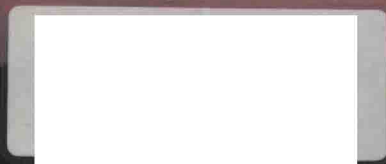


WOMEN & WARS

EDITED BY CAROL COHN



WITH A FOREWORD BY CYNTHIA ENLOE

Women and Wars

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polity

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Women and Wars

For my daughter Mariel
And in loving memory of Edna Kaplan and Sara Ruddick

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
Al-Shabaab	Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (Somalia)
AMB	al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade
ASC	Assembly of Civil Society (Guatemala)
AUC	United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BASIC	British American Security Council
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCPR	Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (United Nations)
BINGO	big international nongovernmental organization
CDF	Civil Defense Forces (Sierra Leone)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CHRGJ	Center for Human Rights and Global Justice
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNDD-FDD	National Council for the Defense of Democracy/Forces of Defense of Democracy (Burundi)
CPC	Civilian Protection Component (Mindanao)
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRSV	conflict-related sexual violence
CSMR	Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia
CSO	civil society organization
DDR	disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPA	United Nations Department of Political Affairs
DRA	Dutch Refugee Association
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EU	European Union
FAD	Feminist Approach to Development
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo
FMLN	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (El Salvador)

FORO	Foro Nacional de la Mujeres (Guatemala)
Frelimo	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
FRODEBU	Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi
GAD	Gender and Development
GAFM	Gender and Forced Migration
GAM	Free Aceh Movement
GBV	gender-based violence
GDP	gross domestic product
GRP	Gender and Reparations Project
GWG	Gender Working Group (Aceh)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IAWG	Interagency Working Group
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICM	Intergovernmental Committee for Migration
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDDRS	Integrated DDR Standards
IDF	Israeli Defense Force
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	internally displaced person
IFI	international financial institution
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMT	International Monitoring Team (Mindanao)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRB	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
IWGRW	International Working Group on Refugee Women
IWNAM	International Women's Network against Militarism
JPuD	Women's Peace Network (Aceh)
JPuK	Women's Policy Network (Aceh)
LoGA	Law on the Governing of Aceh
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women's Peace Network

MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program
M4P	Mothers for Peace
MIRF	Moro Islamic Revolutionary Front
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
MPC	Mindanao Peoples Caucus
MWC	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NKHR	North Korean Human Rights
NIWC	Northern Ireland Women's Coalition
NMA	Naga Mothers' Association
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NSAG	non-state armed group
NWUM	Naga Women's Union of Manipur
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSRSG/CAC	Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict
PCR	post-conflict reconstruction
PIJ	Palestinian Islamic Jihad
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PLA	People's Liberation Army (China)
PMS	premenstrual syndrome
PMSC	Private Military and Security Company
POP	people-oriented planning
POW	prisoner of war
PSO	peace support operation
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
RAWA	Revolutionary Women of Afghanistan
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie
Renamo	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SADF	South African Defense Force
SALW	small arms and light weapons
SDN	Sub-Committee on De-escalation and Normalization (Sri Lanka)
SEA	sexual exploitation and abuse
SGI	Sub-Committee on Gender Issues (Sri Lanka)
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
SIHRN	Sub-Committee on Immediate Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Needs (Sri Lanka)

SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
SPLM/A	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPM	Sub-Committee on Political Matters (Sri Lanka)
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SSNP	Syrian Socialist National Party
SSR	security sector reform
SSWC	Save Somali Women and Children
STD	sexually transmitted disease
STI	sexually transmitted infection
TB	tuberculosis
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
TNT	trinitrotoluene
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur
UNDDR	United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNECHA	United Nations Executive Committee on Humanitarian Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNODA	United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
URNG	Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USCRI	United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
USDOD	United States Department of Defense
VA	United States Department of Veterans Affairs
WAD	Women and Development
WCRWC	Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization

WICM	Women in Crisis Movement
WID	Women in Development
WIFM	Women in Forced Migration
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WREI	Women's Research and Education Institute
WSP	Women Strike for Peace
WTO	World Trade Organization

Contributors

Carol Cohn is Director of the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights and Professor of Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston. Her major research interests include gender and armed conflict, the gendered discourses of US national security elites, and gender mainstreaming in international security institutions.

Malathi de Alwis teaches in the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. She has a PhD in Sociocultural Anthropology and is currently working on postwar processes of memorialization and reconciliation. She is a co-founder of several feminist peace groups and a member of the Women in Conflict Zones Network (WICZNET).

Pamela DeLargy managed the United Nations Population Fund's (UNFPA) humanitarian programs for almost a decade, advocating for attention to women's health in humanitarian settings across the world. She played a lead role in the development of UN responses to sexual violence in conflicts. Currently, she is the UNFPA Representative in Sudan.

Linda Eckerbom Cole is the co-founder and executive director of Community Action Fund for Women in Africa, a non-profit organization working with women and girls in conflict and post-conflict areas.

Wenona Giles teaches at York University, working in the areas of gender, migration, refugee issues, ethnicity, nationalism, work, globalization, and war. She coordinated the international Women in Conflict Zones Research Network and recently completed an international research project concerning protracted refugee situations. She is now working on an international collaborative research endeavor to bring higher education degree programs to long-term refugees in camps.

Ruth Jacobson is a former Lecturer at the Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford in the United Kingdom. In the mid-1980s, she lived and worked in a war zone in Mozambique where she saw the impact on women and girls at close quarters. Subsequently, she has contributed to feminist organizing in the field of humanitarian relief and post-conflict organizations.

Jennifer Mathers is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth University. Her major areas of research and teaching include gender and conflict; from 2007–2010 she edited *Minerva Journal of Women and War*.

Dyan Mazurana is Associate Research Professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and Research Director at the Feinstein International Center, Tufts University. She works with a variety of governments, UN agencies, human rights, and child protection organizations regarding improving efforts to assist youth and women affected by armed conflict, and has worked in Afghanistan, the Balkans, southern, west and east Africa, and Nepal.

Julie Mertus, Professor of Human Rights and Director of the Program on Ethics and Peace at American University, has extensive experience working on gender and conflict issues for a number of governmental and nongovernmental human rights and humanitarian organizations from Albania to Zimbabwe.

Angela Raven-Roberts has managed humanitarian and development programs for organizations including Oxfam America, Save the Children USA, and UNICEF, working in countries including Papua New Guinea and Ethiopia. She holds a PhD in Anthropology, and oversaw the design of the first Master's of Arts in Humanitarian Assistance (MAHA) degree in the USA, at Tufts University.

Tazreena Sajjad is a Professorial Lecturer at the School of International Service at American University. Her research interests include human rights and conflict, transitional justice, humanitarian intervention, human rights in states of emergency and gender and armed conflict. She has also worked as a human rights practitioner and researcher in Afghanistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh.

Foreword: Gender Analysis Isn't Easy

I can't tap dance. I watch old Fred Astaire movies and think, "He makes it look so easy." There are many things I haven't learned how to do – to do calculus, to speak Turkish. Thanks to the hard, patient tutoring of so many feminist friends and colleagues, what I have learned how to do is gender analysis. Of course, friends continue to teach me – I'm not "there" yet.

That is, gender analysis is a *skill*. It's not a passing fancy, it's not a way to be polite. And it's not something one picks up casually, on the run. One doesn't acquire the capacity to do useful gender analysis simply because one is "modern," "loves women," "believes in equality," or "has daughters." One has to *learn* how to do it, practice doing it, be candidly reflective about one's shortcomings, try again. To develop gender analytical skills, one has to put one's mind to it, work at it, be willing to be taught by others who know more about how to do it than you do. And, like any sophisticated skill, gender analysis keeps evolving, developing more refined intellectual nuance, greater methodological subtlety. One has to get to the point where one can convincingly describe the processes of gender analysis and its value to others, including to those who are skeptical, distracted, and stressed out. It takes myriad forms of energy to do gender analysis and to convince others of its necessity.

Carol Cohn and her smart contributors, first, are offering us a sophisticated, up-to-date gender analytical tool kit. Second, they are showing us what can be revealed if we learn how to use that gender analytical tool kit.

It's always more engaging to learn a new set of skills if your guides can show you exactly what you'll see with these tools that you would otherwise miss – and why those new findings matter. For instance, using their gender analytical skills, these contributors expose the diverse forms of violence wielded during wars: guns and bombs aren't the only weapons. They pull back the curtain on the differences between girls' and boys' experiences of being made to serve in adult men's fighting forces. "Children" turns out not to be a very useful category when trying to rebuild any society after a war. Cohn's contributors also show us why we will never usefully understand armed conflicts if we stubbornly focus our attention solely on the immediate war zone; we have to learn how to do gender analyses of refugee camps, of markets, of peace negotiations. Their gender analytical skills make it clear, too, that the months and years so comfortably labeled "postwar" in practice are riddled with wartime ideas about men-as-actors and women-as-victims,

misleading ideas that serve to perpetuate the very conditions that set off the conflict in the first place.

The contributors whom Carol Cohn has brought together are among the most experienced users of gender analytical skills in the globally important (and maddeningly complex) field of war, armed conflict and postwar peacebuilding. Their experiences are of using their gender analytical skills while in the midst of confusing relationships “on the ground.” These are analysts who’ve been in refugee camps where water is short, collecting firewood is risky, power hierarchies are dysfunctional, and donors’ attention spans are short. They are analysts who have sat in long hearings where diplomats with no mud on their shoes decide whether or not a Gender Unit in a peacekeeping operation will get a decent budget. They have talked to women quite reasonably afraid to describe what actually happened to them and their daughters when rival male soldiers swept through their villages. They have met with local women’s groups who have tried to get local male military commanders to listen to their proposals. In New York and capital cities, these gender analysts have lobbied government, nongovernmental organizations, and UN agencies to put aside their usual “only men really matter” ways and, instead, to take women seriously when they evaluate their policies’ outcomes, when they write their peacekeepers’ mandates, and when they allocate their funds.

Thus, as readers, we each can read *Women and Wars* with the triple aims of acquiring new gender analytical skills; finding out what the causes and dynamics of armed conflict look like if we view them through a gendered lens; and learning how to convince others to adopt these crucial gender analytical skills. This is the sort of book you’ll want to make notes on, quote to others, take with you in your knapsack.

Cynthia Enloe

Acknowledgments

No piece of intellectual work is ever solely the product of one mind, and this is perhaps nowhere more true than in the case of a textbook designed to introduce readers to the tremendously rich literature about women and war. This book would not exist without the indefatigable efforts of activists, scholars, and practitioners around the world who work to prevent wars or to bring them more swiftly to an end, to expose wars' gendered workings, and to construct a less violent, more just world. It has been my pleasure and privilege to get know many of them, and to read and read about many more; I deeply regret that this book cannot begin to do justice to the complexity of their thinking or to the courage of their work, but I am enormously grateful for all they have taught me, and hope that they find at least some of it reflected in these pages.

So many friends and colleagues have contributed to the ideas in this book, it will be impossible to thank them all. But I must start with two friends, Cynthia Enloe and Sara Ruddick, with whom I have been in rich dialogue for so long that my thinking often feels like an extended conversation with each of them. There are no adequate ways to describe what their friendship, nuanced thought, fearless originality, intellectual honesty, and personal generosity have meant to me.

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the UN, I have also been lucky to have the friendship and education offered by, among others, Sheri Gibbings, Sylvia Hordosch, Maha Muna, Nadine Puechguirbal, Kristin Valasek, and my sisters in the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. Additionally, it has been a great pleasure and honor to learn from colleagues such as Balghis Badri, Cynthia Cockburn, Luz Méndez, Ndeye Sow, and Dubravka Zarkov.

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This book has truly been a collective effort. The idea for it was hatched between Louise Knight, of Polity Press, and Laura Sjoberg, who brought me into the project. I am grateful to Laura for the extensive work she put into the early stages of this project, and to Louise, Emma Hutchinson, and David Winters at Polity for their support and guidance throughout the development of this book, and for their patience. The early stages of this project also benefited greatly from the collective wisdom of the "April 11th group," which came together to brainstorm the conceptual framework for the book; participants included Dinu Abdella, Cynthia Enloe, Ruth Jacobson, Ramina Johal, Milkah Kihunah, Jennifer Klot, Dyan Mazurana, Sandy McEvoy, Julie Mertus, Sonali Moonesinghe, Selma Scheewe, and Laura Sjoberg.

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