

Girls in Fighting Forces and Groups: Their Recruitment, Participation, Demobilization, and Reintegration

Dyan E. Mazurana

*Women's Studies Program
University of Montana*

Susan A. McKay

*Women's Studies Program
University of Wyoming*

Khristopher C. Carlson

University of Montana

Janel C. Kasper

University of Wyoming

The question "Where are the girls?" is seldom raised in discussions about children or adolescents who are members of fighting forces and groups. This is due in large part to the near exclusive focus on boy soldiers. Consequently, scant attention has been given to girls' active involvement and distinct experiences in these forces and groups, whether as combatants or noncombatants. The purpose of this article is to explicate the presence and experiences of girls in fighting forces and groups and some of the challenges they face after they leave these forces and groups and attempt to resume their lives within their communities. We use descriptive data gathered from a wide variety of organizational and scholarly reports to identify girls' involvement and roles in these forces and groups, detail how they are recruited and demobilized, and examine common physical and psychosocial effects of their participation. We contend that

during and after armed conflicts, gender-specific physical and psychological impacts must be understood so that both boys and girls receive effective help. Because little is presently known about girls' distinct experiences, programs and policies that might assist them to heal and recover more rapidly from physical and psychosocial trauma are seldom developed. By being knowledgeable about and sensitive to girls' distinct experiences and needs, psychologists can help assure that girls, along with boys, receive more effective psychosocial assistance.

In this article, we explicate the presence of girls in fighting forces and groups and some of the challenges they face after they leave these forces and groups and attempt to resume their lives within their communities. Our use of descriptive data gathered from a wide variety of organizational and scholarly sources details girls' recruitment, roles, and demobilization in fighting forces and groups, and examines common physical and psychosocial effects of their participation. We contend that during and after armed conflicts, gender-specific physical and psychological impacts must be understood so that both girls and boys receive effective help.

We use the concept of gender as an analytical tool to reveal and illuminate girls' active involvement and distinct experiences in fighting forces and groups in armed conflict and during reintegration within their communities. Gender refers to the socially constructed differences between men and women and boys and girls. Gender is about the social roles of men, women, boys, and girls and relationships between and among them. The experiences and concerns of men, women, boys, and girls before, during, and after wars and armed conflicts are shaped by their gendered social roles. These roles are in turn formed by cultural, social, economic, and political conditions, expectations, and obligations within the family, community, and nation. Because gender is not natural or biological, it varies over time and across cultures.

Gender is shaped by and helps shape concepts and experiences of ethnicity, race, class, poverty level, and age. The categories of men, women, boys, and girls are not without complexity or controversy. The use of monolithic terms such as "girls," "boys," "girls' experiences," or "boys' experiences" does not account for the diversity and stratification among girls and boys and the effects of ethnicity, race, class, poverty level, age, and geographic location. Consequently, these other factors greatly influence individual girl's and boy's positions and responses. Although in this article we draw on gender to assist in describing and analyzing girls' presence and experiences within fighting forces and groups, as well as their experiences in attempting to reintegrate after they have left these forces, a gender perspective could also be used to gain further insight into the roles and experiences of boys under similar circumstances.

The effects of armed conflict on children and their multiple roles within fighting forces and groups as fighters, spies, lookouts, medics, porters, cooks, agricultural laborers, in providing general support, and being forced into serving as sexual

slaves have been the subject of recent reports (Amnesty International [AI], 1997, 1999; Brett & McCallin, 1998; Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers [Coalition], 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2000e, 2001; Cohn & Goodwin-Gill, 1994; Human Rights Watch [HRW]/Children's Rights Project, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1997; United Nations [UN], 1996b; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children [Women's Commission], 2001).

Notable international actions on behalf of such children include initiatives by the International Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers [hereafter called the Coalition]. Established in 1998, the Coalition advocates for the acceptance of, and adherence to, national, regional, and international legal laws and standards, including the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which recently entered into force; it promotes ending military recruitment and use of children under the age of 18 in hostilities by all fighting forces and groups. The Coalition was founded by AI, HRW, the International Save the Children Alliance, Jesuit Refugee Service, the Quaker United Nations (UN) Office (Geneva), and International Federation Terre des Hommes. These six international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were then joined by Defense for Children International, World Vision International, and regional and national NGOs from Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. The Coalition maintains active links with the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF); the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement; the UN Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights; and the Office of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict.

In addition to the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, other important legal achievements on behalf of children in fighting forces and groups include the International Labour Organizations' Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182; the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; and passage of Security Council Resolution 1261, which directs the Secretary-General to act on the behalf of children affected by armed conflict, including child soldiers, to ensure the training in children's rights of peacekeepers deployed by the Security Council under the Secretary-General. Finally, the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court lists recruitment of child soldiers by fighting forces or groups into hostilities as constituting a war crime.

Prior to 2000, the question "Where are the girls?" was seldom raised in discussions about children or adolescents in fighting forces and groups, either as combatants or noncombatants. Importantly, just as the use of child soldiers had been a largely invisible and unacknowledged international phenomenon until the efforts of members of the Coalition, scant attention has been given to girls' distinct experiences and the effects of gender-specific human rights violations. With the notable exception of data compiled by the Coalition, the majority of reports and international initiatives continue to use the ambiguous term "child sol-

diers" or "children," almost always meaning boys, and do not identify differential impacts for girls and boys when they are or have been members of these fighting forces or groups. For example, in one report that documents children's roles in combat, only boys are quoted and interviewed, although girls were members of fighting forces or groups in seven out of the eight country case studies discussed (HRW/Children's Rights Project, 1996).

Throughout this article, we use the definition of child soldier found in the Cape Town Principles. A child soldier is

any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers, and those accompanying such groups, other than purely as family members. It includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms. (UNICEF, 1997, p. 1)

UNICEF further states that most child soldiers are "adolescents, although many are 10 years of age or younger. The majority are boys, but a significant proportion overall are girls" (Machel, 2001, p. 7).

Although girls' participation in fighting forces and groups is beginning to be identified, this information is often embedded in one or several paragraphs of larger reports or conference proceedings. The information is typically minimized and can be misleading because of unsubstantiated generalizations or lack of analysis. We also find that among quotes and anecdotes used in reports, often the mention of girls is relegated to worst-case scenarios of sexual violence, which highlight girls as "wives," rewards for soldiers' valor, or victims of sexual terror. Although it is not our intent to minimize the occurrence or severity of sexual violence, a near exclusive focus on these scenarios obscures the complexities within and extent to which girls serve in a variety of overlapping roles.

Seldom are girls in fighting forces and groups viewed holistically or contextually within specific armed conflicts, geopolitical and cultural contexts, time periods, countries, or regions. Very little is known regarding the distinct physical, emotional, and spiritual long-term, even lifetime, effects of girls' experiences within fighting forces and groups. Likewise, the varying nature of girls' role expectations and their relationships with men, boys, women, and other girls in fighting forces or groups have yet to be studied. Long-term systematic follow-up, even as recently as a year after the fighting stops, of what has happened to these girls and their babies and children, is largely absent. Consequently, policies and programs developed to address the needs of these girls are poorly informed or, too often, nonexistent. For psychologists who help plan, develop, and work within programs designed to assist child soldiers or children affected by war, improved understanding of girls' involvement can lead to more effective psychosocial assistance for both boys and girls.

Recently, international actors, including governments, NGOs, and the UN, have raised questions about the knowledge gap that exists concerning girls' experiences during and after armed conflicts. Much of this increased attention is an outcome of the UN report, "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children" (McKay, 1998; UN, 1996b), and its follow-up report, "The Impact of War on Children" (Machel, 2001). These reports bring attention to the recruitment and roles of girls associated with fighting forces and groups and the difficulties they face in reintegrating with their families and communities and securing economic livelihood. Recent research is also beginning to shed some light on the experiences and challenges facing girls in fighting forces and groups.¹

A BRIEF HISTORY OF GIRLS AT WAR

Few historical accounts exist of girls' participation in warfare. Yet, it is inaccurate to imagine that girls' engagement in fighting forces and groups is a 20th and 21st century phenomenon. Although at times involuntary, throughout the history of armed conflicts, girls' active participation has been fundamental to military strategy. Girls and boys have served in numerous capacities while traveling en masse with large armies. In the 5th century, Persian forces marched off to battle with large trains of women and children, whereas the First Crusade of 1095 included over 600,000 civilians, many of them children. The ill-fated Children's Crusade in 1212 saw large numbers of its 30,000 child crusaders sold into slavery and countless more drowned in the Mediterranean Sea. In the late 17th century, girls followed the French revolutionary army so they could "turn old linen into bandages" (De Pauw, 1998, p. 134).

Joan of Arc is the most well known of all Western girl soldiers. At 16, she led an army of 4,000 against the English and succeeded in expelling them from Orleans in 1429. A year later, captured by Burgundian soldiers and sold to the English, Joan died a martyr at the stake. Centuries later, a 14-year-old Cossack named Marina Yurlova unexpectedly found herself in the front lines of World War I as a private in the Army. Vulnerable because of her youth and sex, Yurlova endured recurrent verbal, physical, and sexual assaults by the same Cossack troops she depended on for survival. At the same time Yurlova was fighting Turkish forces in Armenia, another 14-year-old girl, Jesusa Palancares, joined her father as a federales' spy during the Mexican Revolution. Fighting

¹See, for example, Bah, 2000; Coalition, 2000e; 2001; Efraime 1999; Lamwaka, 2001; Mazurana & McKay, 2001a; McKay & Mazurana, 2000; Nordstrom, 1997a, 1997b; Physicians for Human Rights [PHR], 2000; Sommers, 1997; Stavrou, Stewart & Stavrou, 2000; Thompson, 1999; Women's Commission, 2000, 2001; World Vision, 1996.

against Palancares was 15-year-old Angela Jiménez who, motivated by the memory of a federales soldier's attempted rape of her sister and her subsequent suicide, vowed to kill federales (Salas, 1990).

Perhaps the most intriguing historical female army comes from the African kingdom of Dahomey, today's Benin. Thriving in the 18th and 19th centuries, Dahomean culture revered its female warriors as superior to male forces. Girls who trained to be warriors followed a code of celibacy to keep them free of emotional ties and potential restrictions associated with pregnancy. To maintain the strength of the king's female forces, fathers were to report every 3 years with daughters between the ages of 9 and 15, with the most fit selected for military duty. Slave girls were enlisted and carried weapons and gear into battle (Edgerton, 2000). Some contend that the waning of the Dahomey girl warrior tradition was because the Dahomey eventually lost so many girls in battle that its population could no longer support an army strong enough to defend itself. Others attribute the decline to policies implemented by English colonial powers that excluded all females from combat roles (Jones, 1997). Although other historical examples exist, our point here is that girls have participated in fighting forces and groups in the past, as well as throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century.

GIRL SOLDIERS IN FIGHTING FORCES AND GROUPS,
1990–2002

Today, the participation of girl soldiers in fighting forces and groups continues throughout the world.² Our descriptive findings in this section focus on the use, roles, and experiences of girls in fighting forces and groups from 1990 through the present (2002). This time period was chosen for three primary reasons. First, due to the work of the Coalition, its individual members, human rights and child advocacy groups and activists, journalists, governmental and UN bodies, and

²To compile data included in all figures and tables presented here, our methodology was to locate three independent sources that confirmed the presence of girls in the various forces or groups in the particular country. For the most part, it is not possible to draw on academic sources to attain this information because to date there has been little systematic documentaion or analysis of the use of girls. In most cases, the sources of information we relied on were newspaper articles from around the world, reports sent into or produced by the UN or humanitarian aid organizations, and correspondence with humanitarian officials within the UN and international NGOs. Because listing of these numerous sources is unreasonable for a journal article, we cite the Coalition data (which we also relied upon and which draws upon many of the same sources) and supplement it with our own sources when necessary. In several cases, while it is widely reported that children are used, we have been unable to confirm the use of girls using our methodology and so do not include those countries in our tables.

scholars, the phenomenon of girl and boy soldiers in fighting forces and group has come to the forefront with resultant worldwide sources of information that previously have not been available. Second, placing emphasis on girls in these forces and groups during this time period allows us to highlight and analyze their needs, as well as their central roles within the larger context of armed conflicts. Third, by documenting and analyzing the ways in which girls recently currently participate in fighting forces and groups, we are hopeful that the work will influence governmental and humanitarian policy and programs regarding war-affected communities, reconstruction, and peacebuilding.

Figure 1 presents data on the worldwide presence of girls in government forces, paramilitary or militia forces, and armed opposition groups for the year 1990 to 2002. For our purposes, government forces consist of the official governmental branches of the fighting forces (e.g., Army, Navy, or Air Force). Paramilitary forces are those groups that are (covertly or overtly) trained and equipped by the government and can be used by it to supplement its regular forces. Militias are bodies of nonprofessional citizen-soldiers; in the majority of cases, militias operate with some support from the government or are condoned by the government. Armed opposition groups are those nongovernment groups engaged in armed struggle against a government or other rival forces or groups.

Between 1990 and 2002, girl soldiers were present in fighting forces and groups in 54 countries (see Figure 1). Of those 54 countries, girl soldiers were involved in armed conflicts in 36 of these countries between 1990 and 2002 (see Table 1). In all 36 countries where girl soldiers were involved in armed conflicts, the conflicts were internal wars. In other words, girl soldiers were engaged in armed conflict within a country's borders. In addition, girl soldiers were participants in international armed conflicts (fighting between or among nations) in several of these 36 countries, including Lebanon, Macedonia, Uganda, and the Sudan. For example, child soldiers reportedly comprise nearly 80% of the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda. The LRA is active in fighting both the government forces of Uganda within the Ugandan borders, and

TABLE 1
Girl Soldiers Present in Armed Conflict, 1990–2002

<i>Africa</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Middle East</i>
Angola	Colombia	Cambodia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Iraq
Burundi	El Salvador	East Timor	Macedonia	Israel
Democratic Republic of Congo	Guatemala	India	Northern Ireland	Lebanon
Eritrea	Honduras	Myanmar	Spain	Turkey
Ethiopia	Mexico	Nepal	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	
	Peru	Philippines		

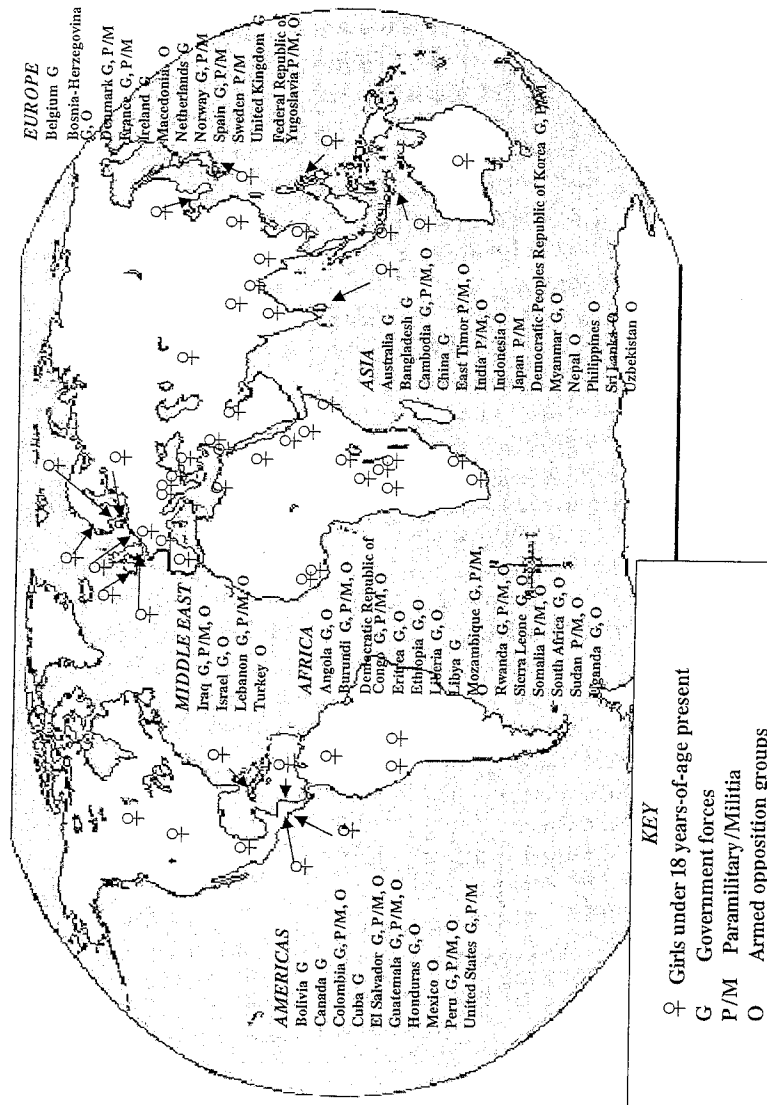


FIGURE 1 Girls in government forces, paramilitary/militia, or armed opposition groups, 1990–2002.

well as collaborating with the government forces of Sudan to fight rebel groups inside southern Sudan.

As Figure 1 and Table 1 illustrate, the presence of girl soldiers has been widespread throughout the last decade, including their involvement in armed conflict. Between 1990 and 2002, several armed opposition groups, in particular, relied on girls. In Peru, the Shining Path reportedly had one of the “largest female contingents of any armed group in the world” (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2000b, p. 8), and in the cases of fighting groups in Angola, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, it was reported that approximately 30% to 40% of child soldiers were girls (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2000a, 2000e, 2001). Girl soldiers made up 10% of Kurdish fighting groups (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2000d), and evidence is widespread of a high degree of use of girl soldiers by the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. Throughout northeast India, girls reportedly comprise 6% to 7% of children recruited or forcibly abducted into fighting groups, and at times these girls are forced to provide sexual and domestic labor (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2001). As Table 2 illustrates, the involvement of girl soldiers in war continues today.

GIRLS' ENTRY INTO FIGHTING FORCES AND GROUPS

Girls enter fighting forces and groups by a variety of avenues, including active recruitment, volunteering, and abduction or gang pressing. These entry methods may overlap. With the exception of Somalia, Sweden, and possibly Eritrea and Bangladesh, in all countries where girl soldiers are present (see Figure 1), some of these girls were actively recruited. Recruitment is the systematic targeting of girls by fighting forces or groups to join their organizations and occurs in several ways. To illustrate, during the assault on Kosovo by the fighting forces of

TABLE 2
 Girl Soldiers Present in Countries Experiencing Armed Conflict as of January 2002

Africa	Americas	Asia	Europe	Middle East
Angola	Colombia	India	Spain	Israel
Burundi		Myanmar		Lebanon
Democratic Republic of Congo		Nepal		Sri Lanka
Liberia		Philippines		
Somalia				
Sudan				
Uganda				

the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) stepped up its recruitment of ethnic Albanian girls and boys in several nations, including the United States. When these girls arrived in the Balkans, they, along with hundreds of other volunteers from around the world, received 15 days of training before being sent to the front lines to fight against the battle-hardened fighting forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which had been at war for a decade (Hajrizi, 2001; Shkullaku, 1999). Like the KLA, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has bases in several countries, most notably Turkey and Iraq, and carries out aggressive, systematic recruitment of girls and boys throughout Europe and parts of the Middle East. The Angola Armed Forces operates recruitment schemes promising high pay to attract Namibian girls and boys into their ranks (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2001). Likewise, the (then) rebel forces of RENAMO in Mozambique promised scholarships to study abroad to attract adolescent boys and girls into its forces; few if any scholarships were ever given.

In all countries where girls were present in fighting forces and groups (see Figure 1), some of these girls chose to join.³ However, the notion of choosing to volunteer is highly contested; many girls' options already are so limited that the idea that they freely make this choice is doubtful. According to a recent report on the situation of children in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, the choices facing girls and boys are "to join the military, become a street child, or die" (Refugees International, 2002, p. 1). Girls may enter fighting forces and groups because they provide food, shelter, and a sense of security, as in Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sri Lanka. In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge deprived villages of food supplies to force girls and boys to join. At times, girls may join to obtain an income or to further their employment options, including government, political, or military careers. In some countries, girls face compulsory military service, as in Cuba and the Philippines. In Colombia, girls reportedly joined various fighting groups because they had fallen in love with guerrilla boys, as well as for ideological and financial reasons (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2001).

Abduction occurs when girls are kidnapped or seized by fighting forces or groups and forced to serve in them, as confirmed in 27 countries between 1990 and 2002 (see Table 3). For example, in northeast India, hundreds of girls and boys have been separated from their families, subjected to physical abuse, and abducted by the United Liberation Front of Assam for its struggle against the Indian government and numerous other fighting groups in the region. In Nepal, the rebel Communist Party of Nepal/United People's Front beats girls and boys who

TABLE 3
Girls Abducted Into Armed Forces and Groups, 1990–2002

<i>Africa</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Middle East</i>
Angola	Colombia	Cambodia	Germany	Iraq
Burundi	El Salvador	India	Northern Ireland	Turkey
Democratic Republic of Congo	Guatemala	Indonesia	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	
Ethiopia	Peru	Myanmar		
Liberia		Nepal		
Mozambique		Philippines		
Rwanda		Sri Lanka		
Sierra Leone		East Timor		
Somalia				
Sudan				
Uganda				

refuse to join their ranks, and as abducts resistant children. In Sri Lanka, the LTTE frequently targets schools for sweeps to gather girls and boys into its forces, compelling teachers to hand over students or face severe reprisals. In Colombia, Ethiopia, and Mozambique, fighting forces and groups gang pressed and abducted girls and boys from discotheques and marketplaces or enroute to schools and markets (Coalition, 2001).

Throughout the 1990s and today in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, girls have become primary targets of fighting forces and groups who abduct them to be part of fighting forces and groups, including to serve as sexual and domestic slaves. During some of the fiercest fighting in Sierra Leone (1992–1996), the majority of the camp members of the rebel Revolutionary United Front/Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (RUF/AFRC) reportedly were captive girls. Estimates placed up to 80% of all RUF forces as children between the ages of 7 and 14 (Sommers, 1997), with 30% of the forces made up of girl soldiers (Coalition, 2001).

Porous borders, poorly monitored checkpoints, and well-orchestrated schemes to recruit children into fighting forces and groups all allow for the international recruitment and abduction, transport, and trafficking of hundreds of girls worldwide (see Table 4). Although most perpetrators are nongovernment fighting groups, both government and nongovernmental forces and groups are conducting cross-border abductions to obtain child soldiers. In such cases, chances decrease that these girls and boys will be able to enter demobilization programs or return home. For example, the rebel LRA abducts girls and boys from northern Uganda, transporting them to camps in southern Sudan; many children abducted from Uganda by the LRA and taken to LRA bases in Sudan

³Possible exceptions include Bangladesh, Somalia, and Uganda (Coalition, 2001).

die in battle, as well as in their attempts to escape and reenter Uganda (Temmerman, 2001). The PKK has also forcibly recruited girls from Germany to fight in Turkey (Coalition, 2000a, 2001). In the Democratic Republic of Congo, abducted girls arrive from Burundi, Uganda, and Rwanda (Coalition, 2001). It has also been reported that the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia abducts girls from Venezuela to perpetuate its military efforts against the government of Colombia (Coalition, 2000a, 2001).

Girls may also enter in other ways. In Colombia, Sri Lanka, and Uganda, girls whose parents are members are "born into" the various fighting groups and they may become actively involved in armed conflicts as they grow up. In other instances, girls are given to fighting groups by parents as a form of "tax payment," as in Colombia and Cambodia. In Myanmar, in attempts to alleviate ruinous disruptions in family incomes, daughters and sons are sent, in place of their parents, to perform mandatory labor for government fighting forces (Coalition, 2000c).

Although there is increasing information regarding the presence of girls in fighting forces and groups in general, there are few specifics. Rarely are the numbers of girls in particular fighting forces or groups known, especially when they enter through abduction. In the rare cases of abduction where data is collected, seldom is that data gender-disaggregated. In the instances where boys and girls join, there is little knowledge about how gender roles and identities are mobilized by fighting forces and groups to boost recruitment. During recruitment, fighting forces and groups play to children's concerns about personal and economic security, their ability to contribute to a change in the government, their ideas of personal identity, including fitting in with peer groups, and much more. None of these are gender-neutral. Consequently, more gender-specific data on the numbers of girls and boys involved in fighting forces and groups, ab-

TABLE 4
Girls Abducted and Transported Across International Borders
By Country Where Abductions Occur, 1990-2002

<i>Africa</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Middle East</i>
Burundi Democratic Republic of Congo Liberia Rwanda Sierra Leone Sudan Uganda	Colombia		Germany Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	Iraq Turkey

duction patterns, and recruitment and joining measures, are necessary to inform effective prevention and rehabilitation programs.

GIRLS' ROLES WITHIN FIGHTING FORCES AND GROUPS

Girls perform a variety of roles within fighting forces and groups. The roles they carry out may be reflective of tasks that they would perform during the nonmilitary course of their lives, such as cooking, cleaning, gathering and preparing food, and child care and rearing. The important distinction here is the extent to which these "routine" tasks become militarized and serve fighting forces and groups. The militarization of women is recognized as crucial for the militarization of governments, international relations, and armed opposition groups (Enloe, 2000):

Militarization is the step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend on it for its well being on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or a society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only normal but valuable. (Enloe, 2000, p. 3)

A focus on girls in fighting forces and groups enables us to begin to see the centrality of the militarization of girls in fueling and supporting armed conflict. By taking the roles of girls in fighting forces and groups as a serious topic of study, we gain a deeper understanding of the factors and underlying stimuli influencing and driving armed conflicts. However familiar it might appear on the surface, there is nothing "natural," that is, typical or normal, about girls performing tasks for fighting forces or groups. On the contrary, the kinds of tasks and roles girl soldiers are allotted and in some cases forced to undertake are part of a larger planning process deliberately created by those looking to sustain and gain from the armed conflict. Thus, the roles of girl soldiers must be considered as an integral part of the conflict, a window through which we might gain a deeper understanding of the overall conflict itself. What this also means is that demilitarization of these girls needs to be in the forefront of the minds of those planning prevention and reintegration programs.

Gender does not necessarily dictate roles in fighting forces and groups. In Liberia and Uganda, for instance, although most girls experienced sexual violence and the majority of boys are used as fighters, some boys were forced into sexual servitude whereas some girls were front-line fighters (Thompson, 1999). Importantly, almost all reports of child soldiers being forced into sex are in regard to forced heterosexual sex, with male soldiers forcing female soldiers. At this point, forced homosexual sex and the sexual abuse of boy soldiers is an issue even more invisible than the use of girls. Clearly, this is an area where more research is needed and that has important implications for boys' physical and psychosocial recovery.

During the 1990s, girls operated as combatants in countries worldwide, a phenomenon that continues today (see Table 5).

In the 1990s, in countries in every region of the world, girl soldiers served in fighting forces and groups as porters and cooks, and performed a variety of domestic labor duties. They acted as spies to collect, provide, and transport information and as porters to carry supplies and to loot villages taken over by fighting forces or groups. According to a 16-year-old girl in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

My sister and I joined the army because our parents were dead, and we had no jobs. I went to the front line many times, and my sister was sent to the enemy to be a spy. Girls were sent to be prostitutes and get information from the enemy. This is how my sister was used. (Refugees International, 2002, p. 2)

Girls have carried out suicide and bombing missions, such as in Sri Lanka, and are forced to sweep paths for land mines. Girls in the front lines have conscripted, abducted, or gang pressed other girls and boys into fighting groups, as in Angola, Albania, Kosovo, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Uganda. At times, they have been forced to punish other children—such as the killing of those who try to escape, as reported in Colombia, Uganda, and Sierra Leone (Coalition, 2001).

Girls are often systematically ordered or forced to provide sexual services to young men and adult men (see Table 6). According to a 13-year-old girl fighter from Honduras

Later I joined the armed struggle. I had all the inexperience and the fears of a little girl. I found out that girls were obliged to have sexual relations to alleviate the sadness of the combatants. And who alleviated our sadness after going with someone we hardly knew? (United Nations, 1996b, p. 29)

TABLE 5
Girls Serving as Fighters in Armed Conflict, 1990–2002

<i>Africa</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Middle East</i>
Burundi	Colombia	Cambodia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Iraq
Democratic Republic of Congo	El Salvador	East Timor	Macedonia	Israel
Eritrea	Guatemala	India	Northern Ireland	Lebanon
Ethiopia	Honduras	Myanmar	Spain	Turkey
Liberia	Mexico	Nepal	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	
Mozambique	Peru	Philippines		
Rwanda		Sri Lanka		
Sierra Leone				
Sudan				
Uganda				

TABLE 6
Girl Soldiers Forced to Provide Sexual Services, 1990–2002

<i>Africa</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Middle East</i>
Angola	Colombia	Cambodia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	
Burundi	Honduras	India	Kosovo	
Democratic Republic of Congo	Peru	Indonesia		
Liberia		Myanmar	Timor	
Mozambique				
Rwanda				
Sierra Leone				
Sudan				
Uganda				

In most cases, the bodies of abducted girls, and their domestic and sexual labor, are commodities to be traded. For example, in Colombia, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, male commanders are rewarded with abducted girls forced to become their “wives” and sexual and domestic slaves (Sommers, 1997; Stavrou et al., 2000). However, the sexual abuse of girl soldiers may not be a common feature or pattern within some armed forces and groups wherein some girls are joining, as for example in Sri Lanka; more research is needed in this area.

It is important to recognize that girls perform or are forced to perform many overlapping roles, thus making clear distinctions inaccurate; for example, fighters versus “wives,” spies versus prostitutes, or porters versus mine sweeps. Also crucial to note is that not all girl soldiers perform all functions. For instance, thus far we have found no evidence to suggest that girls are systematically required to provide sexual services in the LTTE (Sri Lanka) or the PKK (Turkey), unlike in the RUF (Sierra Leone) and LRA (Uganda). Consequently, girls should be viewed within the specific context of the fighting force or group, the larger political, social, cultural, and economic context of the conflict itself, and the multiple roles they play within it.

GIRLS' PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOSOCIAL HEALTH EFFECTS

In this section, we describe some gender-specific physical and psychological health problems of girls who are or have been associated with fighting forces and groups. Although psychologists are essentially concerned with the emotional and mental well-being of people, broader physical health effects occur to both individuals and communities that must be taken into account as essential to restoring psychosocial health. One cannot have a body that has been grievously

injured—whether personal or collective—and not simultaneously experience psychological effects. Thus, we address both physical and psychosocial health effects on girls and their communities with the hope that, increasingly, psychologists will embrace the importance of integrating emotional, mental, psychological, and spiritual health as essential components of policies and programs that address trauma and promote healing of war-affected children. An important component throughout is that girls, because of their gender, will have some health effects that differ from boys.

Community health effects. During wars, community infrastructures are destroyed through deliberate enemy actions such as burning crops and targeting of health facilities, water and electric supplies, and housing. For example, in Mozambique, government-built health facilities and health workers were deliberately targeted by RENAMO, as were family homes. Compounding infrastructure destruction is environmental damage that lingers long after armed conflicts end. The widespread use of land mines is another area of critical concern as indiscriminate mines are often triggered by children as they work, travel, or play. Girls and women are at particular risk from land mines because they are often responsible for searching for food, water, and fuel, or tending fields.

The UN Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children (McKay, 1998; United Nations, 1996b) highlighted major health effects of armed conflicts on girls and women, notably pregnancy and birth complications, lack of health and medical infrastructure, and the health effects of sanctions that disproportionately affect women, girls, and boys. In its report on adolescents affected by armed conflict, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2000) observed that although the international health response is the most developed and coordinated sector regarding international humanitarian intervention, little is known about the variety of health problems affecting adolescents during armed conflicts, and few programs target this age group or younger children. We hypothesize that even fewer organizations and programs direct their attention to the specific needs of girls. Consequently, although all members of a community experience effects when the public health infrastructure is damaged or destroyed, girls may particularly be at risk. Their heightened risk comes as a result of their lower status compared to boys, and the higher likelihood that their lives will be characterized by inequalities such as having less food to eat, receiving poorer health care, undertaking heavier work loads, and experiencing decreased choices and freedoms when compared with boys in their communities (Mazurana & McKay, 2001b).

Sexual and reproductive health effects. Girls' vulnerability, size, and low status make them susceptible to widespread physical and psychological abuse

and sexual assault by boys and men. A 15-year-old Mandingo girl in Sierra Leone who was abducted by the RUF and later escaped, told the following story:

I was a virgin before. They ruined me ... I was at home when they came and kidnapped me ... They undressed five of us, laid us down, used us in front of my family and took us away with them. I couldn't walk—the pain ... I was bleeding from my vagina. (Physicians for Human Rights, 2000, p. 3)

In Uganda, girls abducted by the LRA have been "married" to rebel leaders and subsequently sexually assaulted. If the man dies, the girl may be "married" to another rebel after going through ritual cleansing. Some benefit occasionally resulted from such liaisons, including protection from sexual assault by other men (United Nations, 1996b). "Wives" also at times receive leftovers from their men whereas boy children did not have this access to food (World Vision, 1996).

Inevitably, abused and sexually assaulted girls suffer from serious reproductive health problems that are often accompanied by psychological sequelae. Forced sex can result in abdominal pain, cervical tearing, bleeding, and infection (ISIS-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange, 1998). A health worker at Kiowko hospital in Uganda reported the following:

Women got huge swellings in their private parts whose tips resembled those of pineapples. Perhaps the uterus crumbled and got deformed due to over-penetration by too many men, which also resulted into premature births, abortions and vaginal sores. Many young girls died after being raped and those who survived suffered complications during menstruation, got torn, and some eventually failed to conceive or bear children. (ISIS-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange, 1998, pp. 51–52)

Forced sex frequently results in sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Girls can become infected with syphilis, gonorrhea, and HIV. Pelvic inflammatory disease is a painful abdominal condition that can develop as a result of STDs, and can cause lifelong reproductive problems. In Sierra Leone, health workers estimated that 70% to 90% of rape survivors tested positive for STDs. Abducted girls were especially at risk because of the many incidents of sexual violence (Physicians for Human Rights, 2000). These diseases are often passed on to their offspring during pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding; the result may be morbidity or death of these infants and small children because usually no treatment is available. Although as a rule, these are usually considered "female reproductive health problems," psychologists working with these girls must plan programs that can help them deal with the severe emotional effects that accompany such conditions, including the presence of HIV/AIDs.

Hygienic concerns. Reports indicate that during armed conflict many adolescent girls' menses stop because of malnutrition and trauma (Coalition, 2000b; L. Falk, personal communication, June 14, 2001; M. B. Pauldin, personal communication, June 14, 2001). Girl soldiers must manage hygienic concerns such as menstruation and cleanliness and try to protect themselves from infections that can run rampant through military camps. For many girls, acute embarrassment and even mental distress occurs because private reproductive body processes become public, especially when sanitary supplies and washing facilities are unavailable. Even in "best case scenarios," when they are in hostile environments, United States military women experience difficulty managing personal hygiene—that is, keeping clean, collecting menstrual waste, and protecting against genitourinary infection (Wardell & Czerwinski, 2001). A Ugandan woman explained how she and her friends managed menstruation

During menstruation we would get leaves which we would briefly put in the sun to soften them before using them as pads. Sometimes we could even fail to get suitable leaves which could be substituted for pads. The only good news was that many of our friends stopped menstruating until the end of the war! (Kikamulo combatant; ISIS-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange, 1998, p. 45)

Pregnancy, birth, and breastfeeding. Depending on variables such as age, reproductive status, and practices of a particular armed force or group, when girls become pregnant, they may either be encouraged to carry their pregnancies to term or abort. In some situations, girls and young women who showed themselves to be "good breeders," because they were already mothers of two or more babies, were sequestered in special camps to produce future fighters, as occurred in LRA camps in southern Sudan (E. Jareg, personal communication, June 20, 2001). In Cambodia and El Salvador, girls in fighting forces were given the choice to abort or give the child to peasants to raise until fighting age when forces then reclaimed them (Coalition, 2000a). Potential psychological effects of this mother-child separation can reasonably be expected to result, at least in some cases, in negligent parenting of the child.

In Uganda, girls who were abducted by the LRA are reported to have suffered serious complications and infections after birth and developed gynecologic problems that sometimes caused permanent disability (ISIS-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange, 1998). In Sierra Leone, a dangerous birthing practice of the RUF was to jump on the abdomens of pregnant girls who were in labor to force birth or to tie their legs together to delay birth if the group was on the move (M. de la Soudiere, personal communication, June 26, 2001). Excess maternal and infant morbidity and mortality and psychological distress can be expected to occur in these girls and their babies. Notably, because these armed groups are unlikely to have

trained midwives or other experienced birth attendants, these methods of managing "birth under duress" may stem as much out of ignorance as for reasons of exigency.

Because of unwanted pregnancies, girls may self-induce abortions at the peril of their lives. Compounding this violence, babies often die because their mothers are unable to obtain care during pregnancy and childbirth and therefore give birth without assistance. Or, if both mother and baby survive, the babies may be rejected by their mothers, or become victims of infanticide, as occurred in Rwanda (Dyeddah, 1997). Also, children born because of forced sex may be branded as "undesired," "children of bad memories," or "children of hate" and suffer from the consequences of this identity. Families of these girls may reject daughters and their babies (Physicians for Human Rights, 2000). In Sierra Leone, Uganda, and elsewhere, girls and young women who are single mothers of "rebel babies" are raising these children with few parenting skills and poor socioeconomic prospects.

Although we have limited information about breastfeeding by girls in armed forces and groups, malnourished and tired mothers inevitably find it difficult to nourish and sustain healthy babies. For example, abductees' babies seen by health workers at the government hospital in Kenema, Sierra Leone, were so sick and malnourished that 20% to 50% were dying in the hospital (Physicians for Human Rights, 2000).

Psychosocial effects. Although girls' experiences are not well understood, some emotional or psychosocial effects for girls differ from boys, particularly because of the heterosexual violence they often experience as part of fighting forces. In the aftermath of sexual assault, girls experience shock, loss of dignity, shame, low self-esteem, poor concentration and memory, persistent nightmares, depression, and other posttraumatic stress effects. They have been observed to withdraw more than boys, who are more likely to behave with aggression. The misery of girls can be compounded by taunts from boys and men who stigmatize them as "used products" that have "lost their taste" (World Vision, 1996, p. 27).

After the fighting ends or they escape, some young girls who have been repeatedly raped do not desire marital relationships. A Ugandan girl used for sex explained

I have decided not to get married because of the suffering I experienced. When I was raped, I developed acute abdominal pain and I started discharging pus, which used to come out of my vagina in form of threads ... I cannot repeat associating with men and sex. (ISIS-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange, 1998, p. 52)

Throughout the world, support for girls' physical and psychological rehabilitation and healing are lacking. Instead, these girls are usually forgotten and must make their way amidst difficult circumstances of poverty, social isolation, and physical

and psychological distress. For example, in Mozambique, girls have had reintegration problems because of familial conflicts about marrying. As in many countries, not marrying can result in social stigma for families and jeopardize the future economic prospects of these girls. When they do marry, some of these girls have been observed to have difficulties bonding with their babies and in managing the household (Efraime, 1999).

Information gaps. From interviews with child advocacy experts and our examination of a large number of reports from organizations that work with children, we have found little information about physical and psychological effects for these girls, regardless of their roles. One reason for this gap is that in the past, governments, NGOs, and UN agencies have focused almost exclusively on boys as past and present participants in armed conflict (Legrand, 2001; United Nations Children's Fund, 2001c). Girls' feelings of shame and fear of stigma and retribution may also keep them from disclosing their experiences. At the same time, for reasons of confidentiality and survival of their programs, health clinics may not report what they learn about girls (I. Levine, personal communication, April 14, 2000). Finally, rarely have NGOs or UN agencies established programs for girls to document their physical and psychological problems, a disparity in services that psychologists who work with these children are positioned to address.

GIRLS IN DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION, AND REINTEGRATION

Armed, adult male fighters are the near exclusive priority for most disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs, significantly marginalizing all children, but girls in particular. The implications for such girls are well illustrated in the example of Mozambique. During the Civil War in Mozambique during the last half of the 1970s to the early 1990s, abducted girls were used as fighters; war, sex, and domestic slaves; and as capital by the (then) rebel forces of RENAMO, which at times gave them to traditional leaders in Mozambique as a means of securing their loyalty. These leaders would select some of the girls for themselves and distribute the rest among their constituents as "secondary wives" and sexual and domestic slaves to help ensure their own power-base (J-C. Legrand, personal communication, June 19, 2001). Such practices profoundly affect the lives of these girls, both during the war and in the aftermath. The international humanitarian and defense communities that responded to the armed conflict did not assess, let alone address, the short- and long-term effects on these girls. One result was that in Mozambique the international humanitarian community was unable to recover the majority of the girls RENAMO gave to the traditional leaders because humanitarian organizations were late in acknowl-

edging the presence of such girls. When the situation of these girls came to light and international actors raised the issue, RENAMO forces and traditional leaders were unwilling to identify the girls or turn them over (J-C. Legrand, personal communication, June 19, 2001).

In addition, DDR programs in Mozambique did not acknowledge or address the reality of girls and women forced to serve as "wives," cooks, agricultural laborers, and porters in the RENAMO forces. When demobilization occurred, no data were collected on how many women and girls were linked to soldiers, were forced to go home with soldiers, or were abandoned (Thompson, 1999, p. 201). A report from the UN Development Program witnessed "RENAMO soldiers boarding the vans to return to their home districts, simply leaving the [girls and] women standing in the road" (Thompson, 1999, p. 201). Contrarily, some women were forced to accompany demobilized men to their homes, whereas others were observed trying to get out of vehicles, screaming, "I want to go to my home!" (Jacobson, as cited in Thompson, 1999, p. 201).

Similarly, in today's conflicts, we repeatedly find that the girls are not recovered via official DDR programs. In Angola, the number of boy soldiers demobilized was 8,500, and the number of girls demobilized was zero—despite the fact that the Angolan armed forces forcibly recruited girls, and the rebel Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave-Cabindian Armed Forces made extensive use of child soldiers, 30% to 40% of whom were girls (Coalition, 2001). In recent releases of child soldiers by the RUF in Sierra Leone, as signs that they were willing to talk peace, the numbers of girl soldiers were astonishingly low: On May 17, 2001, the RUF released 110 boys and no girls; on May 20, 2001, the RUF released 86 boys and 2 girls; on May 26, 2001, the RUF released 581 boys and 10 girls; and on May 29, 2001, the RUF released 421 boys and 3 girls (Associated Press, 2001a, 2001b; United Nations Children's Fund, 2001a, 2001b). This occurred despite an estimated 30% of RUF forces being comprised of girls (Coalition, 2001). In Liberia, less than 1% of all demobilized child soldiers were girls, although girl soldiers constituted a large portion of the (then) rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia. A report from Liberia provides some insights as to why girls might not have participated in DDR processes there:

In the time leading up to peace, and immediately following the conflict, females were probably of more use to the faction than the boys, who were no longer fighting. Girls ... could still prepare food, clean, fetch water, take care of the younger children and generally keep house ... there was little opportunity then to reach out to the girls and bring them into the process. (United Nations Children's Fund Liberia and the U.S. National Committee for UNICEF, 1998, p. 20)

With the ending of the war in Liberia, the vast majority of girls were left by male combatants to fend for themselves and their children, often ending up in camps for the internally displaced (United Nations Children's Fund Liberia, 1998).

There is little known as to why girl soldiers are released or entering DDR programs at such significantly lower rates than boys. Hypotheses we have encountered in discussions with NGO and UN personnel on this topic range from poorly planned programs, male soldiers not wanting to relinquish their "possessions," boys as fighters being more accessible during encounters with other fighting forces, and beliefs that the girls may suffer much higher mortality rates due to sexual violence and reproductive health problems. At the same time, it appears that even when the international community and responding agencies are aware of the fact that girl soldiers constitute significant proportions of the fighting groups, they are still unable to access and respond to the needs of those girls through DDR programs. This suggests that a series of miscalculations are occurring, particularly around the experiences of girl soldiers during armed conflict and the multidimensional role of gender as it affects girls in the conflict and postconflict periods.

Impediments to girls enrolling in DDR programs—or even being recognized as needing to be demobilized, which can occur for soldiers' "wives" and their children—need to be addressed in planning for and carrying out demobilization efforts. It is also important to recognize that these girls are active agents who have developed a variety of coping mechanisms to help mitigate their experiences. Ideally, they should be involved in planning and carrying out any programs developed for them. Other central issues to consider include means to enable girls' participation in DDR processes in ways that do not stigmatize them, especially if they may not want to admit they have been in fighting forces or groups. This may be more salient for girls than boys due to the break in gender norms that occurs when girls become fighters, and the widespread belief in many countries that girl soldiers have been sexually assaulted and may carry STDs. Investigation should also be made into whether distinct cultural and religious rituals could be used to help girls reintegrate, as well as the role of gender-specific psychosocial support in assisting in reintegration and healing.

When they do make it into DDR programs, clothes and sanitary supplies for girls are often nonexistent, and the security conditions in camps may put girls at heightened risk for sexual abuse, as occurred in Sierra Leone and Angola. Girls who have been abducted or given to male soldiers as "wives" may be forced to stay with those men in DDR programs against their will, as occurred in Sierra Leone and Mozambique (Sommers, 1997; Thompson, 1999). Basic necessities for girls, including clothes and proper sanitation supplies, should be standard in all DDR programs. These programs should also have facilities where women and girls can sleep, cook, and bathe in safety and privacy. Provisions should be made for mothers with children, as portions of returning women and girls will be mothers. Importantly, the DDR processes should be demilitarized with both girls and boys spending as little time as possible within armed forces barracks or confinement; DDR programs should be carried out by child's rights organizations and not armed forces (Legrand, 2001; United Nations Children's Fund, 2001c).

On a broader level, the gendered dynamics of armed conflicts, the communities affected by these armed conflicts, and the roles and experiences of girls within these conflicts and their communities must be more carefully examined to assist in shaping DDR programs. The economic, social, and political options that girls may have during and after demobilization should be acknowledged. This knowledge is necessary to shape programs that do not further marginalize girls. For example, women and girls who have been raped often encounter stigma and rejection by their communities. At the same time, the devastation of the formal economy in most war-torn countries provides girls with few options to earn a livelihood; this is especially true when they have missed years of schooling due to their presence in fighting forces and groups. The realities of this situation, coupled with (relatively) large amounts of cash that are routinely given to demobilizing male soldiers, may lead to girls seeing few options but to stay with their former captors or "husbands," as occurred during DDR programs in Sierra Leone. Thus, by not being aware of the dynamics of the larger context within which girls were returning, and in particular the gender dimensions of that context, former girl soldiers have been inadvertently marginalized by programs that sought to assist them.

At the same time, international awareness to incorporate girls into DDR programs is increasing. In February 2000, the report of the UN Secretary-General laid out specific measures for child-aware DDR programs within peacekeeping missions (United Nations, 2000) and the recent efforts of UNICEF in Sierra Leone to bring girls into DDR programs, although flawed, are steps in the right direction with important lessons being learned (United Nations Children's Fund, 2001c). Psychologists working with war-affected children are in a position to study these issues, gather databases, and heighten awareness about gender bias in these programs and potential solutions to the current neglect of girls in policy and programming.

CONCLUSION

The data we gathered about girl soldiers indicate that the realities girls face within fighting forces and groups and in the postconflict reconstruction period do not correspond to the policies and programs developed by the majority of international and national humanitarian and defense organizations, such as peacekeeping missions. Instead, we find that most of these initiatives have not addressed the experiences or needs of girls. Today, although no child associated with fighting forces and groups receives adequate recognition and redress, girls continue to be marginalized in programs for child soldiers at both national and community levels. To more effectively address issues of reintegration, it is necessary to know more about girls' duties, roles, and experiences within armed forces and groups, including gender-specific

violations, experiences, health consequences, and long-term effects, to develop international policies and programs that adequately recognize and address the needs and priorities of these girls. Psychologists working with war-affected children must increase their gender sensitivity so that their initiatives to promote psychosocial well-being of children, their families, and their communities will be specific to the needs of both girls and boys.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors' research is supported by the Canadian International Development Agency, Ottawa, and the International Centre for Rights and Democracy, Montreal.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dyan Mazurana, PhD, is a Research Scholar and faculty of Women's Studies at the University of Montana. She is author of numerous articles on women in armed conflict and post-conflict periods, women and peacebuilding, and gender and peacekeeping. She is co-author of a study on the impacts of armed conflict on women and girls for the United Nations Secretary-General, as requested by the United Nations Security Council.

Susan McKay, PhD, is professor of Women's Studies at the University of Wyoming and a psychologist in private practice. Her research and writing focus on gender, armed conflict, and peacebuilding. With Dyan Mazurana, she is co-principle investigator of a study "Girls in militaries, paramilitaries, militias, and armed opposition forces," funded by the Canadian International Development Agency, Ottawa, and the International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Montreal.

Christopher Carlson is a Research Specialist at the University of Montana. His research and publications focus on gender, armed conflict, and child soldiers. Currently, he is working with Dyan Mazurana and Susan McKay on a study on girls in fighting forces and, with Dyan Mazurana, is a researcher for the United Nations Secretary-General's study on the impacts of armed conflict on women and girls.

Janel Kasper is a Masters Candidate in Sociology at the University of Wyoming. She earned a BA in Sociology and Women's Studies from the University of Wyoming in 2000 and is currently working on her thesis.

REFERENCES

- Amnesty International. (1997, September 18). *Uganda: "Breaking God's commands": The destruction of childhood by the Lord's Resistance Army*. New York: Author.
- Amnesty International. (1999). *In the firing line: War and children's rights*. London: Amnesty International UK.

- Bah, K. A. (2000, March 3). *Rural women and girls in the war in Sierra Leone*. Retrieved March 30, 2000, from http://www.c-r.org/occ_papers/khadija
- Brett, R., & McCallin, M. (1998). *Children the invisible soldiers* (2nd ed.). Stockholm: Radda Barnen.
- Charfi, M. (1996). *Assistance to Somalia in the field on human rights—Report of the independent expert, Mr. M. Charfi, on the situation of human rights in Somalia*. New York: United Nations.
- Coalition to End the Use of Child Soldiers. (2000a). *Americas report*. Retrieved July 28, 2000, from <http://www.childsoldiers.org/americas>
- Coalition to End the Use of Child Soldiers. (2000b). *Africa report*. Retrieved July 28, 2000, from <http://www.childsoldiers.org/africa>
- Coalition to End the Use of Child Soldiers. (2000c). *Asia report*. Retrieved June 16, 2001, from <http://www.childsoldiers.org/asia>
- Coalition to End the Use of Child Soldiers. (2000d). *Europe report*. Retrieved July 28, 2000, from <http://www.childsoldiers.org/europe>
- Coalition to End the Use of Child Soldiers. (2000e). *Special report: Girls with guns*. Retrieved July 28, 2000, from <http://www.childsoldiers.org/reports/special%20reports>
- Coalition to End the Use of Child Soldiers. (2001). *Child soldiers global report*. London: Author.
- Cock, J. (1993). *Women and war in South Africa*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.
- Cohn, I., & Goodwin-Gill, G. (1994). *Child soldiers: The role of children in armed conflict*. Oxford, England: Clarendon.
- De Pauw, L. G. (1998). *Battle cries and lullabies: Women in war from prehistory to the present*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Dyeddah, C. (1997, April 15). Wars and unaccompanied children in Africa: Who they are and major health implications. *International Child Health*, 8, Article 2. Retrieved April 15, 1997, from http://www.ipa-france.net/pubs/inches/inch8_2/djed
- Edgerton, R. B. (2000). *Warrior women: The amazons of Dahomey and the nature of war*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Enloe, C. (2000). *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Efraime, B. (1999). *Female child soldiers in Mozambique: Psychotherapeutic assistance for war's most silenced victims*. Grant proposal submitted for funding.
- 591 children freed in Sierra Leone. (2001, May 26). *Associated Press*. Retrieved May 26, 2001, from <http://www.nyt.com>
- Hajrizi, I. (2001, March). "Volunteers ready to join the battle—Some portraits of the fighters." In *Kosova Crisis Center and Kosova News Center*. Retrieved March 24, 2001, from <http://www.alb-net.com/kcc/041499e1.htm#kla>
- Human Rights Watch. (1998). *Sierra Leone: Sowing terror: Atrocities against civilians in Sierra Leone*. New York: Author.
- Human Rights Watch. (1999). *Getting away with murder, mutilation, and rape: New testimony from Sierra Leone*. New York: Author.
- Human Rights Watch/Africa/Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project. (1994a). *Easy prey: Child soldiers in Liberia*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch/Africa/Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project. (1994b). *Sudan: The lost boys: Child soldiers and unaccompanied boys in southern Sudan*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch/Africa/Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project. (1997). *The scars of death: Children abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch/Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project. (1996). *Children in combat*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

- ISIS-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange. (1998). *Documenting women's experiences in armed conflict situations in Uganda 1980-1986, Luwero District: A research report*. Kampala, Uganda: Author.
- Jones, D. (1997). *Women warriors: A history*. Washington, DC: Brassey's.
- Lamwaka, C. (2001). *Beyond the face of the storm: The civil war and peace process in Uganda 1986-2000*. Manuscript in preparation.
- Legrand, J. C. (2001). *Lessons learned from UNICEF programmes of demobilisation and reintegration of child soldiers: Some key (and limited) points*. Article presented at the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office Interagency meeting on demobilization of child soldiers in active combat. Nairobi: UNICEF.
- Machel, G. (2001). *The impact of war on children*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Mazurana, D., & McKay, S. (2001a). Child soldiers: What about the girls? *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, 57, 30-35.
- Mazurana, D., & McKay, S. (2001b). Women, girls, and structural violence: A global analysis. In D. Christie, R. Wagner, & D. Winter (Eds.), *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology for the 21st century* (pp. 130-138). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- McKay, S. (1998). The effects of armed conflict on girls and women. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 4, 381-392.
- McKay, S., & Mazurana, D. (2000). Girls in militaries, paramilitaries, and armed opposition groups. In *Selected proceedings from the International Conference on War-Affected Children*. New York: Joint publication of Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, and United Nations Children's Fund.
- Nordstrom, C. (1997a). *A different kind of war story*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nordstrom, C. (1997b). *Girls in war zones: Troubling questions*. Uppsala, Sweden: Life and Peace Institute.
- Physicians for Human Rights. (2000). *Preliminary findings and recommendations on the health consequences of human rights violations during the Civil War*. Unpublished report.
- Refugees International. (2002, February 6). *Children in the eastern Congo: Adrift in a sea of war and poverty*. Retrieved February 8, 2002, from <http://www.refintl.org/cgi-bin/ri/bulletin>
- Salas, E. (1990). *Soldaderas in the Mexican military*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Shkullaku, A. (1999, April 16). *In the house of KLA recruits*. Retrieved March 23, 2001, from http://www.gsoa.ch/kosovo_nato/199904/19990419.0
- Sierra Leone rebels free boy guerillas. (2001, May 17). *Associated Press*. Retrieved May 17, 2001, from <http://www.nyt.com>
- Sommers, M. (1997, March 26 - April 16). The children's war: Towards peace in Sierra Leone. A field report assessing the protection and assistance needs of Sierra Leonean children and adolescents. Retrieved July 28, 2000, from http://www.intrescom.org/wcwr/reports/wc_sierra_leone
- Stavrou, S., Stewart, R., & Stavrou, A. (2000). The re-integration of child soldiers and abductees: A case study of Paloro ad Pabbo, Gulu district, northern Uganda. In *Selected proceedings from the International Conference on War-Affected Children*. New York: Joint publication of Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, and United Nations Children's Fund.
- Temmerman, E. (2001). *Aboke girls: Children abducted in northern Uganda*. Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers.
- Thompson, C. (1999). Beyond civil society: Child soldiers as citizens in Mozambique. *Review of African Political Economy*, 80, 191-206.
- United Nations. (1996a). *Assistance to Somalia in the field of human rights: Report of the independent expert Mr. Mohamed Charfi, on the situation of human rights in Somalia*. New York: Author.
- United Nations. (1996b). *Impact of armed conflict on children: Report of the expert of the Secretary-General Ms. Graça Machel* (Document No. A/51/306 & Add. 1). New York: Author.
- United Nations. (2000). *United Nations Report of the Secretary-General, "The role of United Nations peacekeeping in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration."* New York: Author.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (1997, April 30). Cape Town annotated principles and best practices. In *Adopted by the participants in the Symposium on the Prevention of Recruitment of Children into the Armed Forces and Demobilization and Social Reintegration of Child Soldiers in Africa, organized by the United Nations Children's Fund in cooperation with the NGO [nongovernmental organization] Subgroup of the NGO Working Group on the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Cape Town, South Africa: UNICEF.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2001a, May 20). *RUF rebels release child soldiers*. Retrieved May 20, 2001, from <http://www.reliefweb.int/IRIN>
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2001b, May 29). *6 child soldiers: UN welcomes release of children in Sierra Leone*. Retrieved May 29, 2001, from <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/unamsil.htm>
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2001c). Demobilization of child soldiers in active combat. *Proceedings from the UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office Interagency Meeting, Nairobi, October 10-12 2001*, Nairobi: Author.
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Liberia and the U.S. National Committee for UNICEF. (1998, March). *The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers in Liberia, 1994-1997: The process and lessons learned*. New York: Author.
- Wardell, D., & Czerwinski, B. (2001). A military challenge to managing feminine and personal hygiene. *Journal of the American Academy of Nurse Practitioners*, 13, 187-193.
- Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2000). *Against all odds: Surviving the war on adolescents*. New York: Author.
- Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2001). *Untapped potential: Adolescents affected by armed conflict, a review of programs and policies*. New York: Author.
- World Vision. (1996). *The effects of armed conflict on girls: A discussion paper prepared by World Vision for the UN study on the impact of armed conflict on children*. Monrovia, CA: Author.

"Perhaps we are at last coming to see that our most deadly enemy is fear.... We cannot conquer that enemy; we can only be delivered from it by love in the form of trust. Gandhi knew that the only safe way to overcome an enemy is to make the enemy a friend."

*Mary Evelyn Jegen,
a Notre Dame sister.*
