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ALEXANDER VAN DER BIEST
STUDENT NUMBER 059005443

ENGENDERING (IN)SECURITY:

THE ROLES OF WOMEN ACROSS MOZAMBIQUE IN THE

FRELIMO-RENAMO WAR

ABSTRACT

African women's multiple forms of participation in contemporary (intrastate) warfare and the survival strategies they employ remain ill-researched. This dissertation studies this topic using the 1976-1992 conflict between FRELIMO and RENAMO in Mozambique as a case study. It remedies the lack of attention to gender-based violence, women combatants and grassroots level peacebuilding during that war. Although analysis is largely confined to circumstances within the war's ordinary end and start dates, comprehension is facilitated by links with pre-bellum gender relations and post-peace agreement demobilisation.

Evidence and argumentation are multidisciplinary and drawn from newer and older secondary evidence and a few consultations. Gender is used as a lens by which to help focus on women's position within society. Mozambican women are revealed as active agents rather than passive victims that engaged in a range of activities, from taking over men's chores on the farm to helping traumatised populations to escape the effects of the war. Women's diversity and capabilities and wartime societal changes become apparent. Consequently prevailing concepts regarding women and African wars during the Cold War respectively are rejected.

DECLARATIONS

DECLARATION 1

The word length of this dissertation is ………………. words.

Signed   (Candidate)

Date

DECLARATION 2

I hereby declare that this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree. It is the result of my own independent investigation and all authorities and sources which have been consulted are acknowledged in the bibliography.

Signed   (Candidate)

Date   (Candidate)

DEDICATIONS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- *To my parents, and especially my mother, always the first and the last port of call;*

- *To everyone who contributed with their support and suggestions to this dissertation, you know who you are;*

- *To everyone who made attending Aberystwyth the most intense and challenging intellectual experience in my life so far.*

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines women's forms of participation in the war that took place between 1976 and 1992 in the Southern African country of Mozambique. A gender lens highlights these contributions in a number of interrelated areas. These include the agricultural and informal segments of the economy; the impact, survival, and perpetuation of violence; and participation in early peace-building processes. This dissertation accordingly integrates several possibilities for inquiry and stresses the interconnections between them. It portrays women as active and capable subjects in the face of generalised insecurity. It details how women exercised more (decisive) influence and deserve more recognition than sources might otherwise have given them credit. It thus seeks to obtain a more holistic view of the dynamics of the conflict than otherwise would have been possible. Such an enquiry seems relevant to the study of security for abundant reasons.

The question's significance

Firstly, gender remains neglected in understanding the daily conduct and operation of International Relations and Security Studies, especially at the 'bottom' level of analysis (Youngs, 2004). Secondly, Virginia Woolf once observed that relatively little was commonly known about women. She pointed at women's existence, capacity for bearing children, lack of beard growth, rarity of baldness, and their obvious similarities with men as only exceptions (Woolf, in Downs, 2004: x). This may seem witty at first. But the aforementioned fields of inquiry appear to suffer from the same knowledge gap (Sylvester, 1996: 258), especially regarding women's participation in warfare (Enloe, 1993; Allison, 2004; Brocklehurst, 2005: 248). It deserves, therefore, to be taken seriously. Thirdly, current such studies often centre on the World Wars. The

shortage appears particularly prominent regarding African armed conflicts, the diversity of local women's experiences and the coping mechanisms they employ (Turshen, 1998).

Fourthly, United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 recommends recognition of the distinctive impact of warfare on women and of their contribution towards peace and security (UN, 2000). The difficulties women face and the degree of resourcefulness and effort these display in the post-war transformation and recovery of war-torn regions have consequently gained prominence (Hunt and Posa, 2001; Meintjes *et al*, 2001). However, as will herein be defended and demonstrated, such appreciation remains handicapped unless the war's gendered dynamics and of its conclusion are considered. As expressed by Meintjes *et al* (2001: 8):

"Belief in the transformative potential of women's experiences is linked to recognition of both the historical specificity of wars ….and the particularities of many groups of women within war-torn societies.… Documenting what women do to do survive in wartime is one way to make women's potential visible."

Fifthly, in those very same times of concern with peace processes women who acted as soldiers have often been ignored (Itano, 2004; Kingma, 2004: 153). Finally, comprehension of wartime developments seems to provide a benchmark for the evaluation of the status (changed or unaltered, improved or worsened) of gender relations after the formal cessation of hostilities (Jacobson, 1996: 272).

The case study's justification and weight

It would seem understandable if, despite the above, the choice of Mozambique might still arouse some curiosity. Even a country expert purposefully contacted for advice expressed surprise. He suggested a more recent conflict might be preferable to (re)visiting one initiated thirty years ago (Hanlon, 04/03/2006). One argument to opt for the post-independence war in Mozambique is the apparent threat of oblivion it faces in the aftermath of the Cold War. Its hardships may be forgotten despite it having been one

of the most devastating wars of the time (Jacobson, 2004: 134). Gender-based violence is but one such factor (Baden, 1997: viii). Equally often-neglected aspects include women's survival strategies and involvement in wartime grassroots level peace efforts. This ignorance seems to exist despite Mozambique's 'poster child' success story image in analyses of the termination and aftermath of wars (Moran and Pitcher, 2004).

To defend the choice of Mozambique yet further, political developments in its sub-region have always resonated across the continent as a whole (Moorcraft, 1990; Chanaiwa, 1993; Alao, 1994). Southern African women seem to have received proportionately more attention for participating in anti-colonial liberation struggles than for doing the same in posterior events (Geisler, 2004). Mozambique seems a fascinating case study from the viewpoint of anyone interested in the usage of women as subjects. (Sheldon, 1994; 2002) During the timeframe and circumstances covered herein, ruling party FRELIMO[1] tried to implement specific programmes to target this sector. Security analysts in general might value the changes of Mozambique's short history (de Armiño, 2000: 222; Cawtra and Chachiua, 2004: 118; Schroeder *et al*, 2005: 16):

TYPES OF TRANSITION	RANGE
Overall stability	Anti-colonial struggle (1964-1974); civil war (1976-1992); post-conflict recovery process (1992- today)
Autonomy	From Portuguese colonial rule to independence (achieved in 1975)
Macro-economic policies pursued	From a centralized socialist model to a free market economy (from 1987 onwards)
Status for international donors	From a state of emergency to rehabilitation and long-term investment
Regime change	From a one-party to a multi-party government (following 1994 elections)

T0. 1 HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS THAT HAVE IMPACTED SECURITY IN MOZAMBIQUE

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[1] FRELIMO: *Frente da Libertaçao do Moçambique*, Mozambique Liberation Front.

Dissertation structure

Besides this Introduction, this dissertation is broken down into four chapters and an overall Conclusion. The first two establish the theoretical framework (abstract reasoning) whereas the last two engage in that lens' verification and discussion in concrete terms. The first chapter defines key concepts such as feminism and gender and suggests what flows from the application of the latter. It identifies the range of possibilities and components for comprehension of (male and) female involvement in warfare. The second expands on these notions by adding women's soldiering and peacebuilding roles to the mix. The third chapter introduces the basics of pre-and wartime gender relations in Mozambique, and considers the victimization of women and their resourcefulness in resisting it. The final chapter deals with women in combat and combat support roles as well as their efforts to facilitate reconciliation. The Conclusion will summarize findings, reflect on contributions to knowledge and suggest areas for future research.

Research design and methodology

To move to matters of research design, questions surrounding gender and women's responses to warfare seem best answered *in situ*. A writing of this kind would thus ideally be based on extensive original primary research involving the protagonists themselves (Brown, 2005: 174; Hanlon, 04/03/2006; Schafer, 07/07/2006). Travel to Mozambique for data collection purposes was forcefully discarded early on due to time and financial constraints. The prospects of many local languages, difficulty of locating respondents and the foreseeable need for cultural sensitivity and considerable *rapport* described by Gengenbach (2005) further stressed the need for alternatives. Two possible strategies were considered:

Firstly, the possibility of conducting semi-structured (preset questions with the freedom of what to answer open to the interviewee) e-mailed interviews with a limited number of purposefully selected experts. Lastly, an exclusive reliance on secondary sources, albeit incorporating publications originating from Southern Africa. Ultimately, the way of gathering evidence combined a little of both. Interviews were cancelled when data from secondary sources proved considerable. Remaining insight was gained through informal consultations, particularly with the aid of a dedicated emailing list. Importing materials from the region proved nearly impossible due to limited availability, high cost and/or copyright restrictions. Loans and courtesy did secure access to some 'grey literature', i.e., a few unpublished theses (Jacobson, 1996; Brocklehurst, 1999; Duarte Santos, 2004). Most of this dissertation therefore rests on printed sources in English, with the resulting limitations and possibilities for bias.

Care has been taken, however, in selecting papers from a wide range of disciplines and authors, often incorporating considerable field research, and in contrasting older and newer sources. It seems obvious that the latter might offer the potential for findings unavailable to the former. To adequately address the difficulty and nature of the enquiry, evidence and theoretical reasoning rely on a multidisciplinary approach. This dissertation thus does not lean exclusively on Security Studies and its parent discipline International Relations. It also incorporates history, anthropology, Law, peace, development and conflict transformation research, women's studies, even psychiatry. Many of these, particularly history and anthropology (Berger and White, 1999; Downs, 2004), reflect a longer tradition in engaging with questions of gender, women and African contexts than Security Studies itself.

Data has not always been obtained from academic research. Often, it originated from official international governmental and non-governmental organization sources

(for example, Quan, 1987), mostly accessed through the Internet. A limited number of texts were also of a more journalistic nature (Moorcraft, 1990; Anderson, 1992; Johnson, 1992). Critical scrutiny and attention to detail might manage the risk of loss of control over the data and prevent confusion. Meanwhile, to proceed in proper spirit, the words of Stewart (quoted in Busby, 1993: xxvix) seem quite inspiring:

"O ye, daughters of Africa, awake! Awake! Arise! No longer sleep nor slumber, but distinguish yourselves! Show forth to the world that ye are endowed with noble and exalted faculties (sic)."

GENDER, WOMEN, STEREOTYPES, AND RESISTANCE

"Everything that has explained the world has in fact explained… a world in which men

are at the centre of the human enterprise and women are at the margins "helping"

them. Such a world does not exist. Never has."

GERDA LERNER (Women's History Website, no date)

"Expect the unexpected."

PROVERB

Introduction

For a successful flow of the case study analysis, ontological, epistemological and conceptual foundations have to be established. This chapter commences such a task and seeks to achieve several objectives in relation to the pivotal themes of the overall dissertation. Firstly, to properly delineate 'women' and 'gender', including limitations to consider when using them for analytical purposes. Secondly, to describe the way women and men are commonly portrayed in relation to what they (can) do in wartime. Thirdly, to use the insights obtained to explain the disservice done in that regard, with a special emphasis on women. Fourthly, to attempt to remedy this situation by suggesting how women might actively respond to the hardships existent in wartime. Afterwards, these hypotheses will prove vital to unravel the civil war in Mozambique and women's plight and methods of survival therein.

The difference between women, sex, and gender

When human beings carry out a role, they are not just executing a specific function. They may also or may not be conforming to a type of activity accepted within society resultant from their importance therein (Webster's Reference Library, 2002: 657). For that reason, the concept of gender occupies a central position within this

paper. Gender is hereby understood as "the socially constructed differences between men and women, boys and girls", differences which cover their assigned activities (Mazurana et al, 2005: 13). Defined in this manner, gender needs to be differentiated from its common usage. In common English, gender is perceived as synonymous with the biological categories of male and female that distinguish people from each other (Webster's Reference Library, 2002: 136). The term 'sex', with its roots in the human body, will hereby be reserved for that purpose. Thus, while sex can be seen as fixed, gender seems to imply the possibility, when not the actual occurrence, of change (Turpin, 1998: 12).
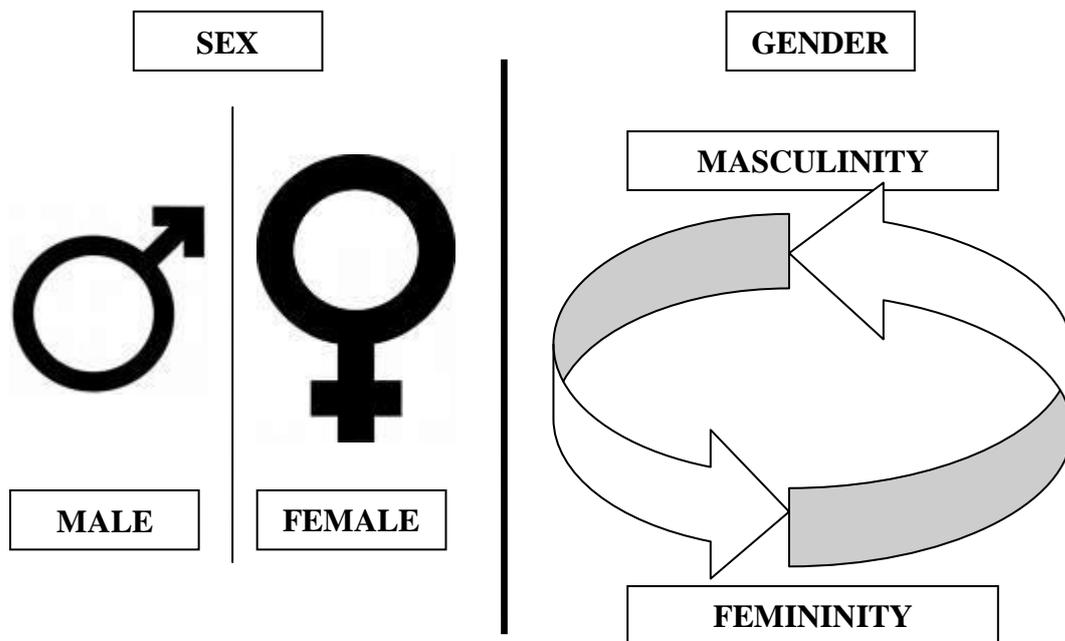
SEX	GENDER

MASCULINITY

FEMININITY

MALE	FEMALE

F1. 2 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SEX AND GENDER

The notion of gender relies on 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviour patterns *complementing* each other, unlike the *opposition* between male and female implied by sex (see the figure above). In other words, a boy or a man's way to take part in something might be deemed 'feminine'. Equally, a girl or woman's method of doing so as 'masculine', but there will always be the 'other' standard to compare to (Peterson, 1998a: 9; Steans, 1998: 10-11). Gender can therefore also be claimed to reflect a certain

value judgement upon conduct, be it as positive or negative, expected or surprising (Youngs, 2004: 77). In choosing to employ gender, therefore, recognition is made of the impossibility of separating the analysis of women (and girls) from that of men (and boys) (Pankhurst and Pearce, 1998: 155-156). These pages focus on women vis-à-vis men, emphasizing the former, as the overall Introduction already specified. For simplicity's sake, 'women' will be understood as synonymous adult female human beings of the age of 18 and older. Women are the subject and gender will be the analytical tool.

Gender as a lens

Distinctions between women and gender aside, arguably some caveats must be noted. Studies on gender and women possess strong roots in European and North American social scientific reasoning (Mohanty, 2000:54). Attention in these pages will be directed later on to an African context. Hence it might be recommendable to reduce, if not eliminate, the odds of criticisms of ethnocentrism. Signposts to follow in that regard have been issued by feminist researchers with a non-Western perspective. They claim that Third World women should not be reduced to a single image of oppressed figures with shared interests independent of location (Carby, 1997; Wanzala, 1998; Mohanty, 2000). Collins also suggests that competing claims of knowledge arising from other cultures should not be ignored (Davison, 1997: 33). That recommendation will be developed further in Chapter II when conceptualizing women's possibilities for peace-building.

At this point, to avoid the risks identified, gender will not be viewed as an absolute, but as a *len*s. I.e., gender as a limited approach to the question, open to combinations with other variables (Peterson et al, 1993: 1-2). The need is to "focus on the everyday experiences of women as *women* and to highlight the consequences of

their unequal social position [not my emphasis]" (Steans, 1998: 5). To understand women's contributions in context without refusing to acknowledge the differences between them might therefore be aided by other variables such as ethnicity, religion, wealth, etcetera (Waylen, 1996: 10). Figure F1.1 below shows gender as a lens:
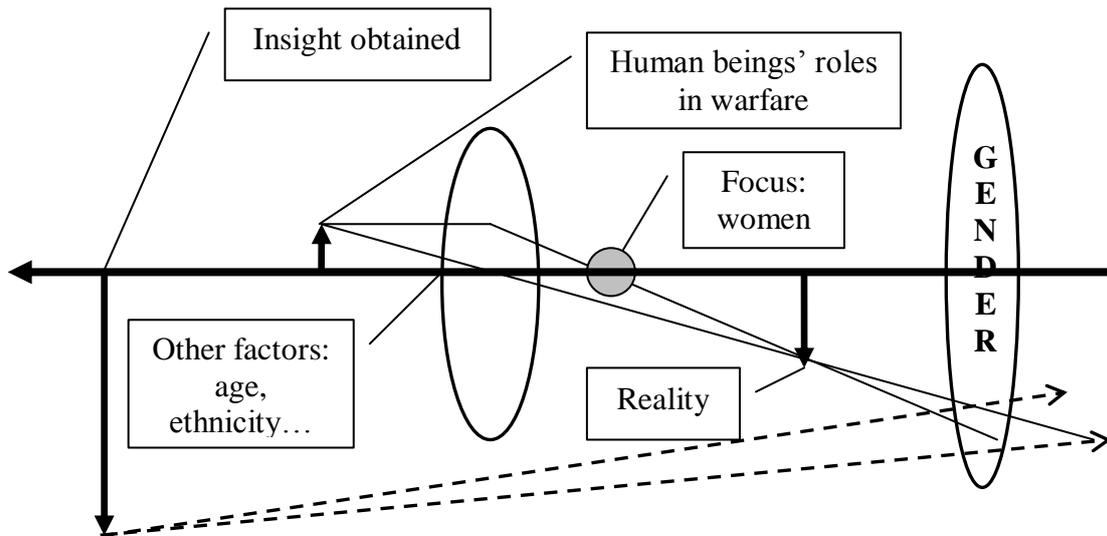
F1. 2 A GENDER LENS ON WOMEN'S ROLES IN WARFARE

The orthodox dichotomy surrounding women and men's participation in warfare

Quite a few myths appear to surround the understanding of warfare, both in everyday speech and in academic texts (Zur, 1989). Note has been taken of potential pitfalls best to avoid in employing women and gender. It seems imperative to equally consider the specific myth one attempts to challenge. In the current case, the stereotype refers to a dichotomy in which war is seen as men's business. Men are seen as courageous and strong, engaged in the spectacular, 'hard' and risky parts of the war effort. Women form the opposite reflection. Women complement it as gentle and docile creatures, waiting and weeping for the return of their sons, brothers, and husbands, and

interested in peace. Men seem represented as "just warriors" and women as "beautiful souls" (Elshtain, 1987; Dombrowski, 1999).

An illustration of such views might be the following quote, derived from an unknown judge's verdict in 1873 (quoted in Hunter College Women's Studies' College, 1983: 534):

"Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender. The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life. …The paramount destiny and mission of women are to fulfil the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. *(sic)*"

Lest any doubt be cast that such views remain persuasive today, some more current examples might demonstrate the contrary. In the 1980s, general Robert H. Barrow (quoted in Zalewski, 1998: 1) asserted that "the male… wants to think that he's fighting for that woman somewhere behind… you have to protect the manhood of war *(sic)*." Clichéd notions of that kind also seem to remain prevalent and even to have been reasserted in the aftermath of the 9/11/2001 terrorist attacks (Tickner, 2002). Through a gender prism, however, as the next section will demonstrate, these views might not stand up to extensive scrutiny.

The orthodox dichotomy and women's agency

Presumably, as with all stereotypes, the traditional dyad of men as protectors and women as the protected just described may initially appear to contain elements of truth (Hunt and Posa, 2001: 41). Traditionally, militaries have been male-dominated institutions (Turshen, 1998: 5). In numerous (but not all) instances of warfare throughout human history, and in nearly all societies, the task of fighting has been assigned to men (Goldstein, 2004: 10-34). Equally, frequently women have been taught to abstain from the possession and use of weapons and from engagement in violence (Hunter College's Women Studies Collective, 1983: 548-551). And mothers and

spouses' suffering in the absence of their (male) loved ones is frequently recorded (Turpin, 1998: 12).

At a second glance, however, it could be suggested that the dichotomy is *gendered.* That is, there might be nothing 'genuine' here that does not rely on underlying notions of masculinity and femininity, and pre-determined ideas about the roles of women and men (Turshen, 1998: 1). It seems to ignore the effort placed by drill instructors in the military on instilling a degree of aggression, projected as a desired and necessary degree of masculinity, in recruits (Tickner, 1994: 46; Turshen, 1998: 5). Men refusing to participate in wars, or women encouraging men to do so, also look forgotten (Elshtain, 1987). Simultaneously, women appear reduced to men's helpless victims. The reduction to 'victim status' denies women's own agency (Moser and Clark, 2001; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2003; ICRC, 2003). Agency is, after all, often assumed to a masculine trait, as illustrated below (based on a point made by Peterson and True, 1998: 15):

MASCULINE TRAITS	FEMININE TRAITS
Rationality	Irrationality
Productivity	Reproductivity
Autonomy	Dependence
Agency	**Passivity**

T1. 1 CATEGORICALLY MASCULINE AND FEMININE TRAITS

Agency means action or the exercise of influence (Webster's Reference Library, 2002: 14). Its denial might therefore remain without consequence unless the types of achievement and areas of persuasion are properly specified. Three might be particularly interesting given the challenge they seem to entail to the dyad. On the one hand, women as struggling actively for survival by using coping strategies, including entering new forms of employment. And on the other, women as supporters and/or perpetrators of

violence, and as participants rather than merely interested parties in peace processes (Bop, 2001). The remainder of this chapter will concentrate on the former, leaving the articulation of the latter two for the next one. For clarity's sake it might be noticed that the intention is not, to paraphrase Berkin and Lovett (1980: 3), to build praise upon disdain for those women who may be in the grip of panic, injured or killed. Fear of being attacked, for example, may impede women to move out of their homes into new areas of responsibility (Kumar, 2001:8). In principle, all women deserve attention (Enloe, 1996: 187) and while necessarily not covering every one, this dissertation will acknowledge such women's existence. But the idea is to obtain 'the best of both worlds': on the one hand, credit the limits suggested in the more single-sided 'women are victims' accounts. And on the other, simultaneously acknowledge the advantages of voluntarism (Steans, 1998: 13). Consideration of (intrastate) warfare's impact therefore seems appropriate to comprehend what women would have faced and some ways they would have overcome it.

Warfare's impact on labour

The expression 'impact of warfare' seems to suggest a radical departure from what came before. That supposition may be true, but likely only partially. Like the public and private spheres, war and peace are often posited as radically divergent, and the latter understood as direct violence's absence. That description can be characterized as one of *negative* peace limited to a *'macro*-level' of analysis (the state). A more critical perspective would redefine peace as *the sum* of negative peace with one of *positive* peace involving the abolition of direct and structural violence at the *micro*-level (the home) (Reardon, 1996). The point of this redefinition would be to assert that the gendered consequences of the armed conflict phase cannot be neatly separated from

what preceded it (Mazurana, 2005). And as the dyad appears to suggest, one such already existing element would be the task distribution between women and men.

As seems well-known, a long-standing way to allocate responsibilities has been the 'breadwinner' model. The breadwinner model stipulates that the woman stays at home, raises the children, and takes care of cleaning, washing and cooking duties while the man goes out to do a *paid* job (Hunter's College Women Studies Collective, 1983: 480-482). The emphasis on *'paid'* has been an intentional one: what women do seems rarely valued (Steans, 1998: 4). Yet, as implied by the stress on complementarities of gender, men's activities would not be possible without the efforts undertaken by women. In the words of Aristotle (quoted in Peterson, 1998a: 11): "'women's work' in the domestic sphere is not peripheral to but a necessary condition of 'men's work' in the public sphere." Men may flee, be killed, or be otherwise missing. Consequently, women may be forced to face not just grief but also a loss of income or of standing within the community (Turpin, 1998: 8). Simultaneously, however, a window of opportunity may be opened for women to take on new roles (Meintjes *et al*, 2001: 13; Date-Bah and Walsh, 2001:1).

Furthermore, to paraphrase Peterson and True (1998:20), to envision a neat divide between a 'background' and a 'foreground' ignores the importance of the 'background' to the 'main story'. Revenue and subsistence obviously coalesce as one seems to predetermine most (if not all) of the other. Under 'normal' circumstances the relevance of food already cannot be denied. In wartime, getting and/or producing it (as expected of women/girls) probably become highly risky, and even more "critical. Failures of livelihood systems results in famine; preservation… raises chances of both survival and recovery" (Mazurana *et al,* 2005: 6). Women might therefore 'fight back' by taking on what could be described as a 'triple challenge': attending their 'usual'

tasks, taking over men's, and gaining new skills in the process (Kumar, 2001: 13). A separation between spheres of activity seems awkward for other reasons too.

Warfare's impact: gender-based violence, refugees, displacement

A divide between a 'battlefront' and a 'homefront'[2] may not hold when women's lives and well-being may be threatened everywhere and by everyone (Waller and Rycenga, 2001; Nordstrom, 2005). During intrastate warfare, civilians deliberately inflict distress upon the rest of the population. This means that so-called 'ordinary' human beings are both subjects and objects of violence as parties attempt to sway the population's loyalty (Allen, 2000: 173; Kumar, 2001: 6). Women tend to be the minority of direct victims resultant from the use of small and light weapons (Schroeder *et al*, 2005) but the majority of those of 'gender-based violence' (GBV) (Nikoliç-Ristanovic, 1996; Kesic, 2000; IRIN, 2004). GBV as hereby understood includes sexual violence (rape, forced pregnancy and prostitution, mutilation, human trafficking) with its consequences (trauma, disruption, sexually-transmitted diseases, and other health problems) and domestic violence (IRIN, 2004:3). Domestic violence represents another facet of the pre-conflict phase that could 'cross over' into wartime or begin during it (Bunch and Carrillo, 1998; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2003: 9).

Contrary to what might otherwise be expected, the environment women might find themselves in would thus be anything but static. A well-known third form armed conflict forces developments in people's lives is these being forced to leave their homes. This can take two basic forms: refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees defines the former as persons outside their national borders due to alarm of racial, religious, social group or political persecution. The international Guiding Lines explain the latter as people forcefully

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[2] And between 'combatant' and 'non-combatant' (see references above and Chapter II).

outside of their home area but within their national borders due to war, natural disaster or human rights violations (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2003: 20). It seems to have become orthodoxy to suggest that more than three quarters of refugees and IDPs tend to be women and children (Turpin, 1998: 3; Allen, 2000: 176; Kumar, 2001: 6).

Statistics, of course, indicate little as to how women might resist. Violence and fleeing are highly traumatic experiences. Other than by the aforementioned means, one form of resistance might be attempting to regain a sense of normality. Social psychologists have pointed out that coping is highly dependent on the self-worth people derive from interacting with their environment (Littleton and Breitkopf, 2006). One possibility for a person's self-esteem is the satisfaction they derive from work (Hunter College's Women Studies Collective, 1983: 482). Some might doubt this possibility. It is popular wisdom to associate trauma with paralysis. Furthermore, given the aforementioned task distribution, work might be seen as a sign of women's oppression rather than as a coping mechanism (Goldstein, 2004: 38). Admittedly, observers have noted extensive prostitution and women's beatings in camps (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002: 21). Another possibility might pin hopes on improvisation. After all, times of crisis are known to spur great creativity (Nordstrom, 1998: 110; Fuchs-Nebel *et al*, 2001: 6). Only the case study might set the matter straight.

Conclusion

This chapter developed a train of thought by which to position and analyze women's roles in relation to the tough times to be expected in intrastate armed conflict. It began with a differentiation between gender and sex. The former was grounded in socially constructed, dynamic and paired categories of masculine and feminine behaviour. The latter was defined as the biological units of male and female. The category 'women' was also specified as female subjects of the age of eighteen and over.

To reduce the odds of bias and treatment of all women as identical it was suggested that gender should be treated as a prism, taking other factors such as ethnicity into consideration when possible.

It then became apparent what kind of thinking to avoid. Accepted wisdom suggests war is only confined to men, allegedly protecting the women left behind in the 'safety' of the home. Using gender revealed it as a partial truth at best that reflects taught modes of behaviour that deny that women possess agency. Three directions in which to reflect the existence of agency were identified and the first, women as actively resisting the impact of developments, further pursued. Doing so suggested the need to link gender relations prior to the conflict with those during it. Women may take on new economic roles in addition to their existing ones to guarantee subsistence. It also revealed women may be particularly prone to gender-based violence, forced displacement and fleeing but that they might find support in work and/or improvisation.

CHAPTER II:

GENDER, SOLDIERING, PEACEBUILDING, AND CULTURE

"There is an intimate connection between what we know and what we dare to imagine."

(PEREIRA, 2002)

"Women are [one] half of every community… are they, therefore, not [one] half of every solution?"

DR. THEO-BEN GUIRAB (quoted in Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002: 76)

Introduction

As became apparent in the preceding pages, women's actions need not be limited to making do. This chapter develops the remaining two choices of areas of women's agency. One, women when involved in the maintenance and execution of violence. And the other, women attempting to *halt* it rather than just *manage* its impact. Along the way new roles and outlooks with which to 'refine' the gender lens are introduced, such as 'dependants' and 'multi-track diplomacy.' The end result will be the completion of the theoretical body of this dissertation and the formulation of the ideas to employ *a posteriori* in Chapter IV. The chapter proceeds in six steps.

First, it is explained why the possibility that women may fulfil a soldiering role might be so problematic. Then, the notion of the 'woman soldier' is broken down into different but not necessarily separated spheres of activity. Some grounds for caution in approaching women doing peace are also expressed. Next, the relevance of concepts designating single or multiple levels of participation in efforts towards peace in wartime is evaluated, from peacemaking to peacebuilding. Finally, again an effort to appreciate the intricacies of the local context is made. Specifically, how customs may be wielded indistinctively by men and women to bring communities back together.

The difficulty of accepting women as soldiers

When people think about soldiers, many things may come to mind. Chances are that the sex of the person in that image would not be female. Concentrating on women[3], the preceding chapter already mentioned one reason why people appear to struggle with such a possibility. That rationale is the dyad according to which men take up weapons to prevent harm from coming to the 'weaker' opposite sex, and accordingly see it as their duty to do so (Elshtain, 1987). An indication might be the different degrees of stigma attached to veterans (NIZA, 2006: 3). After demobilisation, men, having fulfilled societal expectations, might mitigate shame somewhat, even convert their military track record in political gain. Women, by contrast, having crossed the boundary, might be forced to 'disappear' and therefore easily get forgotten (Baden, 1997: 1; Itano, 2004; Kingma, 2004: 153). It might also be difficult to acknowledge their existence on theoretical grounds.

Van Creveld has suggested women in contemporary intrastate wars tend to stay away from combat (Allison, 2004: 452). Virginia Woolf might add women would not even see the point. She suggested that "since men make war, they should fight, and not concern women with the burden of wars we had almost no hand or voice in declaring" (quoted in Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 1983: 550). A variant of feminism, often described as 'essentialists', would venture even less far. Its proponents conceive women as biologically predisposed towards campaigning for peace, as supposedly resultant from their mothering roles (Goldstein, 2004: 42-46). Caldicott, for example, affirms that "a typical woman… innately understands the basic principles of conflict resolution". Or Pietila, who sees "non-violence as a natural action for women"

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[3] Increasing attention is being devoted to *girls* acting as soldiers. See, for example, Nordstrom, 1999; Brocklehurst, 1999; Brett and Specht, 2004; McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Mazurana *et al,* 2005

(both quoted in Zur, 1989: 315). Such views must be rebuffed lest the 'male protector-female protected' dyad is to be accepted as valid.

Here too Chapter One's conclusions prove insightful. In conditions of intrastate warfare, there is the likelihood that the male 'protectors' would turn against those allegedly safe under their guard. Or that they would otherwise fail to do so (Nordstrom, 2005). As stated, the dichotomy denies women's capacity for agency, which implies refusal to accept women can take up arms (Moser and Clark, 2001). Ironically, "this is most clearly captured by the very need to continually establish that women can *also* be combatants, and should *also* be allowed to be [Emphasis in the original]" (Kinsella, 2005: 254). Essentialist feminism can be rejected on both epistemological and empirical grounds. In the first case, by grounding matters in biology, it seems to deny the saliency of gender, and therefore, of any possibility for change (Terriff *et al,* 1998: 96). Moreover, in hinting at universally shared qualities, essentialist feminists seem to ignore differences *between women* and *between men* (Turpin, 1998: 13). People having the same sex arguably need not share the same agenda (Turshen, 1998: 11). In the second case, accepting the essentialist stance would deny lessons from history. Cases abound of women fighting in wars between and within states (Elshtain, 1987: 6, 171-183; Goldstein, 2004: 59-127; Mazurana *et al*, 2005: 2). Faced with such evidence, to assume to find women soldiers in Mozambique seems justified.

Diversifying and complicating women's military roles

While warranted, it may not be less troublesome. An additional consideration as yet unmentioned may again derive from the associations of the word 'soldier' (Nordstrom, 2005). When not other ways to inflict harm, most of the time it invokes the usage of weapons, particularly of guns (Schroeder *et al*, 2005). Both implicitly and

explicitly, so far gun possession appears to have been taken for granted, which might lead to simplification. Nordstrom asks (2005: 404):

"What… is a female soldier? A woman who acquires a weapon to shoot those who threaten her home; a woman journalist who risks her life…; a nurse who remains on the frontlines…; a woman who walks across land-mined battlegrounds to carry food and essential supplies to a besieged town?"

While Nordstrom may be stretching her scope a bit far, her basic point appears valid. The military roles of women may be far more diverse and sophisticated than what the classical image of a soldier might suggest.

To facilitate a more nuanced understanding in that sense might again benefit from the consideration of gender, albeit understanding its limitations as suggested in Chapter I (Waylen, 1996: 13). The existence of a role pattern seems fairly obvious. Undeniably, every army, regardless of size or type, needs a flow and management of supplies and for its casualties to be taken care of. Engagement in campaigns can be compromised without it, especially if it is interrupted. It also seems irrefutable that to guarantee for these more 'feminine' activities to be carried out, specialised troops or the local population are relied on. Such 'camp followers' overwhelmingly are women. They cook food, do nursing, act as 'wives' to soldiers, carry messages, and often assist in the transport of ammunition and the handling of small and light weapons (Boulding, 1988: 229). As seems obvious, this implies that women may execute a variety of roles. Bouta et al (2005: 12-15) differentiate between those of *combatant*, *supporter* or *dependant*, with a predominant male concentration in the first category.

As also evident from the description, these forms of involvement frequently overlap, and therefore need not result easily separable in practice (McKay and Mazurana, 2004). Women may act as spies too, given the sexualised and manipulative 'Mata Hari' image associated with that task (Elshtain, 1987: 173). It has also been argued that women soldiers do not 'really' get to fight. They would serve to boost

morale, to reassure the local population and also to convince (more) men to join by sending an 'even women' message (Macdonald, 1987: 14). None of these additional options for women to participate should likely be dismissed out of hand. But analyses restricted to support functions might again result in failure to attribute a capacity for violence, and hence for traditionally 'masculine' soldiering, to women (Allison, 2004). Women performing a variety of military roles are therefore to be expected, some less and others more obvious.

Reservations regarding women and peace

In the same way human beings may support or generate violence, they may also favour the reduction of tensions (Moser and Clark, 2001: 8). The previous sections dealt with the first direction, the remainder of this chapter will develop the second. Women's resistance to war in the form of resilience has already been conceptualised. Possible efforts to facilitate a solution to it have not yet. Such an objective might incur at least two criticisms. One, searching for women working for peace could merely serve to reinforce the stereotype, even to confirm it (Tickner, 1994: 44). Another seems that, in a context of intrastate conflict, the state might often be absent as an influence in people's lives. Hobbes (1968) postulated that in such a "state of nature", people would fetch only for themselves and continuously struggle against one another, no holds barred. Accordingly, searching for anyone wanting to care enough in the midst of strife to devote her or himself to bringing it to an end might be wasted effort.

Both opinions may well have a point, but maybe need not invalidate the proposed addition to the scope of enquiry. At no point in this paper has any attempt been made to disguise the 'uglier' aspects of warfare. Indeed, they have been openly acknowledged. Neither has it been stated that working for peace can be women's only role, nor that it come 'naturally' to them, more to the contrary. But as with the coping

strategies, its inclusion allows for a more complete panorama of possibilities than the one-sided 'state of nature' (Fuchs-Nebel *et al*, 2001: 6). In the case at hand, the risk is to ignore that "those who live amidst the dire realities of conflict and violence are the first to crave peace" (Rupesinghe and Anderlini, 1998: 110). As with women soldiers, the challenge might lie in the usage of the appropriate concepts and lines of thinking.
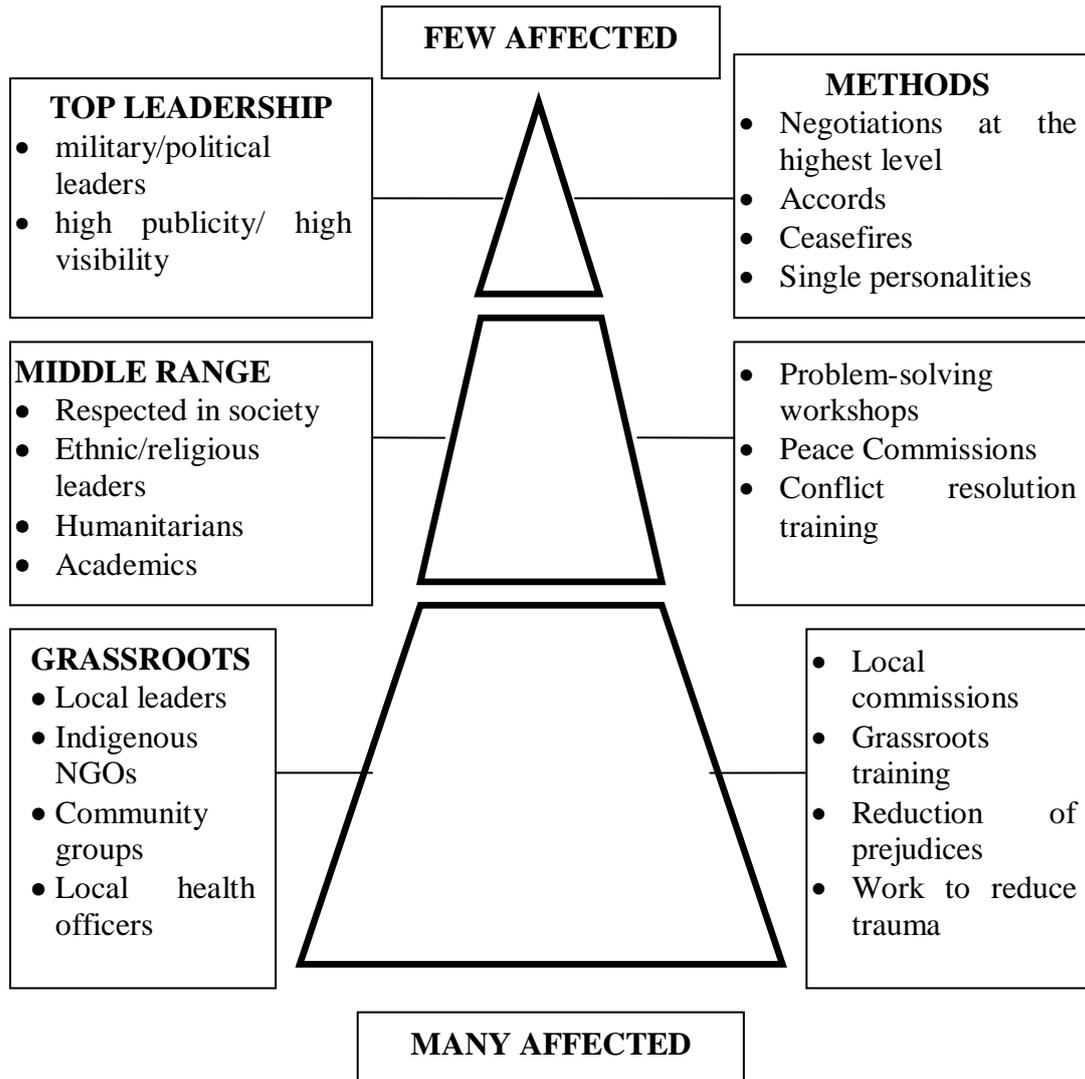
Peacemaking, multi-track diplomacy, and peace-building

Thematic and spatial restrictions will confine case study analysis to the developments leading to the conclusion of the peace agreement. Such events are often characterised under the heading of 'peacemaking'. Peacemaking was popularized after the Cold War by (then) UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Ruiz Jiménez, 2005). Especially relevant from a gender-informed perspective seems Baranyi's warning (quoted in Cock, 2004a: 111) that peacemaking processes "tend to be led and shaped by [(male)] elites, rather than by marginalized sectors such as women or the poor." Zur (1989: 316) has observed that women's absence in this area resembles the flipside of the 'men are protectors' myth. Men allegedly take on the responsibility for stopping wars because people fail to acknowledge men and women's interdependence in shaping them. Accepting that this could be true, following Enloe (1996) it is hereby suggested to ignore the mainstream, and concentrate efforts by looking 'from below.'

Two visions must therefore likely be challenged: the 'one-track' view of diplomacy and the ordinary characterisation of peace-building. Diplomacy is traditionally conceived as a 'states only' matter, conducted between heads of government and their respective emissaries and representatives. Its settings include embassies, summits, visits and conferences (Burnell, 2003). Photos taken at such occasions well appear to confirm Baranyi's point. High-ranking women diplomats, if present, tend to be scarce (Enloe, 2001: 5-7). Strictly speaking, even where women are

lacking, the portrayal of diplomacy as a masculine sphere may not hold. To recall the breadwinner model, male diplomats would be unable to carry out their work without numerous women's support. The backing of their wives, or female secretaries and interns, come to mind (Tickner, 1994: 47; Enloe, 2001: 93-124). Although well worth considering, the word limit does not cater for research on that possibility. The basic assumption to be employed will remain the same: women will likely be absent at the negotiations table (Bouta *et al*, 2005: 50). But the mention of 'invisible supporters' does seem to suggest an alternative direction. Arguably, a change from those who *dictate* policy from a 'top bottom' angle to those who *make it possible* seems recommendable.

To successfully shift focus, the 'top level' can be characterised as but 'one track' on which hope and efforts are concentrated. *Multi*-track diplomacy, on the other hand, as its prefix appears to confirm, suggests that peacemaking is the result of the *joint and coordinated* (albeit not necessarily aware of each other) effort of several agents. Lederach suggested an extension of the number of strata to middle and lower levels. Each of these would have their own their characteristic type of actors and method of adding to the overall effort (Rupesinghe and Anderlini, 1998: 110-124). It seems much more plausible to find women (and men) on such levels then the male dominated higher sphere. Figure F2.1 below (from Rupesinghe and Anderlini, 1998: 124) depicts the different strata of leadership:

FEW AFFECTED

TOP LEADERSHIP
- military/political leaders
- high publicity/ high visibility

METHODS
- Negotiations at the highest level
- Accords
- Ceasefires
- Single personalities

MIDDLE RANGE
- Respected in society
- Ethnic/religious leaders
- Humanitarians
- Academics

- Problem-solving workshops
- Peace Commissions
- Conflict resolution training

GRASSROOTS
- Local leaders
- Indigenous NGOs
- Community groups
- Local health officers

- Local commissions
- Grassroots training
- Reduction of prejudices
- Work to reduce trauma

MANY AFFECTED

F2. 3 JEAN-PAUL LEDERACH'S LEVELS OF LEADERSHIP

Women and 'peace-building from below'

To look at any actor working at the grassroots level within multi-track diplomacy amounts to "peace-building from below" (Cock, 2004a: 111). Peace-building (hereafter written together) too was conceived by Boutros-Ghali. For Boutros-Ghali peacebuilding referred a range of tasks for the international community, ranging from disarmament of the warring parties to the promotion of political participation of the local population. Taking up these responsibilities intends to guarantee the "consolidation of peace *after the conflict* [my emphasis]" (Boutros-Ghali, quoted in Fisas, 2004: 130). Definitions of peace-building since often appear to have rotated

around those two axes. On the one hand, the need for outsiders to strengthen the capacity of the conflict-affected. And on the other, fixing the starting point for peacebuilding as peace agreements' aftermath (Maclean, 1999; NIZA, 2006: 6). Figure F2.2 below (based on Fisas, 2004: 125) displays the time 'continuum' on which the latter assumption is based:
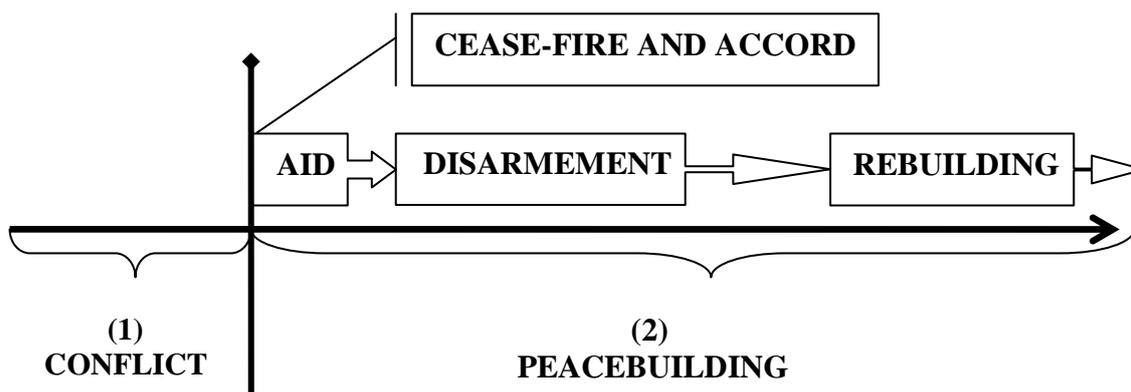
F2. 4 THE ORTHODOX CONFLICT-PEACEBUILDING CONTINUUM

The international community indeed has potentially much good to contribute to any country that would have recently signed a peace agreement. But portraying people as inevitably in need of assistance appears reminiscent of the myth of women as passive victims (ICRC, 2003: 7). Chapter I already stressed continuity between the pre-bellum and the conflict stage itself (Mazurana, 2005). An alternative continuum (see figure F2.3 below) would acknowledge that gendered power relations (especially in favour of peace) operate not just after, but also prior and during political violence (Cockburn, 1999). UN Security Council Resolution 1325 does seem to recognize women's importance. It insists on "reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement (UN, 2000)" In sum, it does not seem far-fetched to

want to find women working for peace, and to do so will require the discovery of their efforts when 'peacebuilding from below.'
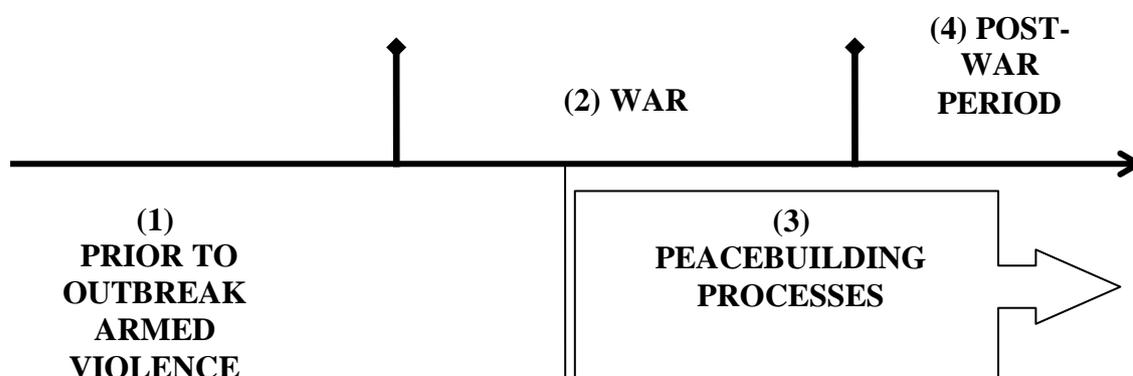
F2. 3 COCKBURN'S AREAS OF GENDERED POWER RELATIONS DURING POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Ethnopraxes as culture's contribution to 'peace-building from below'

The logic behind peacebuilding might not be unproblematic, however. Lederach (cited in Duffey, 2000: 145) suggests theorists and practitioners from affluent countries seem keen at prescribing/searching for solutions tailored on their own cultural expectations. Women can be viewed as symbolic bearers of a given society's cultural attributes (Kesic, 2000). Arguably, to properly understand women peacebuilders, it might be useful to consider whether they might employ any culturally-specific elements. Webster's Reference Library (2002: 81) defines culture as the "appreciation and understanding of the arts, skill, and religion of a given people in a given period; the customary beliefs, social forms and material traits of a religious, social, or racial group." Chapter One already stressed the importance of culture, but never in such an encouraging sense.

The male warrior/female victim dyad itself would stem from culture (Zur, 1989: 298). Gender-based violence would be part of a "culture of violence" (Kesic, 2000: 25; Nordstrom, 1997; 2005), including as a possible justification for wife battering (Bunch

and Carrillo, 1998: 233). It is not intended to ignore or minimize these aspects. But they might invite to an unsophisticated, incomplete, inferior, and strictly negative consideration of culture in relation to gender and armed conflict. Carby (1997: 219) warns they "perpetuate the myth that women are only worthy as victims of 'barbarous' primitive practices in barbarous, primitive societies (*sic*)." A different appreciation might thus be welcome.

Casting culture as favouring 'peacebuilding from below' seems possible. It requires the discovery of those customs specific to a given locality used to settle disputes, regardless of outside intervention (Mani, 2001: 7). This option does not seem that unlikely. Avruch and Black (cited in Duffey, 2000: 144-145) have distinguished *ethnoconflict theory* (a local common sense about conflict) and *ethnopraxes* (native conflict resolution techniques and practices). Such options, however, need not be open to women alone: rather, they form part of a shared patrimony open to both. As a clear component of 'peacebuilding from below', and to avoid overstating gender and the negative aspects of culture, women and men's usage of ethnopraxes should also be given their chance.

Conclusion

This chapter conceptualized women's soldiering and conflict solving roles. From the outset it became apparent that finding evidence for the first may not become an easy matter. Women soldiers can be expected to have been neglected during mobilisations. But denying their existence, especially in essentialist feminist mode, does not seem acceptable. It also seems likely that those actually having and using guns will be a minority, in comparison to men. The majority of women will be carrying out stereotypical but vital support tasks. And they may be doing so against and/or out of their own volition.

Potential reservations regarding the addition of women working for peace to the range of the enquiry were overcome in favour of a more holistic and optimistic point of view. It might make little sense to look for women in the male-dominated top level of diplomacy where peacemaking ordinarily takes place. Reasoning that a change of focus was needed, it was opted to look from the bottom up instead. This revealed a more complex and far more layered view. In it, women might be present at multiple levels of peacebuilding, particularly 'from below', i.e., at the grassroots level. To appreciate a way in which this might be the case, it was suggested to look at culturally specific practices open to men and women. Conceptualising peacebuilding in ethnocentric terms might easily overlook these. With the first half of this dissertation finished, time has come for the hypotheses to prove their worth.

CHAPTER III:

MOZAMBICAN WOMEN'S PLIGHTS, STRENGTHS, AND SURVIVAL

"Women are used to being strong. Despite the overwhelming problems they are facing,

they remain strong…They are fighting back by rebuilding their lives. The minds of

women and the hearts of women are so big (sic)."

SALOMÉ MOIANE, PRESIDENT, ORGANIZATION OF MOZAMBICAN WOMEN

(quoted in Urdang, 1989: 244)

Introduction

This chapter tests the first set of suppositions of the theoretical framework on the case study. It therefore investigates the predicaments and resistance displayed by Mozambican women in the backdrop and dynamics of the civil war in their country. Five sections make up that enquiry. These should be treated as distinct but not mutually exclusive aspects of women's wartime experiences. Not all of them can be treated in equal detail, however. The first consists of a brief literature review regarding the genesis and impact of events. The second analyzes tasks distribution in agriculture and demonstrates women's resilience. The third considers women adopting new and men's parts by pragmatism. The fourth places women at the heart of violence. The final one considers women refugees and IDPs and their resort to trading in the informal economy.

Orthodox origins and points of agreement concerning the war's impact

It seems inevitable for studies on (a) specific armed conflict(s) to begin with a description of the causes. For contextualization purposes, this thesis will be no exception. In this case, the antecedents might be traced back to the war for independence against Portugal (Saul, 1999: 126). Early Portuguese settlement began in the sixteenth century but large scale colonization did not occur till the late nineteenth century (Newitt, 1995). It ended in 1975 after eleven years of struggle by liberation

movement FRELIMO. Three types of explanation seem to exist concerning FRELIMO's relation with other governments and the wider Mozambican population as genesis of what consequently happened (De Armiño, 2002: 223):

The *first* strand of authors interprets the war as externally orchestrated and therefore deny RENAMO any local footing. They blame pre-black rule Zimbabwe and South Africa. They emphasize the hostility the FRELIMO regime (regional*y*) provoked given its Marxist orientation, foreign policy and composition. They point at the Cold War context and the regime's support for indigenous opposition groups to *apartheid* rule in the aforementioned countries. In South Africa's case these analysts add that state's destabilisation strategy to maintain regional hegemony (Quan, 1987; Zolberg *et al,* 1989; Moorcraft, 1990; Anderson, 1992; Alden, 2000).

The *second* variety explains RENAMO's origins as the gap between FRELIMO and its subjects. Such analysts see the latter's unwillingness to accept Communist rule and associated domestic policies as decisive. They stress the ethnic monopolization of FRELIMO's leadership and the repression and aggressive modernisation strategy implemented. This included persecution of traditions and religion. They postulate that FRELIMO attracted the population's hostility (especially in the north and the centre) in these ways (Geffray, 1990; Hall, 1990; Duarte Santos, 2004; Cabrita, 2005). The *third* sort view external support behind the creation of RENAMO but the internal tensions and divisions within Mozambican society as decisive for escalation (Chingono, 1996; Cahen, 1997; Venâncio and Chan, 1998; Rupiya, 1998; Saul, 1999; Pitcher, 2000; de Armiño, 2000; Seibert, 2004).

Interpretations might therefore differ significantly according to who to blame and why. However, the scholars referenced above do unanimously agree on at least three aspects. First, there is the war's predominantly rural character. Not unlike other

countries in the region (Whitehead, 1994), Mozambique's primary economic activity is agriculture. Estimates suggest 80 to 90 percent of the population would have been engaged therein in peacetime (Vincent, 1994: 88, Chingono, 1996: 73). Second, brutality was widespread. Frelick compared Mozambique to Cambodia, claiming it amounted to "the killing fields of Africa *(sic)*" (quoted in Nordstrom, 1997: 40). Third, as implied in that simile, there is the large number of victims. By the war's end, approximately 1 million people had lost their lives. Refugees in neighbouring Malawi, Zimbabwe, and South Africa numbered more than 1, 7 million people, with an additional 4, 3 million IDPs (Pitcher, 2000: 254). For comparative purposes it might be useful to state that the sum of these approximate totals (7 million) amounts to 42% of the estimated 1994 population census (16,6 million) (De Abreu, 1998: 75). All three elements seem well significant to determine women's roles and resilience in connection to the war's repercussions.

Conflict and women's functions in agriculture

Agricultural production clearly appears to (have) be(en)[4] based on an allocation of tasks between men and women. Men would be expected to add to subsistence by generating cash, herding cattle, and clearing and ploughing the land (Urdang, 1989: 58-59). Women, by contrast, carried out all domestic chores, cared for the children, tended gardens, cultivated the produce, collected water and firewood, and hand grinded cereals and groundnuts for food preparation (Kruks and Wisner, 1984: 112; Johnson, 1992: 22). Strobel (1983: 110) calculates that women's work in the fields alone would thus have contributed up to 70% of the necessary efforts. Yet, such input need not necessarily have been socially valued. Madzokere interviewed a group of Mozambican women refugees in Zimbabwe. Over 80% of these initially characterized their activities back

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[4] In using the past tense this author does not ignore possibilities for continuity (Sheldon, 2002).

home as "nothing" (1994: 26). Furthermore, locally, *trabalho*, self-employment and subsistence farming of one's own plot (and therefore women's work), is considered of low standing. *Emprego*, or regular paid employment (mostly men bringing in cash), by contrast, is highly valued (NIZA, 2006: 18-19). Thus, not only can a task distribution be demonstrated but the lack of appraisal of women's efforts too.

To avoid generalization it must be noted that Mozambique was (and remains) highly diverse in terms of its population's composition. It is thought that at independence 22 different ethnic groups lived in its territory (Hall, 1990: 41; Davison, 1997: 140). These ethnic groups also represent(ed) modes of social organization along so-called 'patrilineal' or 'matrilineal' lines. Simplifying greatly, the difference seems to consist in women's ability to access land, to opinion in marital arrangements, and to participate in certain activities. Women in matrilineal groups (concentrated in northern and partially in central Mozambique) would be more advantaged in these respects. But they would still have been subject to men's authority (Mejia, unknown; Sheldon, 2002: 1-43). Women in matrilineal areas apparently were able to allocate more scarce resources to children (Save the Children UK, cited in Nordstrom, 1997: 11).

It seems clear that the civil war required great resilience from women to comply with the demands placed on them. The threat of mines might be a good illustration (O'Kane, 1996: 80). Estimates suggest between one and two million mines were laid in Mozambique[5]. Over 75% of these were laid in the southern and central provinces of Gaza, Manica, Maputo and Sofala. To think the other provinces were less affected ignores the terror they inspired (Human Rights Watch, cited in Gruhn, 1996: 688-690). Yet Nordstrom (2005: 407) reports that women would be the first to set foot on such fields to harvest produce and continue cultivation. Another example might the

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[5] In fairness it must be noted that many had been laid by the Portuguese during the liberation struggle (see reference above).

disruption of the water supply. Evidence indicates RENAMO did not hesitate to poison wells by throwing bodies into them (Magaia, 1988). Consequently women were forced to walk ever greater distances to obtain water, with the accompanying increase in exposure to attack (Sideris, 2003: 715).

Women, co-operatives, and gendered mobility

Chapter I also suggested that conflict would lead women to take on additional roles, most spectacularly new ones but also those of men. In the Mozambican case, demonstrating that supposition might rely precisely on the duties already ordinarily expected of women. Like the Portuguese, FRELIMO appears to have been keen to acknowledge women's importance to agriculture and accordingly enlist them in development schemes tailored around it (Arnfred, 2002). FRELIMO introduced new scales of cultivation such as state and communal farms, co-operatives, and 'Green Zones' to increase supplies to the cities (Urdang, 1989: 45). Focusing on the latter two, he most famous example was probably the General Union of co-operatives (UGC) in the Green Zone surrounding the capital (Harsch, 1999). Given their strategic value and location, and as signs of governmental representation, cooperatives and Green Zones were often attacked. Women in cooperatives not only took on their own fields and their domestic duties in men's absence. They also *gained wages* with which to maintain their families, and learned to plough themselves, even sometimes to drive tractors (Davison, 1997: 185). Doing so allowed women to guarantee the subsistence of many (Sideris, 2003: 719). And in the UGC's case, this appears to have been particularly true of poor and abandoned women by their husbands (Celina Cossa, quoted in Johnson, 1992: 176).

Regarding desertion, Anderson (1992: 95) suggests women might not have left themselves in the hope of helps. Rather, it seems more likely that women would have been less mobile than men, expected to care for dependants and to perform most of the

work. Jacobson suggests women would have been so busy as to be easily left behind. Some men, less encumbered, when warned in advance of impending attack used the chance to head for the towns and cities for safety (1999: 180). Further evidence might be found in reasons for divorces. Occasionally men who returned broke up their marriages for not accepting that women had taken over their roles. Some women, however, did not go this far. Anecdotes suggest some allowed themselves to be manipulated in new relationships in search for protection (Date-bah and Walsh, 2001: 12). But that wartime circumstances led women to overtake men's and new roles while still retaining their own does seem confirmed.

Women and incidents of direct violence

As per the above, women's duties would have often left them vulnerable to direct violence (Nordstrom, 2005: 403). According to Sideris (2003: 715):

"Murder, rape, and mutilation were perpetrated on a mass scale. Homes were plundered, land and crops were burnt, and livestock was butchered. The terror that was instilled in ordinary people and the wholesale destruction of homes and land disrupted the functioning of families and entire communities. ….As the linchpins of domestic life, they [(women)] were strategic targets of attack."

Anderson (1992), Johnson (1992), Nordstrom (1997, 1998) , and Jacobson (1996, 1999, 2005) reach identical conclusions. Regrettably, however, no sex and age-disaggregated guesses of the general totals detailed earlier seem to exist (Baden, 1997: 4). Information appears to be lacking as well regarding the numbers of women that may have been targeted by gender-based and/or domestic violence (De Abreu, 1998: 75).

At least part of the explanation for women's absence in the latter case might derive from the stigma surrounding the first and the cultural acceptance of the second (De Abreu, 1998: 77-78). Domestic violence seems regionally acknowledged as a problem indeed recurrent in both war and peacetime but in need of documentation (Sakala, 1998). That gap might be compensated, however, by descriptions of the

belligerent parties' actions. Most studies tend to condemn only tactics attributed to RENAMO (Barnes, 1998: 119-120), likely due the publicity generated by the Gersony Report. Gersony documented human rights abuses in Mozambique in the late 1980s for the US State Department. He suggested RENAMO operated within so-called 'tax', 'control' and 'destruction' territories. Table T3.1 below summarises these conclusions. Each area clearly entails a greater or lesser degree in which women (and men) were targeted, including involuntary contributions to RENAMO's war effort (Anderson, 1992: 63-65; Nordstrom, 1997: 97; Thompson, 1998; Seibert, 2003: 268-270):

TYPE OF AREA	LOCATION	TYPES OF SUFFERING INFLICTED AND CONTRIBUTIONS REQUESTED
Tax area	Rural, dispersed population	Food, clothes, women for sex, men and women to carry supplies
Control area	Clustered population, immediate vicinity RENAMO base	Six days of work a week to provide food for RENAMO troops; men and women forced to undertake larger, more frequent and more dangerous trips to carry supplies, frequent rape (women and girls)
Destruction area	Areas with governmental representation or important infrastructure	Demolition of buildings, massacres, sustained rape and mutilations, prisoners' forced displacement to control areas

T3. 1 THE GERSONY REPORT ON RENAMO-HELD AREAS AND THE TYPES OF CONTRIBUTIONS REQUESTED FROM AND THE SUFFERING INFLICTED ON THE LOCAL POPULATION.

However, two observations also relevant for Chapter IV might be made. First, it seems equally plausible that women would have voluntarily contributed to RENAMO (Granjo, 05/07/2006). Secondly, the framework suggested all contending parties would nullify odds for a privileged 'home front' position for women (Allen, 2000: 173). It has been uncovered that many attacks and rapes were conducted by FRELIMO to be exploited for propaganda purposes (Venâncio and Chan, 1998: 12). FRELIMO troops and militias were not adverse to forced recruitment and generally coercing locals, particularly when supplies and moral got depleted (Seibert, 2003: 256; 270-272).

Testimonies of rapes by FRELIMO troops are rare but may be so given the trauma attached (Jacobson, 1999: 180). Schafer (2003:233) revealed women in occupied areas would only be marginally safe from sexual abuse in as far as the opposing belligerent party would not attack them. Other authors too suggest FRELIMO and RENAMO ultimately ended up over the control of civilians, which would imply women's labour (Geffray, 1990; Harrison, 2002: 128),

While these last sources have also verified the point about swaying populations' allegiance, they do not entail yet any considerations of women's resistance. According to Kumar (2001: 8), many women were so traumatized by attack as to be unable to leave their homes. To attend only to paralysis ignores however, that women in occupied areas often would farm for their own at night (Baden, 1997: viii). Research has also suggested many families would go hunting and fishing and hid in the bush in makeshift pits (Wilson, 1992). It might seem doubtful that women would still find any value in their work given belligerents targeting of them because of it as just described. Yet, intervies by Sideris (2001, 2003) have revealed that raped women seem to have been able to pour strength to defeat trauma precisely from their tasks, especially childcare. And to support again the point about them taking on new roles, many brewed beer, engaged in pottery and bartered or sold these to make ends meet (Moran and Pitcher, 2004: 512). Both aspects underscore the importance of work. For those women who became refugees or IDPs, improvisation and work equally determined their survival, as will now become apparent.

Women refugees and IDPs

Earlier the lack of disaggregated overall estimates on the war's human costs was mentioned. Women are assumed to have represented the majority of refugees. However, gendered mobility might again have played a role in that men would often be looking

for work outside the camps (Date-bah and Walsh, 2001: 9). An indicator regarding the number of women left to their own devices might be the amount of households they headed on their own. In 1991, the national average was 22, 8%, with 24, 6% in rural and 16, 9% in urban areas. Sketches suggest the real number of women left on their own might be even higher than statistics convey (Jacobson, 1996: 238-239; Baden, 1997: 22). It is well-known that internal displacement increased the number of inhabitants in the Mozambican cities. While not always or inevitably identical, refugee and displaced women appear to have had similar experiences.

Despite the popular perception that refugees in camps depend strictly on relief agencies, surveys have revealed Mozambican women refugees would still be deemed responsible for attending to their usual tasks (Madzokere, 1994: 27; Ager *et al,* 1995: 275). Urdang (1989: 89) observed that phenomenon among internally displaced women in Tete province. That is not to undervalue the efforts of such organizations, which operated in such a large number in some areas as to amount to an "invasion" (Allen, 2000: 182). Rather, the point is that they failed to consider the demands placed on women (Jacobson, 1999: 181). It seems obvious that in both cases women would have been severely handicapped by the lack of access to land of their own (Sideris, 2003: 718-719). Yet, even in the smallest spaces and in the absence of tools and seeds, refugee women appear to have tried to cultivate food, and a limited number even manufactured baskets for sale (Madzokere, 1994; Ager *et al,* 1995). The same applies to displaced women, who when possible also worked as seasonal labour (Baden, 1997: 35). Trying to sell whatever they could obtain and produce led displaced women to become key petty traders in the informal economy (Johnson, 1992: 131-131; Chingono, 1996; Sheldon, 2002: 229-256).

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the double premise of women's agency in internal conflict with reference to Mozambique. On the one hand, it underscored that women would have been affected by it in many ways. And on the other, that despite them women did not hesitate to resist departing from roles old and new. It started by outlining the external, internal and mixed causal approaches to the war and noted three points of coincidence regarding its impact in the literature. These were the war's country locations, abundant cruelty and a large tally; and were then related to women's roles. The existence of a model in which women performed ill-acknowledged most agricultural tasks and the stress disruptions brought on it were confirmed.

Women were seen as taking on new and men's roles both forcibly and voluntarily, using the chance offered by the state or when abandoned. Women were consequently depicted as vulnerable and indeed in the midst of direct violence by both sides. Yet it was equally demonstrated that they would modify normal behaviour and find support in old and new tasks in response, even when traumatised. Finally, women refugees and IDPs were seen to have moved forward when possible by working the land and as marketers in the informal economy.

CHAPTER IV:

MOZAMBICAN WOMEN IN THE RANKS AND PREPARING THE NEGOTIATION TABLE

Introduction

"I will carry the war with me, and that inflames within me a passion to be here, to be a part of my country and help even in its worst moments."

UNKNOWN MOZAMBICAN WOMAN (quoted in Nordstrom, 1997: 8)

This chapter identifies Mozambican women's direct contributions to violence and some indirect ones in bringing about the peace agreement. It has five parts. The first clarifies exactly which women veterans one would be talking about and finds out the extent of their presence. The second does the same but with the forms, or diversity of roles in which they existed in the sides in as far these can be demarcated. The third confirms women's absence among peacemakers while the fourth reveals them as peacebuilders under Catholic and Protestant Church auspices at the grassroots level. The last finds both men and women wielding ethnopraxes at the same stratum of analysis. The evidence presented hereafter and the experiences they reflect should again be treated as complementary. When and where possible, intersections with what came before will be identified as such.

Gender and demobilisation

Mozambicans commonly distinguish *antigos combatentes* ('old combatants') from *desmobilisados de guerra* ('the demobilised of war'). The first term designates those members of the population that took part in the anti-colonial liberation struggle. The second describes veterans from the FRELIMO-RENAMO war subject of this study (NIZA, 2006: 8). Women's military participation against the Portuguese as part of

FRELIMO's *Destacamento Femenino* (Feminine Detachment[6]) has been widely studied (for example, Arthur, 1998; Geisler, 2004). When it comes to them taking up arms on behalf of either FRELIMO or RENAMO, however, scholars appear to have devoted little effort (Sheldon, 2002: 198). No studies consulted excluded women on grounds of them being naturally peaceful (i.e., the essentialist feminist argument). However, some do only characterize government and rebel troops as 'men' (Moorcraft, 1990) or 'brothers' (Alao, 1994; Duarte Santos, 2004). Such language obviously deletes women from the picture.

Chapter II and the aforementioned distinction suggest Mozambique's demobilisation process, which ended in 1994[7], might demonstrate that women indeed were 'there'. The demobilisation process was conducted under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). UNDP formed part of the United Nations Mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), after the conclusion of the Rome peace accords to be turned to later on. The information gathered during demobilisation might plausibly assist to determine the extent and type of women's participation. For such purposes the UNDP count of 98,881 *soldiers*, of which (only) 1. 48 %, or 1,380, were (adult) women, seems interesting (UNDP, cited in Baden, 1997: 72; Date-bah and Walsh, 2001: 14; Nakumura, 2004: 10).

No disrespect is intended for ONUMOZ personnel. But verification has revealed that UNDP only listed those whom it considered to represent a potential security threat. By that criterion UNDP referred to those who handed in firearms and consequently supposedly knew how to use them. Male and female (child and adult) soldiers who did not have any weapons with them, both able-bodied and disabled, were excluded from

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[6] To translate it as "Women's Detachment" would be mistaken given the high number of girls taking part in it (see references above).

[7] This is actually the second demobilisation process in recent Mozambican history. The first would have been the one conducted post-independence, between 1975 and 1978 (Kingma, 2004). For obvious reasons, only the former hereby deserves attention.

the demobilisation process (Baden, 1997: 72; Date-bah and Walsh, 2001: 14). These numbered over 215,000 (!) (Kingma, 2004: 140). Additional evidence might substantiate further that women were present in the ranks, and in far larger numbers than UNDP's headcount of combatants might suggest.

On boarding the vans to the collection areas, both government troops and rebels left many women (and girls) standing by the road. The UNDP only contemplated the possibility of every man having only one wife, and a maximum of five children (Jacobson, 2005: 140). Women need not necessarily always have been abandoned, however. Between 1990 and 1992, official Mozambican Army force levels dropped by 15,000 troops (Kingsma, 2004: 136). FRELIMO near the end had also *allowed* women who had joined as girls to leave when they chose to. Their vacant positions were then occupied by male fighters (McKay and Mazurana, 2004: 110). Voluntary RENAMO supporters may not have been demobilised for simply returning to their villages upon fulfilling their tasks (Granjo, 05/07/2006). Chapter II also suggested that regarding demobilisation and women's absence attention should be paid to stigma (NIZA, 2006: 8). Both women and men indistinctively appear to have had a hard time in returning to their communities. Recent research has confirmed that is particularly true for the former when male relatives left behind refused to accept them (Schafer, 07/07/06; NIZA, 2006). In sum, any possible doubts as to the presence of women among RENAMO and FRELIMO forces can be considered without foundation.

Women's many military roles

With these uncertainties out of the way it becomes possible to analyze the exact forms of women's participation. The totals ONUMOZ compiled appear to validate that women in general tend to perform combatant roles to a lesser extent than men. This seems evident from the described criteria used to calculate these sums (Nakumura,

2004:8). Existing knowledge regarding 'women warriors' in the strict sense of the term regrettably mostly appears confined to anecdotes and interview results. In 1982, the Mozambican national army created popular militias to increase the number of recruits and to better defend the countryside (Cawthra and Chachiua, 2004: 121-122). The majority of militia members seem to have been male. But the OMM (*Organizaçao das Mulheres Moçambicanas)* formally trained approximately 15,000 women to serve in these forces (Sheldon, 1994: 45). A story in Magaia's (1988) collection makes reference to a militia woman part of an area patrol that repelled a RENAMO attack. And Nordstrom (2005: 405-406) describes a woman militia commander who had repeatedly permitted her troops to commit atrocities. Such information, while scarce, seems to suggest that Mozambican women indeed did not fail to use violence.

In theory execution and support of bloodshed and the different roles they imply may overlap (McKay and Mazurana, 2004). Chapter III already analyzed the importance of women's suffering and of their agricultural output as indirect contributions to both FRELIMO and RENAMO's war effort (Gersony, cited in Anderson, 1992: 63-65; in Nordstrom, 1997: 97; in Seibert, 2003: 268-270). Another factor to consider is to treat gender as a prism (Peterson *et al*, 1993: 1-2). RENAMO tended to assign abducted male and female recruits to (different) roles, not just according to what it perceived these should do, but also according to training levels. Illiterate women apparently were assigned to porter and combatant duties, slave labour and/or sexual servitude while those with (some) education would be trained as medics and for intelligence collection (McKay and Mazurana, 2004: 110).

It was locally known that women would conduct reconnaissance prior to attacks on villages (Nordstrom, 1997: 51). There have also been indications of women acting as arms and tactics instructors in both armies (Sheldon, 2002: 198; McKay and Mazurana,

2004: 109). Disenfranchised (women) healers and witch doctors also bolstered RENAMO morale and inspired people to rise up against the government (Hall, 1990: 48; Anderson, 1992: 62; Chingono, 1996: 42). FRELIMO, in return, employed women as political commissars to inspire loyalty and provide ideological education. Interviews have revealed in their case that full military training had been received, which confirms the hypothesis about women combatants' symbolic function (NIZA, 2006: 43-44).

Women were also part of the *Naparama* ('invisible force'), who were overlooked during demobilisation (Baden, 1997: 72). The *Naparama* originated from and liberated large areas of large areas of Nampula and Zambezia provinces from RENAMO between 1990 and 1991. Armed only with machetes and spears, *Naparama* considered themselves immune to bullets thanks to spells from healer Manuel Antonio. *Naparama* fighters would not establish bases or go on lengthy campaigns, but remained in their villages until mobilised (Wilson, 1992; Seibert, 2003: 274-275). Women would therefore not only work the fields, but also marched up front, i.e., acted as combatants (Nordstrom, 1997: 97). Apparently, however, as time passed, women were pushed out of combatant functions to take on (more) support ones such as nursing, spying, and carrying messages (Nordstrom, 1997: 57-62).

Women's absence at the highest level of negotiations

Whether holding a rifle, operating under a FRELIMO/RENAMO banner, or not, women thus had multiple, diverse and significant parts of military significance. This might lead to the question of whether they might also be found at the negotiation table. To keep a war going might be reasonably easy. To end it, however, severe and difficult changes may be required (Boulding, 1988: 288). The document that marks the official end of hostilities between FRELIMO and RENAMO is the General Peace Agreement (GPA). It was signed in Rome on the 4th of October 1992. The metaphorical 'road' to

the GPA can indeed be characterized as lengthy and as arduous. It involved too many phases, factors, individuals, complexities and organizations to explore here (Rupiya, 1998; Venâncio and Chan, 1998; Saul, 1999; Alden, 2001). Since the emphasis here lies on actors, it is important to note that peacemaking took place not just between the principal parties' leadership. It also involved regional actors in the form of the presidents of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya, and South Africa. The Italian, Portuguese, British, and French governments also committed representatives in different phases. Important given one's current purposes is that the query's answer matched the one theoretically predicted. As Jacobson observed (2005: 141):

 "The notion of Mozambican women having an autonomous political agency was largely nonexistent, and there were no women involved at any stage in the actual negotiations."

Women believers: the Churches' social capital

It is commonly agreed that only one non-state actor was there from the beginning: the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Mozambique, through the Mozambican Christian Council (CCM). Each Church, separately at first and from 1984 onwards together through the CCM, attempted to sway the Mozambican government and RENAMO to negotiate. To do so, CCM regularly sent high ranking clergy to intermediate between both, a process which they have continued even after the GPA (Paffenholz, 2001). An eyewitness account by two archbishops only makes reference to "churchmen" as members of these delegations. But they do insist on the importance of their interdenominational approach, drawing on the strength of different dioceses (Sengulane and Gonçalves, 1998). Presumably, in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, those dioceses might be where to find women.

To clarify that possibility using theory, clergy only represent a 'middle level' of leadership in peacebuilding efforts. The 'middle level', as Chapter II graphically illustrated, derives its strength in return from wider society as it might be encompassed

within 'lower levels' (Rupesinghe and Anderlini, 1998: 124). The notion of social capital might also be useful. Social capital can be defined as "those features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, quoted in Jacobson, 1999: 183). Here, social capital might usefully remind that, especially in times of insecurity, Churches, like politicians, may channel the concerns of a *constituency*, namely their believers (Norris and Englehart, 2004: 14-16). Mozambican Churches would be no exception (Saul, 1999: 138; Cock, 2004b: 189). Chingono (1996: 179) confirmed through participant observation that the bulk of believers tended to be poor women, with the leadership of such communities usually in the hands of men. Hence women might have influenced the peace process in this manner. As Date-bah and Walsh observed (2001: 13): "participation of women in the peace process/negotiations was not direct but indirect. Women constituted the majority of members of Church groups which brokered the accords."

Nevertheless, some caution seems recommended prior to believing that what done 'higher up' would necessarily (always) resonate 'below' and *vice versa.* For starters, the concept of 'social capital' is not unproblematic. Arguably, the very possibility of civic engagement social capital intends to facilitate already presupposes its existence. To resolve that impasse, the conditions that give rise to 'unsocial capital' need consideration (Englund, 2002: 26). As stated in Chapter III's review, FRELIMO may have alienated itself from many by attacking traditions and religion. The Churches suffered particularly (Duarte Santos, 2004: 20-21), including seeing its buildings being turned into storage depots for overripe produce, and the halving of the wages of those known to attend them. This obviously failed to aid the cause for forgiveness (Anderson,

1992: 32). It must also be admitted that little is known about the religious and other informal contributions by women (Sheldon, 2002: 37).

But one of the war's particularities seems precisely that Church members continued despite and ultimately overcame FRELIMO hostility (Sitoe, 2002: 29). No references consulted have presented direct evidence of women lobbying Church leaders. The bishops *did* continuously claim to be acting on behalf of all their believers (which would include women) (Sengulane and Gomçalves, 1998: 30). Sceptics might see that as rhetoric. Still, the public prayers and discussions for peace held around the country cannot be ignored (Paffenholz, 2001: 122). Women receive(d) an equal voice as men at these events (Englund, 2002: 100). So the prospect of women's grassroots interaction with the Church does not seem that unlikely.

Peace zones and reintegration ceremonies

The preceding sections have made the indirect contribution of women palpable within a peace process fashioned along lines that could result familiar. Negotiations behind closed doors and mediation normally have nothing distinctively African about them (Fisas, 2004: 182). To find ethnopraxes it must again be recognized that Mozambique is highly diverse. Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole appears rich with customs that could have (had) a bearing on peacebuilding. An added problem to pin them down is that, being socially constructed, these traditions are not static (Berger and White, 1999). To confine analysis, the role of the *curandeiros* and *nyamsuros* (healers and witch doctors) might be considered. Research on post-war healers operating in Gaza province has confirmed that is indeed a gender-free profession. Being able to exercise as a healer or to assist one (*Nhamaricumbe*) requires lineage descent, and having been chosen by the spirits (*sic*) (Igreja, 2003: 467, 473). And they do not depend on outside assistance (Honwana, 1998: 80). Maybe some doubt could be cast on them having any

ethnopraxes to contribute. After all, in this Chapter they have been portrayed as RENAMO supporters (Hall, 1990: 48; Anderson, 1992: 62; Chingono, 1996: 42).

Arguably, however, to be 'blinded' by that last possibility would be formulating a retrogressive judgement of these people. As Chingono amended (1996: 27):

"antiquated views… depict rural populations as passive cultural dopes… rural populations resorted to traditional ideology not only to resist Frelimo, but also as a way of controlling Renamo brutality."

Healers and spirit mediums also created 'peace zones' and conducted reintegration ceremonies. The first refers to the casting of spells to establish corridors through which refugees and internally displaced persons could safely move, or to protect a village from harm. The second would be rituals by which a person would be subjected to a specific treatment to heal from the trauma caused by war experiences (Nordstrom, 1998; Honwana, 1998: 77-80; Moran and Pitcher, 2004: 503, 512). Some might still dismiss such practices, and by implication the women (and men) who employed them, as insignificant, irrelevant, or even obstructive.

Regarding the peace zones, Harrison (2002: 135) suggested they only managed to create "a minimal space out of the widespread violence and insecurity". Kingsma (2004: 150) has expressed similar doubts in the face of large-scale destabilisation. And Quan (1987: 20) would remain adamant in seeing matters only as an illness-based response. Certainly, as with FRELIMO's persecution of Church followers and the hostility that would have generated, a positive effect or success may not always have been obtained. An example would be ritual sexual intercourse to 'help' make raped women recover (Sheldon, 2002: 202-203). And girls and women returning from RENAMO ranks were not always subjected to them (Schafer, 07/07/2006). However, excessive focusing on the hardships of war and shortcomings of these practices might ignore the resistance and peacebuilding they embody. They often imparted a sense of normality in people's lives and eliminated feelings of hostility and anger (Nordstrom,

1998; Moran and Pitcher, 2004). And as Wilson (quoted in Saul, 1999: 150) has acknowledged, precisely Mozambicans' "own peace agreements" made the larger one possible.

Conclusion

This chapter confirmed that Mozambican women's agency extended to backing and inflicting harm, but also to moving towards peace in the middle of wartime. It began by distinguishing the FRELIMO-RENAMO war veterans from those of the liberation struggle. It deplored those accounts that fail to entertain the possibility of women fighting on behalf of FRELIMO and RENAMO. It proved them wrong using demobilisation data. When these were criticised in return inadequate counting procedures were revealed in which many women in need of demobilisation had (sometimes literally) fallen by the wayside. The data did corroborate that women in combatant roles can be expected to have been a minority, with those in support and dependant parts predominating. With the help of fragments a complex picture emerged of women militias, porters, instructors, etc, even operating in a military capacity in a third-party 'people's force' like the *Naparama*.

Attention consequently shifted to the peacemaking sphere, which proved every bit as devoid of women decision makers as imagined. However, looking beyond state actors resulted in attention towards the Catholic and Protestant Churches as brokers of the Rome accords. A social capital predominantly formed by women was uncovered on which these likely depend(ed), despite reasons not to support reconciliation with FRELIMO. Moving towards ethnopraxes, the impossibility of cataloguing a likely huge total of such customs had to be faced. It was decided to build upon what was already known about *curandeiros* and *curandeiras*. Their efforts to establish peace zones and to restore people's wellbeing within and with their communities, if neither always efficient

nor able to cover everyone, were applauded. Time has come to summarize the efforts made and evaluate the success achieved in answering the research question.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation inquired into women's roles in intrastate wars. To formulate an adequate answer first a comprehensive theoretical model was developed. Gender was conceptualized as a prism with which to comprehend behaviour patterns, and the conventional vision of women's place and input as inferior and irrelevant in comparison to men's was challenged. Rather than women who may indeed be paralyzed by warfare, an alternative image of women as actors that employ coping strategies was given priority. It was suggested to find women displaying resistance and becoming involved in new ways within the domestic sphere as well as in occupations outside it. Two other areas of impact of war, direct and indirect types of violence, and forceful abandonment of the home, were also added for that purpose. The second half of the representation extended women's forms of agency to military roles (those of combatant, supporter, and dependant) and to grassroots level peacebuilding. This combination of roles- from women as active survivors to facilitators of change- formed the range of answers sought for.

And found they were when the chosen example of the protracted confrontation in Mozambique between FRELIMO government and RENAMO was analyzed. The heavy toll it took on the population and the contribution of the social relationships between men and women to the dynamics of the violence was noted from the outset. Despite having dissimilar experiences, Mozambican women not only did what they could to feed their families in the face of often the most dire of circumstances. They also took over men's responsibilities in addition to their own and took on new ones as workers in cooperatives, seasonal labour, and petty traders within the informal economy. As farmers and sexual booty, women proved fundamental to the war effort and tactics of the contending parties. Demobilisation data confirmed women's presence,

anecdotal evidence their actions as combatants, spies, cooks, nurses, messengers, prepping up troops, and instructors. In addition they contributed indirectly to diplomacy as part of the Church constituency and as healers, wielding endogenous conflict resolution methods alongside men.

The importance and contributions to knowledge of this study

Following this brief summary, two other concerns might need to be addressed again. On the one hand, whether it might have been important to pursue such a topic. And on the other, if in the process a contribution to knowledge was made, if any. The answer, in both cases, would be affirmative, mutually for theoretical and empirical reasons.

In using women as protagonists, this study has challenged the reigning orthodoxy within Security Studies. Despite over two decades of feminist analysis, Security Studies seems to remain dominated by top-level analyses where implicitly or explicitly standing is attributed to men only (Peterson and True, 1998; Steans, 1998; Enloe, 2001; Youngs, 2004). These pages inverted that angle and revealed the extent to which it depends on women's mostly unacknowledged and not necessarily stereotypical contributions. In doing so any possible ideas as to the 'logical' position of marginality of women were challenged (Enloe, 1996). In this case, that would be the stereotype of women as passive 'victims' versus the active 'heroes' that would otherwise have been men (Elshtain, 1987). Security Studies often seems only preoccupied with analysing the threats (Terriff *et al,* 1999) and arguably in the process misses out on how people themselves might handle insecurity. By linking necessity, pragmatism, initiative, tradition and change, methods have been suggested to comprehend women's ability to carve out otherwise unheard-of chances (Brown, 2005: 175).

Concurrently, by integrating many roles for women, a more holistic view of their capabilities, and indirectly, of human beings becomes possible. McKinnon (quoted in Nussbaum, 1995: 96) once claimed that "being a woman is not yet a way of being a human being." Chapter I mentioned the tendency to distinguish between masculine and feminine qualities (Peterson and True, 1998: 15). Arguably, in restoring agency to women, they have been acknowledged as that little more 'human' than orthodoxy might concede (Nussbaum, 1995). Along the way calls for the diversification rather than generalization of black women's experiences (Carby, 1997; Wanzala, 1998; Mohanty, 2000) were heeded, which should add to further analytical depth. Simultaneously, a case in point was provided to those authors who insist upon the recognition of women's domestic tasks as labour (Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 1983: 480; Johnson, 1992: 22; Steans, 1998: 4). And analyses of women's diverse roles can also be claimed to have shown the changes the war wrought upon Mozambican society (Peterson, 1998a: 15; Brown, 2005: 176).

Women have thus been placed at the centre of the some of the key alterations in Mozambican national history, both for the better and for the worse (Sheldon, 2002). Given the larger geopolitical context of the Cold War, it might be tempting to relegate the case of the Mozambican civil war to the category of 'low intensity' Cold War 'proxy wars'. The verb 'relegate' is hereby used on purpose as a kind of provocation. Arguably, the designations of 'low intensity' and 'proxy wars' can be criticised. The first would represent a euphemism for the scale and forms of suffering of local populations. The second might amount to a rebuff of Africans' ability to influence developments (Banderage, 1994: 31). While not denying that this could equally have been done without specifically focusing on women, Mozambican women's example should prove such thinking wrong. In the words of Chingono (1996: 33):

"in their mutual reciprocal destruction and in their own relentless struggle to survive, the Mozambicans have actively shaped the course of war and their history, though not as they willed it or in conditions of their own choosing."

Concurrently a useful corrective might have been provided to those who deem Africa a 'lost continent' where only violence runs rampant and people lack hope (Banderage, 1994: 29).

Opportunities for future research

Arguably, in making the contributions just described, this dissertation might have fostered a number of opportunities for future research. In that regard, as the saying goes, the limit is one's imagination. But in the first instance it might be possible to add onto what has already been revealed. The array of possibilities for women's roles might be widened to areas that were not explored. For instance, a woman's indirect suffering through the destruction of infrastructure. The weakening and/or disappearance of services might result in a decrease in women's quality of life, opportunities for personal advancement or even their physical integrity (Mazurana *et al*, 2005: 8). Other chances might be women's representation in political decision making bodies (Waylen, 1996), or Chapter II's 'invisible' secretaries and wives of diplomats. If attention would therefore be turned to the state, it might be useful to pay more attention to its influence in women's lives (Peterson, 1998b). More interest could be inverted in differences between and within the different provinces and ethnic groups, and additional ethnopraxes and areas of impact of warfare considered. Women's *motives* when voluntarily contributing to the military effort of either side might also be explored, not just as determinants of the choice of role (Granjo, 05/07/2006), but also in their own right (Brett and Specht, 2004).

Possibly the most important area for expansion might be the usage of gender. Men's experiences and masculinities were largely left out of the equation, and their

inclusion might result in an even more comprehensive analysis (Pankhurst and Pearce, 1998; Zalewski, 1998). The same might apply to boys and girls (Brocklehurst, 1999; McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Mazurana *et al*, 2005). To reach a 'full circle' it might be useful to explore how women contributed to peacebuilding after the accords where signed. It might also be asked whether the changes in women's lives continued after the conflict or if Mozambican society reverted back to the pre-war gender *status quo* (Baden, 1997; Bradshaw and Ndegwa, 2000; Sheldon, 2002; Nakamura, 2004). In the title of one of her studies, Sheldon (1994) incorporates a verse from the Mozambican national anthem. It seems a fitting characterization of what things have been like for women and what they might still be. The line reads: *a luta continua* (the struggle continues).

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