's work signalled a readiness to rethink development practice relating to women (Braig, 2000). As a result, two international interests merged; one was the women's movement for equal rights, and the second was the critiquing of the development processes in developing countries, heralding the beginning of an era where women's special situation became an area of concern. While the former sought equal rights, expanded access to jobs and economic resources for women, the latter criticized how the international community defined development by traditional measures, such as increased Gross National Product (GNP) and the degree to which industrialisation had occurred. This convergence of women's issues and development problems led to the growth of the Women in Development approach as a field of study and policy advocacy.

The WID approach focused only on women and their inferiority, specifically in status and social position, which was attributed to the segregation of women from matters of the state and corporate economy. WID advocates were instrumental in highlighting the lack of data concerning the living conditions and activities of women at a time when women were for all intents and purposes invisible. They argued that the benefit of

development had not reached women and that in some economic sectors, women's position was undermined. They urged women to be integrated into the design and implementation of development programs through legal and administrative channels. They believed that the introduction of gender-sensitive social impact studies carried out on all development projects was a necessity and should aim to integrate women into national economies (Braig, 2000).

At this time, some donors made an effort to instigate changes and development planners were encouraged to plan and implement policies and initiatives with women in mind. Meanwhile, modernization efforts continued and Third World countries continued to pursue the adoption of Western technologies, institutions and values in order to achieve development, only now they were asking how women could be integrated into the process. It was recognised that women had to be included in the design process and that they must be integrated into the development process. Improved access to education, training, credit and employment strategies were deemed necessary for women. WID advocates urged that until women were fully integrated into the development process, development policies would continue to undermine the status of Third World women.

WID succeeded in facilitating a better understanding of the development needs of women, in particular the need to expand data collection concerning women and work and the necessity of creating more opportunities for women in education and employment (Overholt et al, 1984). However, WID was based on modernisation theory that limited its application. The theory equated development with the adoption of western institutions, and ideologies, and remained oblivious to the potential contributions of

indigenous knowledge. In addition, WID viewed Third World governments as a partner in the development process and refrained from criticizing government policies that hindered women, refusing to acknowledge that these governments could be one more problem restricting the advancement of women.

The WAD approach received its direction from radical feminist thinking in Western societies. WAD advocates argued that patriarchy was inherent in all societies and it was therefore necessary to develop separate social institutions for women within which women could satisfy their needs. WAD activists and academics called for an approach that recognised the dangers of simply integrating women into a patriarchal world and deemed it necessary to foster projects that met the needs of women and sheltered them from patriarchal domination (Parpart, 1989; Rathgeber, 1990). The WAD paradigm sought to recognise the uniqueness of women's knowledge, work, goals and responsibilities and that this uniqueness received recognition within the development process. While WAD was able to correct the failure of WID to recognise that male-dominated states could not be used to correct for gender equalities, the theory's weaknesses prevented it from enjoying widespread success within the international community. WAD simply viewed women as a homogeneous group and did not accommodate for differences amongst women along racial and ethnic lines.

During the 1980s and 1990s, criticisms of WID and WAD and their limitations sparked the development of the GAD school of thought, also referred to as gender aware planning. GAD argues that women are not a homogeneous group but are divided by class, colour, education and culture, and as such, analysis should focus on the processes

and structures that create and perpetuate the marginalisation of women. To understand how gender is related to other types of inequality and social hierarchies requires analysis of existing forms of culturally specific social inequities and divides. GAD advocates argued that successful development does not simply target women, which may have been necessary initially, but empowers them. By increasing their access to knowledge, resources, decision-making power, and raising their awareness of participation in their communities, allows for the women to reach a level of control over their own environment (World Food Programme, 1998).

Gender refers to the socially constructed relations between men and women, and is not based on biology. By utilising this concept, it is possible to distinguish the biologically founded, sexual differences between males and females within a given society from the culturally determined differences in roles given to or undertaken by women and men in society (Ostergaard, 1992). Thus it is important to note that while the biologically designated roles of men and women cannot be altered, socially constructed ones can help create equitable relations through political and opinion-shaping influences (Ostergaard, 1992).

By focusing on the relationships between men and women, GAD avoids simply isolating women's experiences. We now realise that gender relations will largely determine a woman's position in a particular society and that if so desired, these socially constructed patterns of behaviour can be transformed. Additionally, GAD focuses on the manner in which gender, class and race are inter-connected and acknowledges that women will experience differing levels of oppression depending upon their race, class,

culture and position within the economic order (Moser, 1993). These revelations have proven pivotal in targeting women's needs and in the design of programming initiatives to advance gender equality because GAD has challenged the traditional notions held regarding gender relations and the development process. Advocates were instrumental in recognising those development policies would have a differing impact of men and women and first recognised women as agents of change, not simply the recipients of development.

The academic and theoretical progress made by WID, WAD and GAD was mirrored by progress in the advancement of gender issues by the international community. Once the world awakened to the special situation of women, the United Nations declared 1975 to be the Year of Women followed by the Decade of Women (1976-1985). The 1975 Nairobi Conference, which marked the opening of the decade, illustrated the need to involve women as equal partners in decision-making processes (Sorenson, 1998). This recognition by the UN, seen as fundamental for the women's movement, initiated the inclusion of the women's movement within the UN system, and legitimized its concerns globally. Subsequent international conferences included women on the agenda and influenced international relations around the world.

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing built on earlier UN conferences on women, national government efforts, and lobbying by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to develop gender-sensitive strategies in its Platform for Action (PFA). The PFA acknowledged that there has been inadequate planning for women in post-conflict societies and designated this issue as one of their critical areas of concern.

The PFA states that, ‘the effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation, recognised that a peaceful environment is vital for women’s advancement.’”

The PFA’s acknowledgement of the differential impact of conflict on women was the first of its kind. It was then followed up in 2000 by UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which identified the specific areas and programs where women must be given special consideration. Resolution 1325 was the first resolution to give political legitimacy to women's struggle for a seat at the negotiating table, and the first to provide a political framework within which women's protection and their role in peace-building can be addressed. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) acclaimed the passing of the resolution as finally acknowledging what many have known for so long: that war will affect a woman differently than a man.

Gender and Peacebuilding – Incorporating a Gender Analysis

The devastating effects of conflict on civilians and infrastructures have demanded immediate humanitarian relief activities in combination with longer-term development strategies to rebuild infrastructures, political institutions and civil society. It is widely recognised throughout the international community that the post-conflict phase provides a unique opportunity for civil society to contribute in the reconstruction of new political, social and economic institutions (Bush, 1994; Honwana-Welch, 1994; Anderson and Woodrow, 1989). Accordingly, development organisations have increasingly directed

time and resources in support of this transition and no intervention hoping to achieve success can afford to advocate policies and programs that remain gender-blind.

In recognising the specific needs of women, it has also been recognized that women's lives are altered by conflict. This alteration in their lives will subsequently affect their participation in post-conflict activities and institutions. While some women will return to traditional roles they held in the pre-conflict phase, others will seize the opportunity to expand their roles within the post-conflict socio-economic reconstruction. The post-conflict phase includes many new challenges for women, and the transformations that take place can provide opportunities that should be taken full advantage of, in order for women to strengthen their contributions to society and facilitate their empowerment. Sorenson (1998) argues that interventions have traditionally been gender-blind, and that women's particular capacities and resources have been overlooked. Sorenson (1998) advocates the use of a gender-sensitive analytical approach to peacebuilding interventions, where traditionally there has been a lack of appropriate policies. Without the use of such analysis, interventions will not benefit from women's contributions, both formally and informally, to the reconstruction of their societies.

The recognition of women's needs and agency has inspired a body of literature created to analyse and illuminate the situation of young girls and women during the phases of conflict and post-conflict. For example, Graça Machel (1996) wrote a seminal piece of work for the UN in 1996 which provided global documentation and analysis on the effects of armed conflicts on girls and boys, and detailed the gendered consequences of armed conflict and interventions to prevent conflict. Machel (1996) argued that the

principles of gender equality and inclusion are fundamental building blocks for democracy and peacebuilding and participation in the peace process enhances its legitimacy and sustainability. By linking gender equality and peace, Machel established an important precedent in the planning of post-conflict initiatives, which has given rise to an entire body of knowledge.

Since the publication of Machel's report in 1996, international attention has focused on child soldiers. Further research and analysis into the situations of women and girls during conflict and after, from a gender perspective is now being considered. A number of agencies, including the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Organisation for Cooperation and Economic Development (OECD), have recognized that peacebuilding is an activity where all affected sectors of the population must participate and have a voice in rebuilding society to eliminate further unrest. Furthermore, they have recognised that men and women will participate in peacebuilding differently and if it is to be effective and just, interventions must involve women and work towards their empowerment and include psychosocial, relational and spiritual peacebuilding projects as a central aspect to the reconstruction process (Mazurana and McKay, 1999). Clearly, scholars and policy makers must consider the gender impacts of peacebuilding, and women must be incorporated in their policies and projects.

A gender analysis will illuminate how men and women are involved in power struggles over resources through their differential access and control over resources through gender ideologies (Byrne, 1996). All interventions require a gender analysis because it is an essential tool in conflict and post-conflict situations. Gender identities

will vary over time and context, so we can no longer hold on to our fixed notions of masculinity and femininity (Byrne, 1996). Conflict will entail such a massive social, political and economic upheaval, and by employing a gender analysis to the situation, women can be included within the rebuilding of society and avoid being marginalized by inappropriate measures. No intervention is neutral, nor is it gender-neutral. The intervention, including the distribution of resources and services, will always affect gender relations, to the extent that it alters or sustains the status quo (Byrne, 1996). During post-conflict reconstruction, numerous opportunities to empower women and improve their position exist. A gendered analysis will help us see those opportunities.

The need to examine gender issues in post-conflict interventions stems from an apparent lack of understanding of gender inequalities and its omission from intervention designs. In the past, various initiatives have been aimed specifically at women. However, their inclusion in major initiatives rarely occurs. Specifically, interventions planned and carried out by the international community and national governments have failed to carry out a gender analysis of a situation and then planned accordingly (Woroniuk and Schallwyk, 1998). Clearly, each conflict situation will differ from the last: Mozambique was different from Kosovo, which was different from Guatemala. No two situations will be the same and accordingly no two interventions should be regarded as the same. As such, a gender analysis must be carried out during the planning phase of the intervention, when international and non-governmental organisations are ready to move into the country and most importantly, when the national government is rebuilding the country (Woroniuk and Schallwyk, 1998).

Success of the initiative will rely on understanding the differences between women's and men's experiences, resources, and needs. It is also imperative that we do not assume women throughout the nation, region or world, share common experiences. Attention to these issues will help direct resources to where they are most needed. Typically women and children are lumped together as a single category and labeled as vulnerable. Wartime experiences for women are much different than those of children and this categorisation is misleading and does not accurately portray the needs of either women or children.

Success of the peacebuilding process demands that equality exist between men and women. Critical area E, "Women and Armed Conflict", of the Platform for Action emphasises the relationship between the two and underscores the necessity for initiatives based on an analysis of the effects of circumstances and proposed interventions of men and women. The PFA notes that, "while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society as well as their sex" (PFA Para 135).

The OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) has recognised that sustainable development must fully reflect the needs of both women and men. DAC advocates that full development will not be possible unless women and the resources they represent are completely integrated into the development process. Gender equality as a concept requires that both men and women equally enjoy socially-valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards (DAC, 1998). It does not mean that men and women become the same, but that opportunities and life chances are equal. The concept

of gender equality will vary between societies and cultures. As such, each society will have to define gender equality and work towards that end (DAC, 1998).

The DAC is concerned with promoting social justice, which it argues clearly recognizes that gender equality and women's empowerment are essential for addressing the central development issues of poverty and insecurity, and for achieving sustainable, people-centred development. It believes the participation of both men and women are necessary for the processes of peacebuilding and development. By giving priority to the participatory processes to ensure the experiences and needs of both women and men, the reconstruction process will be more comprehensive and sustainable. DAC recognised that stability and peace are prerequisites for poverty alleviation and the development process and that it is a mutually reinforcing relationship between security and development, as sustainable development is the cornerstone of human security, stability and peace.

Both government agencies such as CIDA and international and non-government organisations have followed the lead of the OECD, and identified the link between conflict, peace and development. CIDA's Peacebuilding Unit advocates a people-centred approach to development and security and has adopted the policy that there cannot be peace without development, but also acknowledges that without strong socio-economic development a sustainable peace will not exist (Berman and Brown, 2002). CIDA is also encouraging a move away from short-term concentration to long-term engagement in post-conflict recovery and reconstruction efforts. A long-term commitment to a particular reconstruction effort will allow for the focus of much needed resources and capital to target areas. In addition, it will develop a sounder foundation for

peace and development and is especially important for DDR, where in most cases successful reintegration processes can last over the span of a decade or more, not simply a few years.

A post-conflict environment will afford the local, national and international communities the opportunity to reconstruct gender differences and facilitate greater equity between men and women. Equality that fosters the empowerment of women, as argued by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is considered not only important in its own right, but also an imperative element of peacebuilding. The opportunity to integrate women into the political decision-making process of the community and country is essential since decisions made during the pre-war and war phases of conflict are male-dominated and generally violate women's human rights and democratic norms, as we have witnessed in Afghanistan and other countries. The post-conflict phase is crucial in creating balance and opportunity for both women and men and interventions should ensure this occurs.

Gender and DDR

“Among the most important tasks of rebuilding are programmes which address the needs of people whose lives have been undermined by the war. Among the most visible groups are uprooted people – returning refugees, displaced persons, demobilised [adult and child] soldiers, the handicapped, and widows – located in both urban and rural areas” (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1994, p.8).

The current literature on the reintegration of female ex-combatants is limited and has only recently become an issue for research and examination. There exists a substantial body of literature regarding the issues of gender and peacebuilding, beginning

in the 1990s, which included DDR. However, this inclusion is limited and there are gaps in the literature. The DDR process is recognised by the UN as a critical component of post-war reconstruction where ex-combatants create a new civilian life for themselves and re-establish roots within their communities. The demobilised can contribute to their reintegration and to the broader tasks of national reconstruction and healing which is crucial since ex-combatants generally face a sense of social and self-rejection following conflict since they are no longer supporting a cause and may be ostracized by their communities.

The DDR process has to be a multifaceted and holistic, where military, economic, social and psychological dimensions are equally important. The process assists combatants in leaving service, removing arms and providing the necessary support to develop their human potential and thus become productive civilians. Ex-combatants may lack the skills, education and the resources with which to rebuild their lives and participate in legal economic activities (Sorensen, 1996; 1998). DDR can help ex-combatants develop financial independence and self-reliance, which in return will assist in economic and human development that will foster a sustainable peace and security for the country. The reintegration process can include land allocations, literacy and vocational training, education, medical attention and health care, the provision of clothing, food and shelter, and access to credit schemes to ease the transition back into civilian life.

The DDR process is essential because returning soldiers can be semiliterate, physically or psychologically handicapped and they often find it almost impossible to

undertake individual initiatives or to cope with the usual demands of a civilian within society. In addition, soldiers may have limited experience in the labour market and may not possess skill sets that will make them employable. The process can only occur once ex-combatants have been disarmed and settled into demobilisation camps. At this time, the participating military, rebel forces and political leadership within the country must demonstrate their commitment to DDR by providing incentives for the combatants to participate in the DDR process and prepare for re-entering the civilian population.

Angela King, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women at the United Nations wrote of Resolution 1325 that “its implementation offer(s) a promise of enhancing women’s participation in peacekeeping operations and the opportunity of translating peace ideals into reality for women, as well as men. A vision of peacekeeping where women and men may together contribute their skill without any kind of discriminatory constraint provides a powerful framework for the future. Without development and gender equality there can be no sustainable peace.” (Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Mazurana and McKay (2001), who write that the DDR process is gendered, contextually specific, and impacted by cultural variables, best illustrate the gaps in DDR for women. They note that to date gender-aggregated reports about DDR programs are rare and widely scattered. The experiences of female ex-combatants are not documented and examples of how DDR processes include women and girls are rare. Mazurana and McKay (2001) cite various examples where girls’ experiences were either overlooked or not taken seriously, instead girls were marginalized in interventions and reports written

on child soldiers in armed forces and opposition groups. They conclude that several matters of concern regarding females and DDR programs that need to be addressed by the international community.

Gaps in research illustrate how little knowledge has been generated about the experiences and concerns of female soldiers. Until research is available, it will be a challenge to design proper interventions to meet their needs. The increased awareness of their situation, due in part to Resolution 1325, has encouraged the initiation of some programmes to better deal with women's disarmament and reintegration. These need to be continued and expanded. More recently, female ex-combatants and the wives of ex-combatants have usually been identified as a part of "vulnerable groups", which also includes child soldiers and disabled ex-combatants, deserving of special attention.

Female ex-combatants will face a series of constraints and challenges that male ex-combatants do not. These differences need to be accounted for. For instance, women have acquired new roles during wars and are usually able to break with cultural restrictions (Pankhurst, 2000), but are then expected to return to traditional roles in the kitchen or the field during the post-conflict phase. Situations of this type may create serious tensions that cannot be neglected. Women may also face socio-cultural or legal barriers that will prevent them from engaging in the informal sector or the formal sector of the economy where there is more money to be made. Additionally, women's health needs differ from their male counterparts. They also experience inadequate funding for physical and mental health services (Pankhurst, 2000). Female ex-combatants often have

one or more children to care for and will need to support them and have access to childcare facilities.

The purpose of reintegration is to facilitate the development of self-reliance amongst ex-combatants, male and female. The exact type of support necessary will depend on each case, so interventions should be designed to develop independence and discourage dependence of either government or external bodies. While ex-combatants may typically be seen as a problem or burden, in fact ex-combatants represent a vast pool of human potential that should be utilised. In the long-term, this will assist the country and its citizens free themselves from chronic dependency.

In the recent past, reintegration was thought to have been a quick two-year process (Colleta, 1996), during which time ex-combatants become 'normal' citizens, both socially and economically. However, reintegration as a two-year process is now thought to be an oversimplification of the problem; the process may in fact take decades and require several different forms of economic and social support (Mehreteab, 1998). The reintegration of ex-combatants is a complex process, which is not simply finished when a person is integrated into the workforces. More specifically, reintegration must also include non-material needs that go beyond job placement, creation and support (Mehreteab, 1998).

Interventions should be designed bearing in mind that while ex-combatants in general face problems integrating into civilian society, women face additional challenges and hardships that come with readjusting to the conservative traditional customary beliefs

about the social and marital position of women (Mehreteaeb, 1998). For instance, the transition from equality in the military back to the confines of a patriarchal society can be extremely frustrating and challenging. Many women who have served in armed conflicts enjoyed being in the field and receiving respect and equality based on their competence (Mehreteaeb, 1998). Once peace is achieved women generally lose their special status and are marginalised as they were during the pre-war era.

On the other hand, women may have been raped or sexually abused, and cultural beliefs and attitudes can make it extremely difficult for them to return to their families or have any prospect of marriage. As a result they may have to turn to prostitution to support themselves (Machel, 1996). Reintegration processes must address the fact that a society's perception of the place of women may cause female ex-combatants to encounter greater stigmatisation than their male counterparts. We need to better understand this process, but in addition, female ex-combatants must organise themselves in order to fight for their rights (Mehreteaeb, 1998). The pursuit of peace, reintegration and reconstruction must not compound old problems, such as discrimination against women, social exclusion and the feminisation of poverty, but instead must foster equality among men and women. Therefore, it is essential that female ex-combatants be addressed separately, and that specially designed interventions are created to improve the problems. Mozambique provides an excellent example of how former female soldiers were marginalised and the DDR process was subsequently ad hoc and insufficient to meet the needs of these women.

CHAPTER 3 - MOZAMBIQUE: PAST AND PRESENT

Portuguese explorers first arrived in Mozambique in 1498, beginning what would become a long colonisation of the country. Rich natural resources such as gold and ivory and a burgeoning slave trade provided an attractive and profitable place to settle for the Europeans. The slave trade continued to sustain Portuguese colonisation throughout the next four centuries, not reaching its peak until the mid-19th century when millions of Africans were taken as slaves to labour on Latin American plantations.

During the 1960s, the Portuguese introduced many laws (including the abolition of forced labour) that served to improve the quality of life for many Africans, but was not enough to quell the growing nationalist movement that was slowly taking over the countryside. Various nationalist organisations began to join forces in 1962 to form the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). With the aid of several foreign donors, FRELIMO began a guerrilla warfare campaign against Portuguese authority. Throughout the early 1970s, FRELIMO's 7,000 rebel soldiers fought the 60,000 strong Portuguese forces and were able to capture control over a sizeable portion of the northern and central regions of the country. The Europeans ruled Mozambique with an iron fist, persecuting political prisoners, carrying out forced resettlements of thousands of Africans and reportedly massacring entire villages. It was only in 1974, when the dictatorship in Lisbon was overthrown, that the new Portuguese government endorsed self-government for its overseas territories and entered into peace negotiations with FRELIMO. As a result, Mozambique became an independent single-party, socialist republic in June 1975, with FRELIMO leader Samora Machel as its first president, ending 10 years of bush warfare.

The end of white European rule led to an exodus of white settlers from the country, taking with them their education and skills. Although a minority of the population, the white population in Mozambique comprised most of the country's business leaders and educated elite, and their departure wreaked havoc on the economy. FRELIMO, founded on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and heavily supported by the Soviet Union, nationalised all industries and terminated private land ownership. State-sponsored health care and education systems were introduced to help raise the quality of life of Africans. However, FRELIMO's transition into power did not come without controversy and strife. Once in power, FRELIMO forbade any political activity other than its own and violence first erupted in late 1975 against the new government (Vines, 1991).

Throughout the 1970s, Mozambique became a refuge for rebels belonging to the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which outraged Rhodesia's (now Zimbabwe) white supremacist government and that of South Africa as well. In 1979, Rhodesian troops invaded Mozambique in retaliation for harbouring the ZANU rebels and succeeded in destroying much of the country's infrastructure, including communication systems and agricultural centres. Civilians were also targeted. Rhodesia first became interested in sponsoring a rebel movement within Mozambique in the early 1970s in support of the Portuguese colonists in an attempt to suppress the FRELIMO independence movement. However, with the collapse of the Portuguese government in Lisbon, this movement failed to progress any further (Vines, 1991).

Once FRELIMO came into power Rhodesian security forces founded RENAMO to initiate a destabilization war and ultimately wanted to overthrow the socialist

Mozambican government (Vines, 1991). The Rhodesians and South Africans found easy support for the resistance movement, particularly among former FRELIMO soldiers, who had become disillusioned with the socialist government and its repressive policies, without which, RENAMO never would have enjoyed such popular support (Turner, 1998). In 1976, RENAMO rebels initiated a guerrilla war against the FRELIMO government, which lasted a total of 16 years and left most of the country in ruins.

Recruitment and support of RENAMO rebels focused on those who had suffered at the hands of the Machel regime and resented their repressive policies in its attempt to reform society and the economy. The rebels' hostility against the regime found expression in the destruction of all government facilities and infrastructure, such as railways, bridges and power stations (Turner, 1998). Support for RENAMO was greatest amongst the rural population of Mozambique. The attempts by the Mozambican Armed Forces (FAM) to "villagise" portions of the rural population by removing them from their home and congregating them in specific areas for security reasons and the continued imposition of socialist programming forced masses of people to flee into the bush to avoid relocation. This upheaval and insecurity made them more inclined to support the revolutionary factions (Turner, 1998). Both RENAMO and FAM frequently targeted the civilian population, and RENAMO was particularly renowned for their violence. This violence was particularly effective in garnering support for their cause, if for no other reason but fear. In addition, many of the areas of the country were out of reach by the Machel government and this distance fostered a sense of alienation amongst the people and was also effective in providing support for RENAMO forces.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, both sides suffered a decline in military power and capabilities creating a stalemate between the two groups. Also at this time, RENAMO's control over territory and population had peaked and was in a decline. In response, the group increased its acts of violence against civilians, thereby further alienating the population (Turner, 1998). In 1990, the FRELIMO government introduced a new constitution that included a multiparty political system, signalling a shift away from its socialist roots. Despite this, the fighting continued while foreign aid streamed into the country and the UN organized a poorly funded and ineffective peacekeeping mission. It was not until October 1992, that a peace agreement was signed by both RENAMO and FRELIMO, at which point an estimated 1 million people had been killed and another million had fled to neighbouring countries to refugee camps. The UN coordinated efforts to resettle and reintegrate approximately 1.3 million Mozambican refugees who had fled the country during the war.

Multiparty democratic elections were held for the first time in October 1994 under UN supervision, electing Chissano over the RENAMO leader and was subsequently re-elected in 1999. By 1995, the UN felt that the peace was taking hold and that its presence was no longer necessary and withdrew their troops. International donors and aid agencies continued to channel financial aid into the country to sustain recovery projects and Mozambique continues to rebuild and enhance its infrastructure. The government has undertaken a serious campaign to educate its population, yet the literacy rate is only at about 43.8 percent (Encarta, 2002). The environment also fell victim to the war and was seriously neglected during the conflict and the country remains littered with landmines. Repair began in 1994 following democratic elections, but the task is immense.

Mozambique is predominantly rural. Approximately 99 percent of the population are black Africans belonging to one of ten major ethnic groups. Traditional religions play a central role in almost 60 percent of people, while 30 percent are Christians and 10 percent are Muslims. The country's official language remains Portuguese, a throwback to its colonial past, but many people speak indigenous languages. The people of Mozambique suffered greatly during the 17 years of civil war and even today the effects of the conflict can still be felt. Almost 44 percent of the population are under the age of 15 and both the education and health care system are strained by the demand for services (Central Intelligence Agency Factbook, 1992).

Mozambique is one of the world's poorest countries. 85 percent of the country's workforce is employed in the agricultural sector, but here too the aftermath of the civil war has held production at levels lower than what they were in the 1980s. While the country is rich in natural resources, including fertile arable land, mineral deposits and Africa's second-largest harbour, devastation left by the war and compounded by two major droughts has kept progress to a minimum and has left the country heavily dependent on foreign aid for most of the 1990s. Mozambique's main exports include prawns and shrimp, cashew nuts, cotton and sugar. Most of its principle imports come from South Africa and include petroleum, machinery and foodstuffs (Encarta, 2002).

January 1998 saw international donor nations granting Mozambique debt-forgiveness for 80 percent of its debt. In return, the Chissano government had to adopt free-market reforms or structural adjustment programs (SAPs), as required by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which included the removal of price controls and the

privatization of previously state-run companies. These reforms seemed to have a positive effect on the economy and contributed to the reduction in the inflation rate. (Bryant, 1997). However, the SAPs had a devastating effect on Mozambique's citizens. The cashew industry, Mozambique's second largest industry, was particularly hard hit. The World Bank insisted that the cashew industry be privatised and that export taxes be removed and tied foreign aid to the implementation to these measures. The measures however, made cashew exports too expensive to compete with imports from India and as a result eighty percent of workers in Mozambique's cashew industry (mostly women) lost their jobs (Hanlon, 2000).

Post-conflict Mozambique and the DDR process

The UN's involvement was agreed upon and outlined within the General Peace Agreement (GPA) that was negotiated between the Mozambican government and the opposition RENAMO. The GPA called for the UN to monitor the cease fire and election components of the agreement. It allocated responsibility to the UN for providing humanitarian assistance to reinforce economic reconstruction and to create a timetable for the facilitation of the major components of the GPA. Security Council Resolution 797 (1992) initiated ONUMOZ. Demilitarisation of the conflict became the focal point of the mission and the Technical Unit for Demobilisation was created and assumed responsibility for the demobilisation of approximately 63,000 government troops and 20,000 RENAMO troops (UNOHAC, 1993).

Forty-nine assembly areas for demobilisation of Mozambican troops were created where soldiers were registered, disarmed and formal demobilisation occurred before

soldiers were transported to the location of their choice. During the combatants' time in the assembly areas, their dependants, including wives and children took up residence at the edge of the camps. While it is noted that some of the dependants were included in the development of the assembly areas, details of the inclusion remain sparse (Alden, 2000).

The relative success or failure of ONUMOZ varies depending on the source of the opinion. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) studied the peacebuilding and reconstruction process in Mozambique and examined the UN's contribution through ONUMOZ. The emergency and peacebuilding efforts were recognised as one of the biggest successes in the field by the UN and it was the first peacekeeping mission to incorporate a large humanitarian technical unit (Juergensen, 1998). Under the guidance of the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA), the UN Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination (UNOHAC) was created in Maputo. UNOHAC was assigned to act as a vehicle for reconciliation and to coordinate, and monitor all humanitarian assistance operations, which included in particular efforts relating to refugees, internally displaced, demobilised military personnel (UNOHAC, 1994).

The demobilisation effort in Mozambique processed over 95,000 soldiers and their dependants, who were provided with a cash settlement distributed over a period of 18 to 24 months, food, seeds, clothing, tools and transportation to a location of their choice (UNOHAC, 1994). Conversely, the process was criticized as a "quick fix for what was a much deeper social and economic set of issues" (Juergensen, 1998). The President of AMODEG (which represents both FAM and ex-RENAMO soldiers), described the

demobilisation process as a negative affair, especially since the promised financial assistance, training and employment opportunities were never seen when the soldiers returned home (Nemuire, 1995). He also commented on the lack of consideration given to the social and cultural aspects of reintegration, which he considered as pivotal to the healing process for the country's social wounds (Nemuire, 1995). The process was also criticized as non-participatory because the ex-combatants were treated as objects and not subjects of the reintegration process (Nemuire, 1995).

Borges and Coelho (1995) carried out a study of the demobilisation process in the Zambezia Province of Mozambique. They concluded that while the short-term program was a success, the long-term development process beyond disarmament and reintegration was lacking to the point of threatening the reconstruction process and instigating possible social unrest. The ex-combatants felt abandoned, were economically disparate and had easy access to weapons, resulting in a rise in crime (African Confidential, 1995).

Alden (2000) also examined the UN's demilitarisation process in Mozambique. Alden concluded that while the demilitarisation process includes the disassembling of the physical instruments of war, specifically the military and its weapons (Alden, 2000, 1). The process must be borne out of a political context whereby both sides agree on the process and the necessary steps are laid out within the negotiated peace agreement (Alden, 2000, 1). The demilitarisation process must include six basic activities: the monitoring of a cease fire, cantonment, demobilisation and repatriation of combatants, the collection and destruction of weaponry and the integration of opposing forces into a national military and the reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life (Alden, 2000,1).

This final activity, the reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life, is now viewed as a vital component in the sustainability of the peace process. With its mission in Mozambique, the UN undertook a combined military dimension and a broadly based humanitarian component, one of the first of its kind and signalling a move past traditional Cold War approach. ONUMOZ sought to assist the long-term integration of ex-combatants and demining by integrating humanitarian and developmental assistance elements within the mission.

The Women & the Wars

It is well known that young girls and women were members of the armed forces on both sides of the conflict. The experiences of the women and girls who participated in Mozambique's armed conflicts from 1964 to 1992 varied widely. Few generalisations can be made regarding their experiences; some joined on their own volition, while others were forced into service. Often young girls were captured by RENAMO forces and treated as sexual property, allocated to soldiers as "wives," distributed as rewards for good soldiering (Thompson, 1999).

The experiences of female (women and young girls) soldiers and their subsequent reintegration into society have not received the attention they deserve, and Mozambique is a perfect example of this. When the fighting finally ended men and boys entered demobilisation camps for reintegration into society, while the females were often forgotten (Mazurana and McKay, 2001). In addition, what attention they did receive was usually misguided and completely patronising and, as was the case in Mozambique, completely ineffectual. In addition, as more time passes since the end of the war, the

women receive even less attention and have access to even fewer resources. The UN and the international community are focusing on different issues and other wars and the national government no longer feels the need to respond to the demands of the soldiers.

Baden (1997) documented how the DDR process in Mozambique did not recognise the specific needs of female combatants, nor did it account for the implications for families or communities of demobilised soldiers. Instead it focused solely on immediate political and security concerns. Baden found few examples where social, psychological or institutional aspects of post-conflict reintegration were included in programming. Furthermore, any inclusion of women in reintegration programming initially only provided skill training in gender stereotyped activities such as sewing. Baden concluded that sufficient data to assess the gendered impact of the reintegration process did not exist but needed to be obtained.

The experiences of female ex-combatants are not documented and examples of how DDR processes include women and girls are rare. In Mozambique, gaps existed in DDR programming for the women and girls who served as wives, cooks, labourers and porters for the RENAMO forces. No data has been gathered on the number of woman who were linked to soldiers and how many went home with their soldiers and how many were abandoned (Thompson, 1999). Gaps in research illustrate how little knowledge has been generated about female soldiers and their experiences. Until this research is available, its absence will be a challenge to designing proper interventions to meet their needs.

The War-torn Societies Project (WSP) of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) (1994) undertook a multi-year project that sought to apply alternative practices in the rebuilding of war-torn societies including Mozambique. Their goal was to detail, document and analyse the multiple efforts at peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts, including the demobilisation of soldiers. Although women's roles are incorporated and analysed in its work, gender awareness and analysis are not incorporated through its projects. However, WSP has emphasised the importance of identifying women's situations, capabilities and priorities and notes that women almost always constitute the majority of the active population who have to pick up the pieces after a conflict.

Part of the WSP's analysis in post-conflict Mozambique included the reintegration of demobilised soldiers. They found that while government agencies announced the DDR process adequate, AMODEG argued the opposite. While most of the demobilised soldiers were able to return to their homes after the conflict, they faced unemployment, and lacked possession of marketable skills. Those who were unable to return home faced a lack of social support. WSP (1994) also found that within Mozambique, social reintegration was far more successful than economic reintegration had been. Communities were accepting of the former soldiers after they underwent traditional rituals to purify them and purge them of guilt for the violent acts they had committed as soldiers. Economically, the benefits afforded to demobilised soldiers were short-term and the soldiers had no access to land, employment opportunities or skills. While the international community provided some training programmes, little forethought had been

put into what types of training were relevant and would match market opportunities (UNRISD, 1994).

Jacobson (1999) explores the need to integrate gender into the reconstruction phase of the Mozambican conflict. She found that gender gaps exist and are perpetuated in some aspects of reconstruction, despite women's substantial contribution to the rebuilding of Mozambican society. Immediately after the signing of the Rome Peace Accord in 1992, the international community created and financed a demobilisation programme, which treated women as invisible. Helped by the UN, demobilised soldiers were able to choose where they wanted to live and undergo reintegration. They were then provided with a token package of assistance, including cash and goods to assist them in beginning their lives as civilians. However, female dependants who had accompanied the soldiers into the demobilisation camps received no acknowledgement in the planning or in the distribution of resources. These female dependants, some of whom may have been forcibly taken from their homes to serve as soldiers 'wives', were not given any option to return to their homes. Instead they were forced to accompany their husbands to their chosen location, while screaming 'I want to go to my home' (Jacobson, 1999).

Economically, Mozambican women continue to make up the majority of the informal sector, where they are only able to subsist from day-to-day. Little has been done to change this situation (Urdang, 1989). Programs designed to meet women's needs through access to credit and training have failed to fully develop women's true capacities. An International Labour Organisation-commissioned study (1996) of the gender aspect of skills training and employment programmes in Mozambique found that the participation

of women was low and participants were generally not encouraged to develop non-traditional skills. In addition, the training was not designed in accord with market demand, nor did it provide the women with an adequate skill base necessary to support themselves (Baden, 1997). However, their participation has yet to be fully recognised by policymakers in the design of interventions (Jacobson, 1999).

CHAPTER 4 – ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will highlight some of the most important details of my interviews with the women from the three organisations I visited. From these highlights I attempt to draw conclusions and to analyse their content. Furthermore, from these conclusions I develop suggestions for future peace support operations and in particular DDR processes that will facilitate the necessary program initiatives for the reintegration of female soldiers.

The women interviewed served in either the war for independence against the Portuguese or the civil war from 1975 to 1992. Women who participated in the conflicts may have joined voluntarily, as some of the women interviewed admitted who served during the independence war. At that time, President Samora Machel and his first wife, Josina, encouraged women to get involved in the conflict and mobilised them through military and civic education. These women were inspired to join the ranks of men to defeat colonialism and oppression and to fight for the emancipation not only of the country but also of women. However, during the civil war, most women were forced to join, either conscripted by the government (a policy initiated in 1978, and still carried out today) or abducted by RENAMO soldiers.

Civilian perception of female soldiers have softened over the past ten years, but many of the women expressed frustration in dealing with civilians, especially men, after they rejoined their communities. Neighbours were weary of associating with these women for fear of a violent nature and distrust or perhaps disapproval of their past

behaviour. Particularly prevalent was the image of these women as sexually promiscuous or damaged from serving men as sexual servants. The public saw these women as unfeminine, untrustworthy and uncivilised. The women reported having trouble establishing friendly relations with their neighbours and even worse problems in finding suitable civilian men willing to associate with them, perhaps fearing that they were stronger than the men or that they were only interested in male activities. Amelia, a 41-year-old mother of five, voiced her frustration in dealing with civilian men after she was demobilised:

I returned to my village with two children after serving almost 10 years with FRELIMO. When I returned home I wanted very much to stay there with my family and find a husband. But all the men in the village knew that I was a former soldier and they were afraid to talk to me, they said they were afraid of what I might do, or worse that they knew that probably I had been with many soldiers and they didn't want me. Finally I had to move to another village to live with my aunt where people didn't know about what I did during the war. I was very sad at the time, but after a few years things got better and I was able to move back to my village again.

However, the women report now, ten years later, that public attitudes toward them have improved and they have few problems in dealing with others today. Ana Maria, a 46 year old woman and mother of three concurs:

When I first moved back into my village I noticed that my neighbours and friends were staying away from me – even my family sometimes – they wouldn't talk to me

or my children. But over time, they saw I wasn't violent and they became less afraid of me. Today we're good friends, but it was very hard in the beginning.

The primary problem facing former soldiers today is unemployment. Almost all of the women expressed deep frustration with the fact that it was nearly impossible to locate suitable employment, not only to support themselves and their families, but also to feel useful and in control of their lives. Unemployment is not a situation solely unique to former fighters, but because of a lack of adequate support through DDR, the effects of unemployment compounded the problems faced by these women. The demands of conscription or abduction had interrupted women soldiers' education and their military service counts for very little, leaving them severely under-qualified to acquire gainful employment.

Some of the women had secured employment, usually with organisations related to issues dealing with soldiers, such as AMODEG, ADEMIMO or PROPAZ. Others were married to husbands who were able to provide the family income. The rest were unemployed and were either dependent on family members for survival, or were vague in providing details of their existence. Esperança, a 45-year-old mother of six, mentioned that she was unable to find employment and that while she was now living in her father's house, her entire family was dead and no one was able to help her with financial support. Although questioned on how she was able to survive, she was reluctant to say anymore.

In another case, Rita, a 46-year-old mother of three, mentioned that her husband had passed away as well as two of her children. When asked how she was surviving, she broke into tears:

I have nothing. I am not able to find work and it is very difficult to support my children.

Again, Rita would not elaborate on how she and her children were able to eat or survive. When asked if her children were attending school and whether she had hope for the future she replied:

I have no hope for the future. I am only waiting to die.

Either way, these women blame their participation in the military for interrupting their education and refer to their service as “lost time”. Unable to return to school once demobilised because of the need to support their dependants, they were unable to find a job because they lacked a diploma. The problem was further exacerbated by the fact that those who were demobilised by the UN and the international community at the end of the war only received training in sewing. Regardless of a woman’s past education or ability, the women’s only option was to participate in a brief sewing class, running an average of six to eight weeks. But even this patronising effort failed, when the length of the class failed when the women were unable to make quality products that could be sold by local merchants.

Income-generating projects are much desired by all the women, as a means of survival or as a means to become economically active. Such projects, including a micro-credit program combined with a training program to develop the necessary skills to

facilitate these programs are a necessary component of the demobilisation process. This was one way cited by all the women as a way to feel useful and develop a livelihood; such projects could help to endow a renewed sense of self-esteem and likely be the most effective way to leave the past behind and create hope for the future, particularly for the children of these women.

However neither AMODEG nor ADEMIMO have the financial capacity to initiate or sustain such projects and international NGOs are no longer interested in supporting former soldiers. One CIDA official in Maputo told me that donors had moved on to fund other post-conflict countries and that within Mozambique former soldiers were no longer a “sexy” group since the war had ended ten years ago. Funding is conditional not solely on need but on the perceived glamour or fashion statement that association with the target group will make. This phenomenon does not seem to be unique to Mozambique or female soldiers, but is attributed to the vanity of the international community.

Children and Young Girls

Rebuilding Hope (RE) is a Mozambican NGO which was founded in 1996 during the 3rd International Congress “Children, War and Persecution – Rebuilding Hope” which was held in Maputo, Mozambique. RE has adopted the theme of the conference. Its main objectives focus on the rehabilitation of victims of war and the establishment of sustainable development initiatives that give special recognition to “culturally identifiable solutions”. In particular, RE has developed psycho-social and psychotherapeutic projects for former child soldiers and ex-militia, but has also integrated the participation traditional healers/doctors, religious leaders, community leaders, and self-assistance

community networks and their respective notions and methods of healing. Beyond psychological assistance, participants of RE are also beneficiaries of other activities including education, agriculture, fishing, and pottery.

RE is the only organisation actively targeting former child soldiers in Mozambique. It is estimated that thousands of adolescents were forced to participate in the conflict as soldiers, militias and “naparamas”, a group of citizens that carried out guerrilla warfare with traditional weapons within the Zambezia and Nampula provinces of Mozambique. RE is currently carrying out a study to identify areas where concentrations exist of former child soldiers, and to determine their numbers and the psychosocial conditions that they are living under. These children were excluded from the demobilisation processes carried out by the government and RENAMO armies and by ONUMOZ. The reason cited by the Mozambican government was that these child soldiers were minors and that the militias were considered civilian forces.

RE currently has a project on Josina Machel Island, just north of the capital of Maputo, where they work with 150 former child soldiers, now young adults. RE’s psychologists have found the former child soldiers underwent extreme trauma and stress during their time with RENAMO. It was common practice for the soldiers to kidnap entire villages, including babies, children, adults and the elderly, and lead them on a forced march back lasting two to three days, back to their base camp. Anyone who fell during the march and couldn’t continue was shot, often by one of his or her children. While some were able to escape from the camp, others were not so fortunate. It was not

unusual for the captives to live at the base for years; some were in captivity for the entire war.

During captivity, much effort was put into destroying the human and social ties of the villagers. Children were given guns and ordered to kill their parents, or parents were forced to kill their children and eat them. Everyone witnessed extreme violence. Older soldiers sexually exploited children:

One girl from the village, she was very young, maybe around six or seven years old. A soldier wanted to sleep with her and seeing that her vagina was so small, he cut her with the bayonet. This happened right before my eyes. He raped her and then left her to bleed to death. (Carlotta, 17 years old. Quote courtesy of RE, 2002).

RE found that the demobilisation process by the UN was basically only for the male soldiers and then it was only for soldiers 16 years or older. Lucrecia Jose Wamba, a psychologist working with RE, recalled how neglected the women and children were in general:

No one wanted to take care of the younger children. They simply told the women to return home to their former communities. Most of these women returned home pregnant or with children from other men, with no other choice but to return to their parents' home. Because such importance is placed on virginity, it is virtually impossible for these women to find a man willing to become their husband when they've already had children. Traditionally a bride price is given to suitors of a daughter, but women who have already lost their virginity either remain unmarried or are marginalised from society, or fetch a very low bride

price. Parents are ashamed of their daughter's past, and urge her not to discuss her experiences with anyone.

RE stresses the importance of community reintegration and the ability of traditional healers and religious leaders in performing cleansing rituals that purify those once involved in the war and who need to become human again in the eyes of their fellow community members. These traditional ceremonies are of particular importance to the reintegration of former soldiers. Mozambican culture does not adhere to typical Western notions of the nuclear family. Instead, the entire community participates in raising each child.

Perception of Military Service

In speaking with the women of AMODEG and ADEMIMO, it is evident that the women are proud of their accomplishments during their military service. Their time in the military endowed them with a sense of strength and courage and an attitude that they are ready to face any situation, not only physically, but emotionally as well.

Joana, a 46-year-old single mother and former voluntary member of FRELIMO, received one year of basic training before becoming a secretary for the Engineering corps in Maputo. While she did not find military service easy, she describes the experience as somewhat empowering:

Serving in the military was a positive experience because we were defending our nation. It was hard work, but it had value. I feel proud of my participation and I

now know that I can face any situation – I am more courageous now and can take care of myself.

On the other hand, the women are also quick to refer to their military service as “lost time”, particularly by those whose studies were interrupted or as were usually the case, terminated. These women regret the fact that while they were proudly defending their nation, their friends and compatriots were receiving an education and are faring far better today than the former soldiers are. Now they are suffering the consequences of a lack of education and when combined with a severe lack of access to resources, including credit, pensions, housing, training and little experience, the women feel frustrated and a little bitter towards the government and abandoned by society in general.

Maria, a 43 year old single mother of two, volunteered with FRELIMO in 1975 at sixteen years of age and served 11 years working at the Ministry of Defence:

The pension I receive from the government is very small, too small to live on. I feel like I lost my youth, innocence and my time, all the good times I could've had as a young girl. More importantly, I lost my time to study and complete my education. I could never get that back. Now, as a result, I can't find work and have nothing to do each day. I have no hope for the future; I don't know how I will survive.

Independence War – 1964-1975

The women who joined the fight for independence joined on their volition and were motivated either to help their country and/or by the opportunities presented by

joining the fight. The women often complained of having little else to do within their villages, they were unable to study due to various circumstances and finding a job was extremely difficult. These women were bored and looking to escape their often tedious and confined existence within their families and villages.

Often they were promised they could study in Cuba. One woman joined the military in 1973 on her own volition at the age of fifteen. She became an instructor and was responsible for training arms management. She cited problems being able to study or find a job as the reason for joining the independence struggle. In addition, she was promised an opportunity to go to Cuba to study if she joined, and eventually she did go to Cuba to study poultry.

Another woman, Maria, aged 46, joined the military voluntarily in 1974, at the age of eighteen because she had finished primary school but could not continue on to secondary school and wanted to help create a free Mozambique. Maria remembered hearing encouragement from then First Lady Josina Machel, for young women to join the war and fight for Mozambican independence. Machel also portrayed the fight as one for women's liberation as well. After receiving six months of basic training, she became an arms trainer, which she continued to do for another 6 years after independence was granted, until she decided to be demobilised in 1981:

Mrs. Machel told us women to join the fight, that we must help to free Mozambique and also that this fight would help to free women as well. She told us to be strong and that our country needed us. It sounded much more exciting and important than what I was doing at home. I couldn't study and it was very

difficult to find a job. I wasn't married and my family made me work in the fields with them. Fighting in the war sounded more exciting – it would be an adventure and would get me away from my family.

Civil War – 1975-1992

Once independence was won from Portugal, Mozambican rebels, with support from Rhodesia and South Africa created an insurgency movement to counter the socialist policies of the Machel government (Vines, 1991). The level and intensity of violence grew steadily throughout the 1980s and spread rapidly throughout all the provinces within the country. In terms of women's participation, this unofficial civil war involved many more women. The FRELIMO government included women in its conscription policy and RENAMO forces were indiscriminate in its forced recruitment activities. The women of FRELIMO joined the military usually between the age of 18 to 21 and were placed in various departments and filled different roles. The women of RENAMO, due to the nature of the organisation, were out in the countryside either fighting alongside the men or accompanying them and providing support.

In 1978, the government introduced a policy of obligatory military service of two years for selected members of the population, male or female. It is unclear how those conscripted were chosen for service, but the practice continues today. Although the minimum amount of service was two years, it was not unusual for these women to serve up to ten to fourteen years. Each of the women received a minimum of six months basic military training, which included weapons training. From there, each woman was

assigned to a department within the military, which ranged from security, soldier, secretary, health, trainer, communications, and intelligence. Jacinta Jorge, now Program Director with PROPAZ, was conscripted in 1975 and following basic training was assigned to be an instructor to other military women. Her first assignment was to create a training centre for women and was later charged with developing a sort of finishing school for women in the military where they could learn to manage a household, etc.

RENAMO

RENAMO was able to garner support from those who felt disenfranchised by the FRELIMO government, particularly amongst former soldiers and by waging guerrilla warfare and instilling such fear in civilians that they had no choice but to support the rebels (Vines, 1991). Their alleged barbarities are a part of the reason they managed to have a large number of supporters. There also exists a certain bias towards the FRELIMO government in the sources used for this paper. It is entirely possible that RENAMO may have behaved differently among its supporters, which may not include those they captured and forced to serve, than towards its enemies.

RENAMO was notorious for abducting and recruiting child soldiers. It was common practice for RENAMO soldiers to sweep into a village and kill or capture all villagers and lead them in a forced march back to their base camps. Of the two RENAMO women who were interviewed, both were abducted from their homes when they were fifteen years of age and twelve years of age respectively. Both recount being at home one day after school, when RENAMO soldiers showed up at their doors and

ordered the girls to leave with them. The girls, forced to depart from their homes with only the clothes on their backs, then marched for two and three days respectively back to the RENAMO base camp where they held as captives.

Lydia, a 31-year-old single mother of three children, was kidnapped when she was 15 years old and was held for one week at the camp, before she was chosen by one of the soldiers to become his “wife”:

I lived with him for six months. Luckily he was the only soldier that wanted me, because if two of them had, they would've killed me. I cooked, did the laundry, carried equipment for him and was forced to have sex with him. I was beaten often at first, but then the beatings became less frequent, but I couldn't escape. One day, FRELIMO forces attacked our camp. I was injured and caught by the government troops. They took me to the hospital where they amputated my left leg at the knee because of the injury. I had to stay in the hospital for two years before I got out and was taken in by a group of nuns. I had a lot of difficulties learning to walk again and I was never able to go back to school to finish my studies.

The other woman, was captured in 1984, and was studying at secondary school at the time of her abduction. She walked three days to the RENAMO base camp and was held captive for two weeks under tight security. She was then transferred to another camp and held there for six months before being transferred yet again, where this time she underwent training. She recounts the training as being particularly hard with frequent beatings and very little amenities such as food. She received weapons training and fought as a member of RENAMO for seven years, until 1992 and was demobilised by

ONUMOZ in 1994. She recounted fighting in the field, side by side fellow male and female soldiers, all equals:

RENAMO forced me into military training. I learned how to use weapons and it was very hard. They would discipline us with beatings and very little food. Later I was involved in combat in the field. There was no difference between the male and female soldiers, we were all equals. At the end of the war, the government didn't recognise my military service, because it would mean recognising the exploitation of children and the government didn't want to acknowledge us. I was demobilised by ONUMOZ. They gave us tools that I didn't know how to use and a little money. I went back to live with my family after the war. The community didn't want to accept me and I couldn't find a job. They knew that I had killed people and didn't want me around. I had to ignore them. It was very frustrating. I was sad that I couldn't study again, but now I am taking courses at night.

Demobilisation

The demobilisation process by the UN, as experienced by the women interviewed, seemed to be somewhat redundant and hardly prepared the women for reintegration into society. The UN was unprepared to demobilise the women. Unable to meet their most immediate needs, the UN could only provide female soldiers with men's civilian clothing. Next, the UN provided the soldiers with food rations such as sugar and then with farming tools and a bucket. In addition a financial allowance for up to six months was distributed to the women and the amount received was dependent on the soldier's rank at the time of demobilisation. The women acknowledged that while the allowance was useful, six months was not sufficient enough. The government provided little additional support to

the demobilised soldiers. Only soldiers who served more than ten years began to receive a pension a few years later. However, the value of this pension is questionable, especially when it is reportedly only sufficient to buy approximately a box of laundry soap each month.

PROPAZ is a Mozambican organisation dedicated to promoting peacebuilding initiatives amongst former combatants and to consolidate the reintegration process between the soldiers, their families and their communities. Throughout the country, PROPAZ facilitates programs such as conflict resolution and negotiation, violence prevention and community development, usually through the employ of soldiers themselves. They hope to educate the public that problems cannot be solved through violence and that if you want to have a life, you need to be peaceful. This is another area, one employee cites, where the United Nations failed in its peacebuilding process. After nearly thirty years of war, the soldiers and the general public did not receive any education in this area.

In future interventions, it will be important that the designation of resources and the implementation of programming be guided by the needs of the nationals and by those who stand to benefit the most from such programmes. While the donors have a stake in the success of the intervention and want to ensure that their contribution has an impact, it must be realised they may not always be the best judges of what is needed on the ground. Consultation with those who have knowledge of the local situation, background and history will remain an invaluable resource and their participation in the planning and implementation processes of interventions is imperative for success, when success is

defined as meeting the needs of the beneficiaries and imparting much needed skills and resources for survival. Factors including local traditions and culture, local economy and the background and skills set of, in this case, the female soldiers, will all play a crucial role in the success or failure of such projects. By taking them into account, we can develop initiatives that will have a greater chance of meeting the needs of those we are trying to help.

Jacinta George, now the Program Director of PROPAZ, was very outspoken about the failures of the UN, the Mozambican government and AMODEG:

The programs offered by the UN and AMODEG for the reintegration of women was sewing courses. The donors decided that was what was suitable and we had no say in the matter. Regardless of a woman's experience or level of education, the only option available to her was to take a sewing class. Even worse, the sewing classes were too short and any products made weren't of good quality, and no one wanted to buy them. No one asked what we needed or what we thought. It was all decided for us by people we didn't know. Some of the greatest problems the women faced after demobilisation and still face today are unemployment, low levels of education and no opportunities to create or be involved in any income generating projects.

The former soldiers who expressed the most happiness and satisfaction with their lives were the ones who were currently gainfully employed. Their reintegration into society seemed smoother. Each woman interviewed had at least one child, and most had several. Their utmost concern, of course, was survival and being able to take care of their

children. By being employed, the women had a greater sense of security that came with financial independence and knowing where your next meal would come from. The employed women also shared a sense of empowerment that comes with partaking in a challenging activity. As in the case of the women who worked at AMODEG, ADEMIMO and PROPAZ, one that makes a contribution to society and allows them to share their knowledge and promote peace and reintegration was very satisfying. Lydia, who was captured by RENAMO at an early age, was injured during an ambush by FRELIMO. She lost her lower right leg and was hospitalised for a year. When she was released she was taken in by a group of nuns who provided her with a room and food. A few years ago Lydia was able to find employment with PROPAZ:

Working with PROPAZ has allowed me to put the past behind me. I feel secure and enjoy the work here. It has helped me to take care of my children and myself and I also feel that the work is important also for my country. Maybe the work I am doing here will keep my children from experiencing war as I did.

While these women also referred to their military service as lost time because they were unable to complete their education, they seemed to be less bitter about the missed opportunity and had more fully moved on with lives. They were instead focusing more on the present and the future, rather than on the past.

For many of these women, participating in these interviews was one of the few times they had ever discussed their experiences in the military. They expressed their gratitude in being able to have a forum to discuss it and that someone was interested in hearing their story. Some of the women had a much more traumatic experience,

depending on which department they were assigned to after basic training. The women who held combat roles and were more involved in activities on the front lines had more traumatic experiences and suffered more emotionally.

FRELIMO recruited one woman, Angela, in 1978 and after receiving one year of training; she was assigned to communications and was responsible for informing populations of imminent attacks by RENAMO. Throughout her service, Angela was working under extreme pressure and also suffered through the trauma of surviving military attacks and witnessing comrades being wounded and killed in front of her. During her time in the military, Angela met and married a man from a different cultural background. Angela's family has still not accepted this man and they have never considered the marriage as legitimate.

Following demobilisation, Angela had difficulty in coping with life as a civilian. She recounts how she found she no longer possessed the same moral and value code she had before entering the military and that everything had changed about her behaviour, changes that were for the worse:

After the war, I was very violent and nervous. I couldn't control my temper and often had violent outbursts and would beat my children because of it. My family was afraid of me and wanted me to go to church services to be healed. I had a lot of nightmares from the seeing the deaths of those that she served with. One afternoon I was chatting with a comrade and 10 minutes later that comrade was dead beside me from an ambush by rebel forces. When I left the military, everything about my behaviour had changed: I wasn't human and was disgusted

by the person I had become. Women were not created for fighting or for violence.

It is also interesting to note, that during the entire time Angela went through training and combat, a period of 6 years, her only comrades and instructors were women. There were very few men, although she did have contact with some Russian and Cuban doctors. She found difficulties in relating to men after her training because she hadn't been around them for a while and because she was not prepared to deal with her new found strength – both physical and emotional. Once she was demobilised, Angela found that men and society in general were unsure of her and that the public regarded female soldiers as nothing more than prostitutes. From the strenuous physical activity, Angela stopped menstruating. She received training in boxing and combat. In sum, Angela felt that her time in the military and her violent experiences left her without her moral and traditional values. She recalls it as a very difficult period in her life.

Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration processes have the potential of significantly impacting the lives of the soldiers and those of their dependants. Its objective is to improve people's lives, enhance their welfare and free human potential. By freeing human potential, therein lies a substantial opportunity to create a sustainable peace and cultivate human development. However, little research has been performed in assessing the impact of DDR, particularly in the area of female soldiers, especially since little is known about these women in general. At most, their reintegration is contrived spontaneously and haphazard and completely piecemeal, with little forethought or planning, as was the case in Mozambique in the mid 1990s.

It is well recognised that soldiers are only one target group within a conflict-affected society trying to rebuild after a war. However, there also exists a consensus that these soldiers should receive special attention (Bonn International Centre for Conversion, 1996: 166). This consensus, though, refers mainly to male soldiers and more recently, child soldiers. Female soldiers still do not yet rank amongst the priorities of the international community as highly as their counterparts. Their neglect then results in a tremendous loss of human potential that could otherwise serve in the reconstruction of the war-torn society. More importantly, their omission from reintegration programmes also requires the individual to fend for herself, an overwhelming task that is crushing to the human spirit. It is a struggle for survival and prolongs the reintegration process when they are without the proper skills and resources to manage the transition to civilian life. As witnessed in Mozambique, once these women were demobilised, they were essentially left to their own devices in re-establishing their lives, and even those who were included in the DDR process by ONUMOZ did not receive adequate assistance.

The reintegration process must address a number of priorities for the women in the short, medium and long-term. Due to the varied roles held by and experiences of female combatants, a needs assessment is mandatory. It should be recognised that each ex-combatant will require some degree of assistance. These women may have spent an extended period of time removed from society and may have experienced traumatic events. Even women who served in the military only in urban areas will require some assistance. For these women to become fully functional civilians, their economic, health, psychosocial, and physiological and social needs must be addressed. Only if these women are able to take care of themselves and their dependants, will they be able to

realise their full potential. Otherwise, as in Mozambique, the country will lose the opportunity to harness the potential of these women in developing a sustainable peace and a vibrant economy and instead will have a segment of the population that is unable to take care of themselves and their families. Moreover, they will be bitter and resentful toward the government and generally unhappy with themselves.

Interestingly, the women who had the least difficulty adjusting to life after the military and who were happiest at present, were the ones lucky enough to find employment after demobilisation. Virginia, a 42 year old separated mother of four spent thirteen years in the FRELIMO military working as a political instructor:

When I first left the military, I found it difficult living as a civilian, especially the first two years. People were afraid of me, although luckily my family was very supportive. There was very little support for us when we left the military and I felt ashamed. But, I was able to find a job with a government ministry and am still working there today. I don't know what I would have done without this job. I receive a small government pension, but it is very small. Too small to live on and take care of a family.

Some women remarked on the value of traditional healers in their healing process. Mozambique places great importance on the use of traditional healers and their cleansing rituals used to purify the soul and effectively remove any bad memories from them. Maria Eugenia, a 38 year old, mother of one, served three years in the government forces after being conscripted in 1982. After one year of training, Maria Eugenia worked in the

Operations Centre of the Ministry of Defence. She currently has no job, no government pension and no income and feels that her military service had bad effects on her life:

When I first left the military, I felt very sad and different from other people. I had difficulty in adjusting to life, some people were even afraid of me. After I was demobilised, I had to return to my family home, but before I went, my family wanted me to have traditional ceremony to end my aggressive behaviour and to help me forget the bad memories. My mother and sister performed the ceremony. The ceremony did help, but there were so many other problems I had to face.

Other women cited the support of AMODEG or ADEMIMO as an important source of support, but insufficient to meet all their needs and the needs of their dependants. Belita, a 32-year-old woman who is married with four children, has spent six years working at AMODEG after serving four years in the military:

AMODEG is like a family for us women. Together we can solve problems, network to find jobs. It is not easy to find a job for these women. Most don't have the qualifications or experience they need to find one. I am proud on one hand to have served in the military. We have become strong and courageous women. But I am sorry to have lost the time and so are the other women. There is little compensation from the government and everyone has trouble finding work. Other than AMODEG, we get no support, there is no information. Each woman is alone. We especially worry about our children. It would be nice to know that they will have a future.

From my research and discussions with the women interviewed, I have been able to identify several objectives, including short-term, medium-term and long-term that need to be considered and then included in DDR programmes. Below I have made suggestions for policy and practical program changes and innovations in the hope that future interventions will be more holistic and more successful.

Short-term Objectives

In the short-term, it will be important for an international intervention to assess the composition of the military and paramilitary forces that exist within a post-conflict country between men, women and children. Accordingly, each segment of the population should be separated and demobilisation and demilitarisation should commence with each in separate facilities and if possible, separate camps. For their safety and to ensure that all their needs can be assessed, the women need to be segregated from the men. Shelter, food and water will be a priority.

Immediate concerns should also include:

- Employing female field staff to work with the former female soldiers in all contexts.
- Assessing physiological needs of the women including, pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, wounds, malnutrition, dehydration and psychological distress. This assessment must also apply to any dependants that may accompany the women.
- Appropriate clothing may be required. The only clothing these women may own will be the uniform on their backs and gender-specific clothing will be necessary, as may clothes for their dependants.

- Determining where these women want to go after demobilisation, whether they are married and want to accompany their husband to a specific location, or whether they want to return to their families or if they have chosen an alternate location to re-establish their lives.
- Skills assessment. It is imperative that the skill levels of the women be assessed to determine in which areas they need assistance and which type of programmes and training would be suitable for them. While most of their educational levels may be low and most will not have completed their secondary school education, it will be important to identify at which level each woman is at for her to properly utilise her background.
- Disarmament. Removal and destruction any arms or weapons preventing future use in a return to violence or conflict, or in the use for crime.

Medium-term Objectives

At this point, the women would have been transported to the destination of their choosing and will have been settled into their new homes. This period is when the bulk of the work in reintegration will occur, and is indeed, the most important period to facilitate a successful reintegration. International donors must realise that a commitment for the long-term is necessary and will be the only way to lay the proper foundation for the peace to last and to fully reintegrate the soldiers.

- Training in a suitable skill will commence. Development of a skill set that will ensure that they will be economically independent and able to sustain themselves financially will be crucial. Whether it is in the development of a particular skill, or the cultivation of the skills necessary to initiate and sustain a micro-credit, income

generating project, will be important not only for their financial future, but for their self-esteem. It will be important for them to become contributing members of society and to feel as though they are useful and have purpose. Not only imperative for survival, generating an income for their family will boost their confidence and help them grow. If possible, the women will have the opportunity to return to school to complete or advance their education. Education for their dependants must be accessible and considered imperative. Support must be provided to make this so, including day care facilities or subsidised school fees and donations of books and uniforms. In addition, human rights training and political education will be necessary to ensure that the woman fully understand their rights and their ability to petition their government and participate in the political process, such as voting, etc.

- Traditional healing. Traditional methods of healing and reintegrating the women back into their families and communities will be important, particularly in smaller and rural villages. Participation of these rituals should be encouraged and are a most effective method of “erasing” the woman’s past, allowing them to start fresh in the minds of their fellow family and community members, relieving them of the memories of the perhaps violent and turbulent past of these women.
- Western-style psychological counselling may prove useful to women who witnessed extreme violence or who were subjugated to physical or sexual abuse, or perhaps committed violent acts themselves. Counselling will be necessary to help these women deal with their past and their feelings. Nightmares may be common, as will violent outbursts, which they may take out on themselves or their children. Learning

to cope with these feelings and put them behind them will be necessary for them to become fully functioning members of their community.

- Public education campaigns will be advantageous in facilitating the co-operation of family and community members in the reintegration process of the soldiers. Often, there is a perception that the women are violent and dangerous or sexually loose and damaged. This process will be of particular importance where virginity is highly valued and illegitimate children are unacceptable and deemed outcasts. Acceptance by community and family members is to be considered an integral part of the reintegration process, to the degree that social reintegration will be affected by the will and opportunity of soldiers to integrate (Bonn International Centre for Conversion, 1996: 167). Public education can also be used to reconcile members of opposing sides in the conflict and in the utility of western-style counselling techniques.
- Adequate housing should be made available, especially for those who have been left disabled as a result of the conflict. Whether it is with relatives, a spouse or in a group home, especially designed for single mothers, or disabled persons, suitable resources should be made available to ensure that none are left living on the streets or dependent on the charity of others.
- Women maimed or injured during their service will require additional attention, including proper medical treatment and access to medications, counselling, and if necessary, prostheses or wheelchairs, etc. Meeting the needs of disabled soldiers can be in itself a demanding task. Investigating the needs of disabled soldiers is outside the scope of this paper, but is by no means of any less importance and ensuring their

needs are met should be fully explored by an international intervention and be considered in the planning and implementation of the mission.

- Each female ex-combatant and their dependant must have their basic health needs met, especially those who are pregnant or are inflicted with a life-threatening or fatal disease such as HIV/AIDS. Access to a health care professional, such as a doctor or a nurse will be imperative and suitable medication must be provided. Without such attention, a woman will not be able to care for her children or remain economically viable and could result in a permanent disability or death. Soldiers' children must also be eligible for care to ensure they survive their childhood and are able to attend school.
- Sufficient peer support will be critical and by creating an organisation, such as AMODEG in Mozambique. Female soldiers can access resources, training programs, seek direction in where to find help, understand what benefits are available to them, and collectively, they can petition the government for assistance and benefits. In addition, the creation of such an organisation will provide an opportunity for the women to support one another in such a way that only others who have shared a similar experience can. In particular, they will be able to support one another emotionally and will be able to understand and identify with the other woman's pain, feelings and experiences.

Long-term Objectives

In the long-term, the goal is to have fostered the creation of politically aware, peaceful and economically independent women. They have been successful in overcoming their past and are a now a fully functioning member of society. They have been able to acquire

new skills and/or have completed their secondary education. They are financially independent and self-reliant. Their children are healthy and receiving an education. The nation itself is stable and human and economical development is progressing. People's lives are improving and civilians are able to enjoy a peaceful existence. The condition of the female soldiers has not worsened and they are able to exercise some degree of control over their lives.

- For a sustainable peace to exist, reconciliation must be a priority in the long-term.

Bringing together the different sides of a conflict to coexist within one society will be essential and they will need assistance to do so. Education will be key in assisting the soldiers to put aside their differences and to build a future together. This will also be important for members of the general population. For soldiers to feel fully integrated into society and like civilians they will need to be accepted by other citizens and fear and hostility will have to be dealt with and eliminated. Conflict resolution and negotiation can play a considerable role in this process as well. Both resolution and negotiation can provide both soldiers and community members with tools and a process with which to peacefully manage and resolve disputes before they escalate into violence, thereby perpetuating historical animosity and further isolating the soldiers.

- Benefits/pension must be made available to those who served in the military, as recognition of their service and to supplement their income. Those who are unable to work, due to a disability must be eligible for benefits that will ensure their survival. This will be the responsibility of the government. Continued access to programs and

support in the area of income generation should be provided, especially if the government is unable or unwilling to provide disability benefits to the soldiers.

- Economic independence must be achieved. The women must be able to support themselves and maintain some degree of security in their lives. They are able to shelter, feed and clothe themselves and their children, without relying on others.

By recognising and cultivating the potential of female combatants, a society will increase its chances of achieving a sustainable peace and stability. By increasing a woman's access too and control over resources, she can contribute to a positive change within her society.

The Way Ahead

The most important contribution a peace support operation can make to a post-conflict situation is a long-term commitment. The international community must realise that when it deploys troops and resources to a war-torn country, the reconstruction phase should not simply last one or two years, but one or two decades. This will require a significant paradigm shift on the part of the international community which will probably not be achieved without further research to support this position. But without a long-term commitment to overseeing a country's rehabilitation, sustainable success will not be possible.

Former soldiers are a special group that deserves special consideration and within that group, there are sub-groups that need to identified and receive appropriate attention. While women may not pose the same threat to peace that their male counterparts do, nor

do they equal them in number, women soldiers, including young girls, deserve comparable treatment and resources. While the DDR process in general within Mozambique in the early to mid 1990s did not even meet all the needs of the male soldiers, the women received even less and were generally left to fend for themselves. As result, even today, these women find it impossible to achieve self-reliance and to properly secure gainful employment and properly take care of themselves and their children.

Many research questions have inevitably arisen while completing this research. Without a doubt, there are thousands more former female and former child soldiers who have experiences to share. Understanding and documenting their experiences will be important. In addition, there are a number of disabled female soldiers who also had a wide variety of experiences during the conflict and after, and their experiences need to be investigated as well.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Main Findings

The female soldiers of Mozambique faced not only challenging and stressful situations during their time in service, but continue to face challenges and stress in the ten years following the resolution of the war and even longer depending on their date of demobilisation. The women did not receive necessary support, either financially, emotionally or physically when they first became civilians. Because of this failure, these women are often subject to the same problems they faced when they first left the military, which have now compounded over time. The failure of the UN to recognise the existence of these women, and its and the Mozambican government's blatant lack of appropriate programming left most of these women to their own devices. As a result, they continue to suffer today and have little hope for the future.

Although time may have healed some of their wounds, such as negative public perception, and hostility or fear on behalf of family and neighbours has since evaporated, many women face a daily struggle for survival and the necessary means to raise their children and hope for the future. Acknowledgement of the existence of female and child soldiers was a non-issue for the UN and the Mozambican government when the war ended in 1992. Despite the fact that some women were included in the formal DDR process facilitated by ONUMOZ, their inclusion was more accidental than directed. Most of the women and children were completely ignored. Demobilisation, at the time of ONUMOZ, was strategically designed to prevent a return to war by male soldiers. Initiatives were created to enable the former soldiers to re-enter civil society and effectively maintain a livelihood, thereby preventing a return on their part to conflict.

The provision of a holistic support system and coping mechanisms to ensure the psychological, physiological and financial reintegration was negligible for the men, but not even considered for the women.

As a result, most of the women I spoke with were extremely frustrated about their treatment and current circumstances. No support was forthcoming once demobilised or after. For many of the women, our interview was the first time they had spoken of their experiences both during the war and after. For the few who were included in the demobilisation process by the UN, the support was short-lived and generally ineffective. All of the women resented that their education had been interrupted to by their military service. They also regret deeply that they were never afforded the opportunity to return to school. The only type of skills training they had access to, was a sewing course, that was futile in generating a livelihood, but which is still going on today.

The female former soldiers of Mozambique are a disenfranchised group that continues to struggle today because of the failures on the part of the national government and the UN. It is unlikely they will ever receive the type of support they require, and they maintain little hope for their children's futures and even less for their own. The past transgressions of the international community and the national government must be rectified in Mozambique. This will be necessary not only for the women and their dependants, but also for the sustainability and success of any peace process. Demobilised female soldiers will require initiatives and programming that meet their needs, including counselling, health care, child care, literacy and education, access to credit, housing and general support for the reconciliation process.

If there is any hope for demobilised soldiers to create a new life for themselves and to make a contribution to the peace and development of their country, their needs must be addressed during post-conflict reconstruction. Frequently, voices are raised questioning the fairness of providing assistance to one category of the population at the expense of another. Perhaps it is not fair, perhaps it is a result of their visibility as a vulnerable group, but it is a necessity and long-term benefits supersede questions of fairness. All of these aspects are necessary to rebuild their uprooted lives and for the development of viable citizens. Overall it will support the peace process, contribute to the sustainable development of the country and foster gender equality amongst the populace.

In terms of the female soldiers of Mozambique by drawing on past feminist analyses, we can see that these women did not receive the attention or assistance they needed and it has come to at a cost not only to these women, but the country as well. By neglecting to design and include these women in a holistic, multifaceted DDR process, the Mozambican government, the United Nations and the NGOs failed to assist the women in re-establishing their lives and cultivating the necessary skills and resources to become contributing citizens and independent, self-sufficient women. These women continue to face further injustice because the national government and the international community no longer find it fashionable and necessary to provide them with assistance.

It is my hope that this research has provided further understanding of the experiences of the female soldier within Mozambique and the importance of appropriate initiatives in all future peace support operations. Research is a prerequisite for

developing an effective strategy in order to intervene and take action for change.

Recognition of the problems and challenges faced by these women is needed to create appropriate responses in the future. Female soldiers are entitled to receive as much attention as their male counterparts, not only for their own good, but also for the good of the peace process and the future of their country. It is crucial for the international community to take the lead in this initiative and to make gender-specific considerations an integral component of their programming.

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Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Subjects

This is to certify that the Research Ethics Board has examined the research proposal or other type of study submitted by:

Principal Investigator: Trista Victoria Guertin
Name of Research Project: From Combat to the Kitchen? An Analysis of the Reintegration of Female Ex-combatants in Mozambique
REB File Number: 2002-055

and concludes that in all respects the proposed project meets appropriate standards of ethical acceptability and is in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Conduct of Research Involving Humans. Please note that approval is only effective for one year from the date approved. (If your research project takes longer than one year to complete, submit form #3 to the REB at the end of the year and request an extension.)

Date:

August 13, 2002

Signature of REB Chair:

[Signature]
Dr. John E. MacKinnon