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PART I: WOMEN IN THE PEACE PROCESS

*The Experience of the
UNHCR & Other UN Agencies*

WOMEN IN THE PEACE PROCESS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. It is widely accepted that peace is not just the absence of war, violence or hostilities. It is a situation in which all people have equal access to economic and social justice as well as to the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
2. Conflicts, whether within the family, the community, within nations or among nations arise as a result of the competition for power and for the control over or access to resources, of ideological or economic dominance, as a result of injustice and of a culture of intolerance and violence. Conflicts within societies are often associated with their pluralism or especially in Africa with their ethnic diversity. In Africa today, as in many parts of the world, conflicts revolve round ethnic or ethno/religious issues.
3. Conflicts in Africa, as elsewhere, have brought destruction, despair, desolation, and death. It is estimated, for example, that of the 20 million dead and 60 million wounded in wars in Africa since 1945, as many as 10 million have been children; many have been orphaned, abandoned and abducted. Millions in Africa have become refugees growing up in refugee camps or have become displaced within their own countries.
4. War, on the other hand, is the use of force to find solutions to conflicts whether inherent or expressed. It is the ultimate result of unsolved conflicts.
5. Peace, as defined, has in the last two decades continued to elude many African countries where it appears that the possibility of using violent-free methods of conflict-solution have been discarded. This has been evident in Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa and the Sudan.
6. The resulting instabilities of these conflicts/wars have brought economic activities to a virtual standstill while it will take monumental efforts to reverse the damage to the environment and the physical and social infrastructure. Military spending to fund these wars has meant the reduction in spending on social and other services. A UNDP Human Development Report in 1987 showed that in four African countries, two of them LDCs, the armed forces personnel as a percentage of teachers was 416, 591, 300 and 230 per cent while the armed forces personnel as a percentage of physicians in the same countries was 533, 130, 75 and 106 per cent respectively. Militarism distorts human development causing world-wide poverty, pollution, torture and death. The world today continues to live under the threat of a nuclear war where weapons of mass destruction are a valued asset of many nations.
7. Along with children, women are the most vulnerable in armed conflicts and they comprise most of the victims. They have suffered from the disruption of the normal way of life, fending for their families single-handedly, as displaced persons or refugees, characterized by poverty, disease and alienation. Having been always disadvantaged in terms of nutrition, educational and health status, women have found themselves worse off in times of armed conflicts.
8. As recently as 1991, it was estimated that in the six African countries: Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia and the Sudan which were all ravaged by civil war and faced severe war-related famine, women and children accounted for 92 per cent of the war-related deaths. Apart from deaths, the displacement of millions as a result of armed conflicts in Africa has occurred mainly among women and children.
9. Women also suffer more intensely from violence in times of war, particularly rape and abuse at moments of arrest, detention and interrogation.
10. While women in society bear a disproportionate burden of the consequences of war, they are hardly involved in decisions that lead to war, nor in matters of security and peace. Even in recent times when women have joined the armed forces and have fought side by side with men, and in spite of their

participation in and contribution to the struggle for peace in many nations, including in Africa, the world has yet to see women in the upper echelons of the military, or even the police force. Where women are ministers, they are very often ministers over what is considered more appropriate women's concerns - social services. According to a United Nations Inter-Parliamentary Union Report, during the entire United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), there was less than a 2 per cent increase in women representatives in parliamentary assemblies.

11. If there is to be peace, there is a need to understand and eliminate the causes of war, to mediate in existing armed conflicts and to create conditions where peace can be sustained.

12. Action for peace has to start in the home and be furthered through committed leadership at the local, national and international levels. Women, particularly as the most disastrously affected by the violence of war, have a special and crucial role to play in this process.

13. To oppose war or to eliminate the causes of war or to create peace, women need clear and well-defined strategies. The conditions for effective organization and action are mobilization and conscientization. Women have a great deal of power to use if they can get organized and the possibilities for action are endless once the stages of conscientization and organization are past.

14. In addition to organizational action, every woman, in playing her various roles as a parent, service provider, teacher etc., can successfully instil into her children such values as respect for others; the peaceful solution of conflicts and problems; sharing; partnership; tolerance; a sense of justice; and equality of the sexes, all of which are qualities for sustainable peace.

15. Further, women should strive to participate in the decision-making process at all levels and be part of delegations, national and otherwise, to negotiate international agreements leading to disarmament and should insist on a minimum number in such delegations. Women must also strive to be included in equal numbers in peace-keeping operations both at the recruitment level in the United Nations as well as at the level of constituting contingents within countries. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should monitor and support women's increased involvement in the peace process.

16. If women are to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace, they need to be empowered both politically and economically. Empowerment of women is a strategy which has been recommended in many international declarations and decisions. The cause of development and peace cannot be compared to any other for which economic and political empowerment of women is more worthy.

17. The principal victims of conflicts and wars are women. They suffer more intensely from violence in times of war, particularly rape and abuse at moments of arrest, detention and interrogation. They have to take the consequences of disruption of the normal way of life as they fend for their families single-handedly in new environments as displaced persons or refugees characterized by poverty, disease and alienation. Nevertheless, ~~refugee women may not be considered only as victims.~~ ^{in conflict situations women's crucial role} They assume new roles and responsibilities as heads of their families, the sole providers and key decision makers. The challenge of new roles and responsibilities of the refugee experience has forced them to develop new strengths and resources. Their experience in coping with the tragedies of war make refugee women appropriate candidates for inclusion in peace awareness and peace education as well as in the decision-making processes in peace negotiations.

18. According to 1993 figures, 75 per cent of the world's 15 million refugees are women and children and of these, one-third are African. Among Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire, 90 per cent are women and children and in Mozambique, an estimated 2 million rural inhabitants, who are mostly women and children, are displaced.

19. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), aware of the special situation of refugee women vis-à-vis violence, abuse and rape, has prioritized protection of refugee women in its assistance programmes. The strategies for protection have included the recruitment of special counsellors and additional security guards in the camps and relocating vulnerable/single females in safer areas.

20. Socio-cultural problems play a role in the adjustment of refugees to their new environments. Some of these problems are directly linked to the changing gender roles and expectations in the refugee setting and the breakdown of traditional coping mechanisms. For example, brides have had to be "kidnapped" when the traditional mechanism for securing a bride (usually the offer of payment (dowry) in the form of cattle, etc., to the family of the prospective bride) was no longer possible. Thus, while marriage had traditionally created a social and economic bond among and between families, the practice of "kidnapping" created hostility and division of families instead. In other cases, where the normal payments for a bride were not secured prior to marriage, there is a lack of commitment and the men, feeling less obliged to maintain the marriage, abandon their wives. The case of abandoned wives is also attributable to the fact that refugee men no longer have a viable economic role to perform in the refugee setting. They thus leave their wives in search of economic opportunities.

21. Education is a priority area of assistance and presents difficulties to UNHCR as well as the OAU Bureau of Refugees. Some difficulties encountered by UNHCR are:

(a) Refugee camps and settlements are often located in remote/isolated areas where no education facilities have been established;

(b) Parallel structures are developed for the refugee population who are considered temporary. This exercise is costly as it is not utilized by local populations.

22. Female refugees, like other women in Africa, have similar problems of access to education and their exile status and the problem of language barriers in countries of asylum where mother-tongue texts are preferred for pre-literate classes make their situation worse. UNHCR, however, is developing several ways of addressing these problems. Among other things, it is providing more trained female teachers who present role models and make education more acceptable to parents who may wish to reduce their contact with men outside the home. It is also introducing home economies in the curriculum and this includes subjects such as health, hygiene and nutrition.

23. UNHCR sponsors selected women refugees for university education through a German-sponsored programme; because of their lower level of participation in secondary school, it is often difficult to find female candidates for these scholarships.

24. OAU, under the Bureau of Refugees, Displaced and Humanitarian Affairs Division, provides education and training by awarding scholarships to refugees in the marketable fields, so that upon completion of their education and training programmes, they are able to secure employment. Like UNHCR, the OAU Bureau has also noted that more men than women applicants have been sponsored by the OAU Secretariat.

25. With regard to employment, because of the economic crisis in Africa which has caused a high rate of unemployment, particularly in countries of asylum, OAU has encouraged self-help projects in favour of refugees. Since 1987, OAU has been funding many income-generating projects for both men and women refugees in different member States. These include small-scale projects such as poultry, sewing and knitting, gardening, carpentry, handicraft, fishing, tanning and baking. Refugee women have also been included in decision-making structures, project planning and skills training projects. Thus, in 1990, the Mozambican refugee women in Tongogara refugee camp in Zimbabwe organized themselves into a cooperative and started

raising and managing a large-scale income-generating vegetable gardening project which has proved highly successful.

26. Health and nutrition are areas in which UNHCR is conscious of the factors affecting the health and nutrition of refugee women, including food distribution systems, the sexual division of labour, women's traditional role in control of household resources and the special nutritional needs of pregnant and lactating women. Training community health workers and social services field staff and sensitizing them to the special needs of women make their work more effective.

27. In the area of social services, the lack of participation of women in refugee leadership committees where planning community service and other development agenda takes place is a primary problem facing social service officers with UNHCR. These officers have been training in assessing and evaluating socio-cultural adjustment problems faced by refugees. Some of the problems, it has been found, are directly linked to the changing gender roles and expectations in the refugee setting and the breakdown of traditional coping mechanisms; understanding these problems will help the social worker to work together with individuals and families. In addition, other cultural factors discouraging women's participation in public forums, such as the predominantly male staff who are unaware of the female refugee situation and have had very little direct contact with women prevent women from participating in refugee committees.

28. UNHCR cooperates with other agencies to integrate the agenda of relief and development assistance to refugee women. An example is the United Nations Inter-Agencies/UNIFEM programme which is designed to offer a development-oriented strategy to disaster relief and management efforts, paying particular attention to women's resources in the development effort. The project has assisted women to adjust to their changed socio-economic position in exile through provision of mental health counselling, public health education, marketable skills training and micro-business management. The refugees themselves were trained in counselling techniques in order to help other refugees. African Women in Crisis (AFWIC) gives support to activities, including surveys, data collection, the promotion of legal advocacy for women's groups and networks, increased protection for refugee and displaced women and incorporating gender issues into regional refugee legislation.

29. Understanding the socio-economic situation in the area of proposed reintegration is an important part of the planning process. Critical gender issues include land availability and land tenure. Traditional land tenure may exclude returnee women and widows from access to land, thus making their economic options more limited. In areas where land shortages exist, women may be more adversely affected than returnee men.

30. With respect to shelter, returnee women face problems also. As men are traditionally responsible for shelter construction in many cultures, women in female-headed households are forced to pay men to assist them in shelter construction, thus decreasing their limited resources.

31. The paper recommends that peace education for refugee women and men should be integrated into both formal and non-formal education curriculum that reaches refugee populations, encouraging refugee participation and experience sharing in designing appropriate peace education programmes.

32. National women-in-development (WID) agenda should incorporate refugee-relief concerns to include a more comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes of refugee emergencies.

33. Refugee women who are the witnesses of war's devastation should be given the opportunity to provide personal testimony for the need to negotiate for peace.

* Peace as a global/international phenomenon, what about
other aspects & strategies to deal with them:
iv
Issues related to \$'s subordination, violence against \$
& returnees etc \$ + girls' vulnerability

**POLITICAL CONFLICTS, WARS AND
CIVIL STRIFE IN AFRICA***

* This paper was prepared by the Organization of African Unity. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Peace, as stated in the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies, includes not just the absence of war, violence or hostilities at the national and international levels, but also the enjoyment of economic stability, social justice, equality and the whole range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society. Such a peace must be sustainable and safeguarded in addition to reducing or eliminating altogether the use or threat of force in human affairs.

2. Peace, it has been argued, can also be an ambiguous state. Although it can be said that peace is obtained when society is in a state of political stability and equilibrium, there have been times of stability even when people or groups within a society were terribly repressed. One of the longest periods of peace in British history was in Victorian times; yet the poor suffered more deprivation than ever before; similarly, women and children were both brutalized in the process of industrialization. Colonialism, which provided a level of stability in Africa not matched since, was imposed under the Pax Britannica which removed crucial control over the use of force. In the same manner, the Pax Romana of the Roman Empire embraced slavery.

3. The world today needs sustainable peace. This presumes trust, cooperation and recognition of the interdependence of peoples as the basis of relationships between them and among nations for the common good and mutual interests. Peace is therefore based on the recognition that the earth is a single inter-dependent system with one common future; that people have common needs, are endowed with full human dignity, are entitled to the realization of all human rights and share a common interest in the future of the planet.

4. According to the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies, peace is promoted by equality of the sexes, economic equality and the universal enjoyment of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms by all requires that women be enabled to exercise their rights to participate on an equal footing with men in all spheres of the political, economic and social life of their respective countries, particularly in the decision-making process, while exercising their right to freedom of opinion, expression, information and association in the promotion of international peace and cooperation.

5. Yet, in spite of these laudable assertions which were endorsed by the entire international community, women have continued to play a marginal role in decision making, especially in respect of wars or the absence of peace, which have cost them, their families and entire societies their very survival.

6. The fact that peace continues to elude the world in general and Africa in particular makes it imperative for African women to reflect on some of the ways and areas in which they could influence the popular understanding of the concept of "security", the general perception of conflict in society and the conventional methods of solving it.

A unique forum for deliberating on this important issue was offered by the Uganda Government, in particular, the Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and Culture, in collaboration with OAU and ECA, when it organized a Regional Conference on Women and Peace, in Kampala, from 22 to 25 November 1988. This paper reflects the contributions of many of the participants to that very important Conference.

II. POLITICAL CONFLICTS AND CIVIL WARS IN AFRICA

A. Conflicts

8. Though conflicts occur within the home, the family, the community, within and among nations, the underlying causes are similar. Regardless of the complexities of the details, the causes of conflicts may be reduced to the competition for power and for control and access to resources whether they are land or other forms of wealth. In the absence of mechanisms for resolving conflicts, all forms of violence can result. Violent conflicts which fall short of wars include strikes and lock outs, various forms of demonstrations

which can degenerate into street battles or terror directed at the property or lives of opponents, kidnapping, hijacking or even limited rebellions.

9. The characteristics for conflicts within societies are often associated with their pluralism or especially in Africa, with their ethnic diversity. At present in Africa, and indeed in many parts of the world, conflicts revolve round what may be termed ethnic and ethno/religious issues. However, whether it is in South Africa where it is categorized as race, in Somalia where it is clan rivalries or in Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Kenya or Nigeria where conflicts are categorized as ethnic or religious, the real struggle is for power; it is for the control of the state apparatus by individuals; it is also for access to resources, land, jobs and other forms of status, prestige and wealth.

10. Conflicts in Africa, as elsewhere, lead to untold misery: destruction, despair, desolation, destitution and death. It is estimated, for example, that of the 20 million dead and 60 million wounded in wars in Africa since 1945, as many as 10 million have been children; many have been orphaned, abandoned and abducted. Millions in Africa have either become refugees growing up in refugee camps or displaced in their own countries.

11. In his address to the Women and Peace Conference in November 1993, the President of Uganda listed the causes of conflicts which are summarized below:

- (a) Imperialism - a group of people wanting to dominate others;
- (b) Political injustice within a country - e.g., denying others from the same country access to political power, as in South Africa;
- (c) Obscurantism or confusion and mis-definition of the enemy or misrepresentation of goals;
- (d) Uneven development of the society;
- (e) Weakness - being weak could invite aggression as reflected in tribal and religious wars. With a balance of power, the likelihood of war breaking out diminishes; and
- (f) Underdevelopment - with poverty, the people would have no vested interest in the need for peace in the society.

12. Whatever the reasons may be, those who seek power do so by using the most emotive language to gain support and often play on the most negative of emotions.

B. Wars

13. War, on the other hand, it is argued, has a more direct meaning. It is the use of force to impose solutions to conflicts whether they are inherent or expressed. War is the ultimate result of unresolved conflicts between and among nations while civil war is the result of unresolved conflicts within nations.

14. There is a tendency to prefer war as it is a violent solution and is often conceived as final. The enemy is defeated and that is the end of the matter. However, peace so gained can only be maintained through force. Defeats are never forgotten by the vanquished: the Serbs of Yugoslavia today claim that they are remembering and taking revenge for a battle in which they were overrun by the Moslems 500 years ago. Present-day history abounds in conflicts resulting from earlier humiliations remembered.

15. Unfortunately, history has tended to glorify war and warriors. Much of history is the story of wars and warriors and much of people's history, whether written or oral, is a chronicle of armed conflicts; of

battles won and of heroes who triumphed in such conflicts, from Alexander of Greece, Caesar of Rome, Napoleon of France, Nelson of England, Washington of the United States of America to Chaka Zulu of South Africa.

16. This glorification of bravery and valour is related to what is perceived in most societies and cultures to be the nature and role of a true man. Thus, in many African societies, warriors were young men and a man achieved status by doing well as a warrior, whether it was by killing a lion or another man. The yardstick for bravery and honour was hence associated with victory, conquest, looting and killing.

17. It is doubtful, when one considers the violent episodes of man's inhumanity to man, including the religious crusades and wars, the slave trade, whether it can truly be said that the world today is more violent than it used to be. Weapons may have changed, they may have become more sophisticated and powerful but the brutality of those who wield them has not changed.

18. It is evident that in the past two decades peace in its true sense has continued to elude many countries in Africa. A look at the continent from south to north and east to west reveals that the number of countries that are undergoing political turmoil in Africa gives the impression that perhaps African leaders have dismissed the possibility of using violent-free methods of conflict resolution in their own countries. In Somalia, where at least one million children were reported in 1992 to be at risk of malnutrition, a lost generation of children was inevitably being created. Somalia has been nearly annihilated by clan conflicts that have caused the deaths of countless numbers while other survivors, mainly women and children, are either seeking refuge elsewhere or are fighting starvation within the country.

19. In South Africa, as the process of dismantling apartheid gets firmly on the ground, ethnic violence has set in to a scale that sometimes threatens the very transition that the country is determined to bring about. In Angola, there continue to be renewed hostilities between the MPLA Government and the opposing UNITA while in the Sudan, civil war continues to ravage the southern part of the country. Political rivalry in Liberia has produced similar results. In Sierra Leone too, "rebel" bandits have gravely destabilized the economy and led to displacement of people. Instabilities such as these have brought economic activities to a virtual standstill while it will take monumental efforts to reverse the damage to the environment and the physical and social infrastructure.

20. In Europe, the struggles for new nationhood and autonomy in the former Soviet Union countries have resulted in untold suffering of the people engaged in the ethnic-cleansing activities.

C. Militarism

21. Militarism distorts human development, causing world-wide poverty, pollution, repression, torture and death. The world today continues to live under the threat of a nuclear war where weapons of mass destruction are a valued asset of many nations.

22. Various studies by women researchers have demonstrated how the quality of life for all is reduced by military spending and how human needs could not be met because of military spending. In Africa, in particular, military spending is two or three times more than what is spent on education and health.

23. In the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1992, the rising military expenditure in the world was shown geographically. In 1989, \$US 15.9 billion were spent by all developing countries and, of this, \$3.4 billion were spent by the least developed countries (LDCs), 44 in all, and 31 of them come from Africa. These figures represented 55 per cent of the GNP in all developing countries and 3.8 per cent in the LDCs respectively. The report further showed that, in 1987, the armed forces represented 108 per cent of teachers and that there were 77 armed forces personnel to one

to 1200
per cent of the
military spending

teacher in the LDCs. In sub-Saharan Africa, the figure was 76 to one as compared to three to one in the industrialized countries and 15 to one in the world.

24. In four African countries, two of them LDCs, the report showed armed forces personnel as a percentage of teachers to be 416, 591, 300 and 230 per cent while the number of armed forces personnel per physician in the same countries was 533, 130, 75 and 106 per cent, respectively.

III. WOMEN: THE VICTIMS OF WAR

25. Along with children, women and the aged are the most vulnerable in armed conflicts and women comprise most of the victims. They have to cope with the realities of burying their children and husbands. They have to live with the consequences of disruption of their normal way of life as they fend for their families single-handedly in new environments as displaced persons or refugees, characterized by poverty, disease and alienation.

26. In 1991, it was estimated that in the six African countries (Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia and the Sudan) which were all ravaged by civil war and faced severe war-related famine, women and children accounted for 92 per cent of the war-related deaths. Apart from deaths, the displacement of millions as a result of armed conflicts in Africa has occurred mainly among women and children. *In addition*

27. Women also suffer more intensely from violence in times of war, particularly rape and abuse at moments of arrest, detention and interrogation. In the war in what was then Yugoslavia, according to figures taken from War Crimes Against Women in Liberation (Vol. 3), women were said to have been raped as part of a systematic policy of sexual humiliation of the defeated.

28. In recent wars, women and children have been used as human shields to protect soldiers and also to foil attempts for aid to reach the enemy.

29. Armed conflicts have led to the destruction of family systems which have provided a buffer of protection and a forum of succour for adults and children in times of stress, leaving women to assume even greater responsibilities for the care and maintenance of children. Women, who have always been disadvantaged in terms of nutritional, educational and health status, have found themselves worse off in times of armed conflict.

A. Gender analysis of war

30. Through a gender analysis of warfare it can be argued that male military folly is embedded in the larger folly of patriarchal government; that in war men are perpetrators and women the victims and that this is a normal pattern of women's oppression under patriarchal government; that male folly of war is not different in kind, but it is only different in degree from patriarchal government. In peace time, male dominance ensures women's sweat and tears; in war time, it ensures destruction and death. *Handwritten notes: "The fact is..."*

31. To oppose war, therefore, women need to analyze gender inequalities of war in the context of gender inequalities in a patriarchal society. Women need to understand that war is an outgrowth of patriarchal oppression; they need to understand how the legitimization of war arises from the values of patriarchal ideology; they also need to understand the domestic roots of war, to understand that the male folly of war does not only flourish on the battle field; it has domestic roots.

32. The domestic roots of war/conflict are to be found firstly in the domestic household economy, where the woman is given the larger burden of work - in housework, child-rearing and contribution of labour towards the production of a cash crop, or in wage employment. Typically, the African woman works from dawn to dusk in endless toil to support her children and her husband, or her share in a husband. He thus

has time on his hands - time for games, for politics, for trouble-making and for war; activities enabled and financed by the subordinated women. War is financed by the economic surplus which is creamed off the endless labour of women.

33. Men's dominance in politics and war is based on their dominance of the household, to maintain the exploitation of subordinated female labour. Dominance in national politics is premised on dominance in domestic politics, which is based on sexual dominance. Men are reared to sexual dominance. The man proposes, the woman is proposed to; the man buys a wife, the woman is bought; the man demands, the woman submits. The man beats, the woman is beaten. This male dominance in the home is part of a patriarchal culture into which both men and women are socialized.

34. Patriarchal ideology is an attempt to justify male domination by a system of beliefs, attitudes, values and arguments. Woman's belief in man's natural and legitimate position of superiority is crucially important for the maintenance of patriarchal control. The daughter who recognizes that her mother is wise and strong, but her father weak and foolish, must also realize that this is an exception to the general rule and a family secret to be concealed. The clever wife must take instruction from a stupid husband, realizing that any rebellion would upset the natural order and be an outrage in the community.

35. Nevertheless, wives do rebel. They have never found patriarchal ideology entirely persuasive. Women have always resisted, subverted, manipulated and rebelled against patriarchal authority. And increasingly nowadays, patriarchal ideology is in a legitimization crisis: increasing numbers of women will not accept their subordinate position. They demand an equal say in decisions, even demand that idle husbands should do some work in the house! When ideological control (thought control) breaks down, it is replaced by violence. To the extent that his "natural" authority is not respected, the husband resorts to the fist and whip.

36. It is this domestic culture of violence which, on the public stage, becomes the culture of war. Warfare has its domestic roots in the bedroom. It is rooted in male aggression. It is rooted in a patriarchal culture where force is the automatic thwarted authority; negotiation is not considered as an alternative method for adjudicating between conflicting interests. Negotiation implies equality and democratic power relations between the two parties. Warfare is a substitute for dialogue.

B. War as a consequence of patriarchal folly

37. The picture is complete if war is analyzed as a natural consequence of patriarchal folly and it will immediately reveal women's difficulty in escaping from a war culture, having been brought up to accept their subordination, and the authority of men. Women have brought up their daughters to be submissive domestic slaves; they have brought up their sons to be idle, arrogant and aggressive. Women have worked as willing slaves to sustain the home while men have gone out into the world as managers, priests, politicians and soldiers.

38. And traditionally too, women have been excluded from any role in public affairs. They also have had no voice in framing the system of ethics which defines human relationships in every society and religion, including Christianity and Islam and, in the Judaic tradition, until recently, women had been completely excluded from the priesthood. Although in animist and other faiths, women can occupy a powerful place as seers and prophets, the main religious ideologies support the continuance of male domination in all spheres of life and especially as arbiters of behaviour and guardians of the public morals.

39. Thus, women, with limited exceptions, have had no place in political life. In world history, women have almost never been important politically with the exception of where, as queens, they have had to inherit the throne in the absence of male heirs. In Africa, these exceptions have also been mainly confined to the

special advisory status of sisters, wives and mothers of kings. African history books are therefore silent on women's role in the resolution of conflict and in the maintenance of peace.

40. In spite of this, the traditional involvement of women in consultations about war and peace may still be relevant to conflict resolution in Africa today.

41. The liberation wars in Southern Africa in the second half of the twentieth century produced many strong women, both among fighters in the bush and among political activists. In spite of her subsequent legal and political setbacks, Nomzamo Winnifred Mandela of South Africa was often a beacon of hope and struggle, especially in the 1980s. A less controversial but equally militant activist was Nohtsikelelo Albertina Sisulu, who was also subjected by the apartheid regime to recurrent harassment, banning and detention.

42. In recent indigenous cultures, women have been known to become soldier-priestesses, leading men into battle. In the 1980s, the Government of Yoweri Museveni in Uganda had to contend with the rebellion led by Alice Lakwena, who had convinced tough Acholi warriors that she had religious powers which would protect them from bullets. Alice Lakwena was briefly the Joan of Arc of the Acholi - and, like Joan of Arc, Alice was defeated. But sociologically what was significant was that a woman could convince members of one of the most martial "tribes" in Uganda to follow her into battle.

43. In the 1960s, it was Alice Lenshina in Zambia who was leader-priestess in defiance of the Government of President Kenneth Kaunda. She and her Lumpa Church were militarily defeated. But at least as significant was the sociology which made female militant leadership of men possible.

44. While in more recent times women have joined the armed forces and fought side by side with men, and in spite of their participation in and contribution to the struggle for peace in many nations, including in Africa, the world has yet to see a woman in the upper echelons of the military, or even the police force. Where women are ministers, they very often are ministers over what is considered more appropriate women's concerns - social services. According to a United Nations Inter-Parliamentary Union report, during the entire United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), there was less than a 2 per cent increase in women representatives in parliamentary assemblies.

45. However, because male domination is not biologically based but is a social construction built upon the sexual and economic exploitation of women and is deeply embedded in patriarchal culture, it can be changed. This, of course, depends on women's ability to analyze it and see the misery it causes; to see how it serves the interest of men to the detriment of women and, above all, to have a vision of a world based on gender equality, where gender relations are characterized by equal responsibilities and rights.

IV. WOMEN: A BRIDGE TO PEACE

A. Women against war

46. If women are to oppose war, they need clear and well-articulated strategies. The first condition for effective action is mobilization. Even in the home, it is difficult for women to act as individuals to end domestic warfare. The political weakness and vulnerability of women is their domestic isolation.

47. If collective organization is the first prerequisite for collective action, the second is conscientization. Women's opposition to war must be based on their own clear gender analysis of war. Women have to base their action on an analysis of the ways in which they have in the past collaborated in their own destruction, and on a sustained sense of outrage - that a social system based on women's subordination and exploitation has sucked society into a horrifying vortex of destruction and death. A proper sense of outrage is the spur to political action.

48. Two types of strategy are necessary in opposition to war: organization and action. Organization strategies refer to collective organization, whereas action strategies refer to types of action.

1. Organizational strategies

49. An essential organization strategy is the recruitment of existing women's organizations into an alliance against patriarchal violence and war. Rather than attempt to organize an entirely separate women's peace movement, the strategy is to create only a vanguard peace movement which will infiltrate existing women's organizations in a programme of conscientization and collective action. At the domestic level, there is enormous potential in women's church organizations and other women's NGOs in taking the lead on gender issues. Here, one would expect the lead to be taken by women's organizations which are already concerned with various aspects of women's rights and women's equality. This level of organization strategy has great potential for direct action in such matters as tackling wife beating (domestic warfare), as well as contributing to local political campaigns to address issues of State terrorism. Even the relatively simple intervention of a local NGO setting up a safe house for battered wives has an enormous potential for women's increased conscientization; it provides a focus for women's mobilization, and a clear challenge to traditional patriarchal authority and male dominance.

50. Organizational strategy, at the national level, is the infiltration of political parties - as part of a movement to challenge men's domination of politics. Here, women must use their membership and activism to influence the voice and action of particular political parties, chosen for their openness to principles of peace and gender equality. They must be political parties which can be influenced to address gender issues as a part of all political issues - especially the issues of peace and war. And there must be a place for men who support gender equality, just as there must be a place for whites who support racial equality in South Africa.

51. In a nation at war, women's mobilization behind a political party-for-peace is a strategy to end the war. If there is an electoral system in the country, women have the potential for mobilizing half the votes in the land.

Also, there is the additional strategy of forming a peace movement, which acts in many ways like a political party in its formation: membership, meetings, newsletters, manifestos, public action, demonstration, etc., but cuts across all other parties. A peace movement can be extremely powerful, even in undermining military parties in this direction. The United States lost the war in Vietnam not primarily because they were defeated, but because they were defeated by the peace movement at home - which undermined the American military machine. The American military machine would have been prepared to wipe South-East Asia off the map, and indeed was well on its way to doing so when it was brought to a halt by a feminist agenda - by flower power!

Most important strategy is international sister-linking. The political difficulty of a peace movement open to the accusation of "not supporting the boys at the front" is the movement's strategy is for the sisters on both sides of the front to oppose the war. This is achieved by internationalizing of the opposition to war. It reaches a later state when the international movement is for ending particular wars. For example, the civil war in the Sudan should be supported by women's movements in Africa. On the other hand, women can take action against the Sudanese government, to meet force with passive resistance or they can expose war atrocities, to publicize the evil doings of a military government. Women can support from foreign governments, and report to the sisterhood that they have a great deal of power to use, if they get organized. Women have a great deal of power to use, if they get organized. Women have a great deal of power to use, if they get organized. Women have a great deal of power to use, if they get organized.

2. Action strategies

54. Action strategies arise from the analysis of war as patriarchal folly. The most basic aim is to bring to an end women's collaboration in reproducing the domestic culture of patriarchal violence. This means rearing our children into a more peaceful and democratic way of life, rather than rearing girls to be submissive domestic slaves, and boys as idle bullies of their sisters - and ultimately of their own mothers. Ending the reproduction of patriarchal culture in the home is a huge task, but it can make a start in simple beginnings: in ensuring that the toys and games of boys are not based on the play-acting of warfare; of giving boys and girls equal duties around the house; of settling childhood disputes with reason and negotiation, rather than authority and violence.

55. Such non-violence and reason within the home depends largely on modifying the autocratic, patriarchal and violent behaviour of the dominant male, whose behaviour will otherwise be imitated and replicated in his sons.

B. Women for peace

56. There is yet another area of action, namely peace education. Peace education is considered relevant to every citizen because peace or its absence affects every facet of life. It involves every man and woman as informal education and socializing agents. The scope of peace education is seen as a life-long process which should take place in every life situation in every structure and process through which societies learn to conduct their public and private affairs.

57. The major objective of peace education is to change non-peaceful relationships at the personal, communal, national and international levels into peaceful relationships - a state where discord or inflicted disorder in the form of violence is avoided.

58. The family is the first and most important target for peace education. It is there that children are first exposed to the positive or negative human relationships which are central concepts in sustainable peace. Relationships of equality and mutual respect between husband and wife is an essential foundation of family life and an important learning process for children.

59. Thus, in playing their various roles as parents, service providers, teachers, etc., women could successfully instil into their children such values as respect for others; the peaceful solution of conflicts and problems; sharing; partnership; tolerance; a sense of justice and equity and equality of the sexes, all of which are qualities for sustainable peace. This could be extended to the primary school level where women constitute the bulk of the teachers. Here, they have the responsibility to influence attitudes towards peace at the very foundation of formal education which is likely to have a lasting effect in shaping the personality of the future adult. Women have, indeed, extended their sphere of influence and exerted leadership in peace education at both the primary and secondary levels and in the field of peace research studies at the university level.

60. Historically, aggressors have been men while women have been associated with giving life and nurturing it, and women as a group have neither institutionalized violence nor systems of oppression. To them, military build-ups are not logical; peace to them is safeguarding children, the home and life rather than military build-up and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. They therefore make natural teachers of education for peace and, in this respect, they must now consciously and systematically assume this responsibility at all levels knowing that they and their families have to gain by it and that this is a golden opportunity to contribute immutably to the new world order.

61. Women in media and communications have to rededicate themselves to the role of peace education, particularly in the context of the proliferation of armed conflicts and wars around the world and in Africa.

They can exert great influence in shaping public opinion and in decision-making on the entire spectrum of society and this they must do in a manner that reflects a sense of responsibility.

62. Through teaching, lobbying, pressure groups and information dissemination, women have carried and can carry out their education-for-peace activities in the family, in schools and universities, in local communities, community organizations, places of worship, in places of work, unions, labour and professional organizations, in the halls of government and diplomacy, in intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, etc. Women have also contributed significantly to peace education through research, indicating alternatives to a militarized society. Their findings in research have led to the advocacy for participatory democracy, preservation of a healthy environment, elimination of instruments of war, and ensuring the prevalence of values and attitudes for peace and development of a new type of interpersonal and international relations based on partnership and tolerance.

63. Women must now consolidate their influence so as to maximize their impact on peace education. They must, for example, fight to participate at decision-making levels, and to be part of delegations (national or otherwise) to negotiate international agreements relating to peace and disarmament. Women must insist on the establishment of a minimum number of women participants in such negotiations. International NGOs should monitor and support women's increased involvement in the peace process.

64. But women must also expand their sphere of influence in peace education by participating in decisions related to the use of society's force and the implementation of related policies. This means that they must participate in the military and the police force as well.

65. Women should strive to be included in equal numbers in peace-keeping operations, both at the recruitment level in the United Nations as well as at the level of constituting contingents within countries. More research into the issues of women and the peace process, particularly the experience of women in the military and in peace-keeping operations, could be helpful in this respect.

66. An effective political activism by African women as described above is possible only if they are economically and politically empowered. Empowerment of women is a strategy which has been called for in many international declarations and decisions. The cause of development and peace cannot be compared to any other for which economic and political empowerment of women is more worthy. For the African continent, its women are ready to play an energetic and tireless role for the achievement of peace - the empowerment for getting them to act now rests with Africa's respective Governments.

V. KAMPALA ACTION PLAN ON WOMEN AND PEACE

67. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, most of its content is based on the contributions of the participants at the Conference on Women and Peace, held in Kampala, Uganda, from 22 to 25 November 1993.

68. That Conference adopted an Action Plan which reflected the areas of concern and the focus of attention by the Conference, namely the nature and effects of conflicts and underdevelopment, women in the struggle for peace, the empowerment of women in the peace process and peace education.

69. The following courses of action were extracted from the Kampala Action Plan:

- (a) The articulation by national governments of meaningful policies on women that ensure the full involvement of women in development;
- (b) The establishment of institutional mechanisms for enhancing and coordinating interventions and strategies for such policy implementation;

(c) The provision of legal protection and special assistance for women to ensure their participation; and

(d) Affirmative action to ensure the representation of women at all levels of decision making.

A. Social justice

70. Governments should be urged to respect international conventions which outlaw the use of children as soldiers or armed combatants.

71. The rights of children as provided in the various United Nations Children's Charters should be respected, and enshrined in national laws.

72. As a result of the breakdown of traditional mechanisms to resolve intra-family conflicts, especially between husband and wife, there is a need to create counselling services at grass-roots level to mediate and deal in a conciliating way with domestic conflicts which could lead to violence.

73. Governments should be urged to enact, consolidate and codify laws to prevent all forms of violence against women and children in society and create appropriate machinery to deal with such sensitive cases.

74. They should provide assistance to create or strengthen legal clinics at community level, which would provide counselling and advice to women and girls.

75. They should re-examine and reject cultural traditions which undermine peace or which serve to disempower women.

B. Empowerment

76. Governments which have not ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women are urged to do so without further delay.

77. Women should encourage each other to reject negative perceptions of their abilities, to have confidence in themselves and to appreciate their own self-worth.

78. Governments are urged to take affirmative action to ensure that women are represented at all levels of decision making.

79. Women should be encouraged by all possible means to compete for political position, and to appreciate the contribution women can make when appointed to high position.

80. Solidarity among women and the development of networks between women's organizations should be encouraged.

81. Mechanisms should be developed to ensure that women at the grass-roots level are more actively involved in the resolution of issues considered elitist.

C. Peace education

82. Peace education is a life-long process that is based on the concept of partnership between men and women. It illuminates and advocates the necessity of eradicating all types of violence in society, at familial and community levels. It encourages all people, and in particular girls and women, to take more interest

in politics, international affairs and all aspects of decision making. The Conference therefore endorsed the following actions:

- (a) Compulsory inclusion of peace education in school and college curricula;
- (b) Organization of seminars to sensitize community leaders on the important role women should play in developing a culture of peace in the family, and in society;
- (c) Participation of young people, especially girls, in all conferences and fora devoted to peace;
- (d) Education of women in their civic rights and their sensitization about criminal and civil procedures;
- (e) Inclusion of human rights and humanitarian laws in all school syllabi; *at practice (administrative)*
- (f) Encouragement of regional research and training institutes to carry out research on women in the peace process and identification and analysis of policies and action programmes in respect of women's role in the peace process;
- (g) Rehabilitation of women prisoners, distressed women and those in especially difficult circumstances through the provision of guidance and counselling services;
- (h) Organization of exchange of visits and information among women leaders from different States to observe how others deal with conflict situations;
- (i) Setting up mechanisms which ensure that women, parents and families have access to information and training with regard to issues of parenting for peace;
- (j) Recognition of and support for the role of women in peace education for husbands, sons, fathers and brothers about the futility of war, in view of the fact that it is generally men who initiate and wage war, and young men who take up arms and perpetuate violence;
- (k) Institution of censorship to limit distribution of violent and immoral films; and
- (l) Commitment of women and men in the media and communications specialists to playing a positive role in the presentation of peace issues, and to designing innovative ways of analyzing, packaging and disseminating information to foster and promote peaceful co-existence and collective security.

D. Institution and capacity building

83. A Committee of Women Ministers and/or Plenipotentiaries, including Ministers of Women's Affairs, should be set up, whose functions shall be to:

- (a) Network and articulate women's views on regional and global issues;
- (b) Address and formulate programmes and policies that will effectively deal with women's issues and concerns towards the betterment of the status of women in particular, and society in general.

84. Representatives of this Committee should be included at all levels in the new institutions and mechanisms being created by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for conflict prevention, management and resolution, and to all other policy organs and sectoral fora of OAU and ECA.

E. Action for peace

85. In view of the destructive nature of militaristic conflicts and their devastating effects on women and children, international organizations, national governments and NGOs are urged to take the following actions to promote peace:

- (a) Reduce expenditure on armaments and "defence" and devote the money so saved to improve science and technology for peaceful development and social services;
- (b) Pledge certain proportions of their defence budgets for the promotion of peace and social development;
- (c) Tie aid to the ratio between military and social expenditures;
- (d) Reinforce those aspects of culture which enhance the status and importance of women in the peace process;
- (e) Organize and demonstrate in favour of peace and against divisive elements in society;
- (f) Set aside a regional day for women in positive action for peace;
- (g) Identify potential situations of violence in a timely way and take preventive measures to avert them instead of responding only when fighting has actually broken out;
- (h) Provide for the practical empowerment of peacemakers, and reconciliation of warring parties through the offer of amnesty and assistance for resettlement and rehabilitation which are more successful than punishment in securing cessation of armed struggles. The Conference urged that such methods should be standardized;
- (i) Develop and support programmes to introduce, promote and sustain peace; and
- (j) Recognize and support the national machineries of women and NGOs to work as pressure groups and mobilize necessary action at all levels to ensure that women achieve a critical mass at the national cabinet level in key ministries and departments at national level, and in international organizations that make or influence policy with regard to matters related to collective security and peace.

86. OAU and ECA should review, monitor and appraise the implementation of the Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace and periodically convene conferences to assess progress and promote its implementation.

87. OAU is furthermore requested to take a more active role in averting, managing and resolving conflicts and participating peace-keeping endeavours. To this end, member States are urged not only to support the newly established mechanism but also to contribute to the Special Fund for Conflict Management and Resolution.

88. As a leading organization in peace education, the United Nations should set the example and include women in all peace-keeping and peace-making missions at all levels, and ensure that the military contingencies dispatched by member States in this regard also include women at all levels. The United Nations should ensure that the interests of women are adequately represented in the Security Council.

89. The United Nations should also ensure the inclusion of women at the highest levels in its agencies that determine and/or influence socio-economic development policy at the international level, particularly

the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the United Nations Development Programme.

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REFUGEE, RETURNEE AND DISPLACED WOMEN IN AFRICA

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I. INTRODUCTION

90. In the Nairobi assessment of women's role in the peace process, limited progress was observed. Conflicts and armed struggle continue to plague the continent and are affecting increasing numbers of women and children. In view of this, the agenda for peace has become even more critical.

91. In preparation for the 1995 World Conference on Women, the Regional Conference to be held in Dakar in 1994 will emphasize "women in the peace process" as a central theme. It is anticipated that this focus will highlight the urgent need to address victims of violence on the continent and the integration of women in peace negotiations and decision-making processes. Both OAU and UNHCR will contribute to the understanding of women and peace in Africa by sharing insights on the role of refugee, returnee and displaced women.

92. Refugees are the scarred survivors of war and through their first-hand experience of suffering from violence, they should be recognized and encouraged to contribute to peace.

93. It is estimated that there are approximately 7 million refugees and 15 million internally displaced persons in Africa. The causes of displacement in Africa include armed and ethnic conflicts, human rights abuses, political and religious intolerance as well as drought, famine, natural disasters and calamities.

In eastern Sudan, there are an estimated 716,000 refugees, representing nearly 24 per cent of the area's total population. Less than half of the Sudanese refugee population receives direct assistance from UNHCR, relying instead on local resources. Liberia reportedly has the highest rate of displacement on the continent. Nearly 50 per cent of the population is currently displaced; another 25 per cent have fled the country.

95. According to UNHCR 1993 figures, 75 per cent of the world's 15 million refugees are women and children; of these, one-third are African. Among Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire, 90 per cent are women and children. In Mozambique, an estimated 2 million rural inhabitants, who are mostly women and children, are internally displaced.

96. Refugees in Africa are forced to seek asylum in host countries confronting severe economic constraints; external debt and depressed prices for exports have left economies in decline. Unemployment is high and infrastructural development is insufficient to meet the needs of nationals, let alone the massive influxes of refugee populations. Many African countries hosting refugee populations are also facing chronic and recurring food deficits. Open conflict and other political factors continue to limit the possibilities of a lasting solution for refugees.

The United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) set forth an agenda for "development, equality and peace". Following the end of the Decade in 1985, the "Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women", adopted by participants at the World Conference, reviewed and highlighted the achievements of the Decade, and emphasized the goals of the coming decades to improve women's global roles in development and peace. The needs of the refugee women in Africa are an integral part of this agenda, including the need to involve the refugee victims of war in the peace process, particularly in view of the large refugee populations on the continent.

98. A report from the Horn of Africa Bulletin illustrates the plight of women affected by war and displacement:

"Women and children have difficulties walking long distances to the border, so they are often left behind. When the bombs fall, the soldiers are well protected in their trenches, but the women and children are without shelter and are killed in market-places, in their homes and in displacement camps."

II. PROTECTION OF REFUGEE WOMEN

99. Refugee women are particularly vulnerable to violence, especially when they are separated from other family members and are alone as single women, or as female heads of households. Traditional support systems and community structures that decrease the incidence of violence against women may no longer function in the refugee setting. Protection is one of the highest priorities of UNHCR assistance programmes and protection of refugee women against violence is an essential part of this programme.

100. In Kenya, violence against women in Somali camps was reported to be alarmingly high, with many cases initially unreported for cultural reasons, including:

- (a) The geographical location of camps near insecure areas plagued by bandits and Somali militia;
- (b) Resources offered to refugees have attracted increased banditry;
- (c) Lack of physical security (fencing) and adequate police protection;
- (d) Collection of fuel wood by refugee women in areas far from the camp;
- (e) Voluntary repatriation of refugee men, leaving many more women alone and vulnerable.

101. After this problem was identified in the Kenyan camps, a major effort was undertaken to address the problems immediately. This included several strategies:

- (a) Expanding social service outreach programmes including recruitment of special counsellors;
- (b) Establishing accurate documentation of cases for follow-up;
- (c) Maintaining close communication with the community through discussions with elders and women's groups to better understand how to resolve the crises of the victims and their families;
- (d) Recruiting additional security guards; and
- (e) Relocating vulnerable/single females in safer areas of the camps (not in perimeter areas).

102. A special officer was recruited to conduct an investigation and develop a plan of action for women victims of violence. As a Somali woman, she had cultural insight into the background of the problems of sexual violence and was able to identify socio-culturally appropriate solutions. Her investigation also revealed other problems confronted by Somali women due to their refugee situation.

103. Her research indicated that many Somali women have been forced to enter into liaisons with men who are not their husbands, because of the general socio-economic insecurity caused by the civil war. Refugee women sought protection from men where traditional clan/family security mechanisms could no longer provide protection. These non-customary liaisons or unions may provide temporary protection for Somali women, but there is concern that following the period of exile and during repatriation, these women

will find it very difficult to reintegrate themselves into Somali society and be accepted within their community.

Resettlement and women at risk

104. UNHCR takes special interest in resettling refugees who are defined as "vulnerable". Top priority is given to settle refugees categorized as "women at risk". The definition includes single females and widows with children, as well as women victims of violence. Women at risk may also have husbands or family members who are involved in sensitive or dangerous political activities, targeting them for possible abuse.

105. Although UNHCR makes an effort to assist women defined as "at risk" for the above reasons, problems are often encountered in the resettlement process. For example, in some cultures (such as the Somali), resettlement of single women presents problems. Somali people may reject the idea that a single woman should be allowed to travel on her own and resettle without the protection and guidance of family or clan. In many cultures, male community members are reluctant to allow women from their society to leave to become "independent" in the Western world. Islamic fundamentalists are particularly opposed to the resettlement of single Muslim women in Western countries.

106. It should also be noted that it is often difficult to find countries willing to receive single women for resettlement. There is often prejudice against single women refugees in donor Western countries, where it is assumed that she will become a welfare recipient and inevitably a burden to the State. Thus, the protection of "women at risk" through resettlement becomes more difficult.

107. It is also more difficult to find acceptable locations for the resettlement of women because of their usually lower levels of education. Many countries select only refugees with higher levels of education for resettlement.

108. In the process of resettlement interviewing, it is often difficult to understand the refugee women's problems and her attitudes towards resettlement. Women who have not been allowed freedom of speech or expression within their society may be reluctant to communicate openly. Experience from UNHCR resettlement officers indicates that there is a need to allow time to develop and build trust with these women.

III. UNDERSTANDING SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS IN REFUGEE COMMUNITIES

109. Social services field staff also play an integral role in assessing and evaluating socio-cultural adjustment problems faced by refugees. Some of these problems are directly linked to the changing gender roles and expectations in the refugee setting and the breakdown of traditional coping mechanisms.

110. Research among refugee communities in Ethiopia has revealed problems among both Sudanese and Somali populations due to the breakdown of traditional marriage arrangements. When Nuer and Dinka Sudanese men (traditionally required to offer a payment of cattle to the family of their prospective bride) were unable to afford the necessary cattle, young men began to abduct their brides illegally, without payment. This "kidnapping" among Sudanese refugee populations in Ethiopia is a source of conflict among families and a disruption of the refugee community.

111. In this case, the traditional mechanism for securing a bride was no longer possible. The response of the young men resulted in an angry reaction of the families of these "kidnapped" young women.

112. While marriage has traditionally created a social and economic bond among and between families, the practice of "kidnapping" created hostility and a division of families instead.

113. Among the Somali refugee populations, similar problems in the process of traditional marriage bonds were also reported. Because the normal payments for a bride were not secured by men prior to marriage, the marriage itself was seen as less of a commitment. Reportedly, men who have not paid sufficiently for their bride feel less obligated to maintain the marriage. Thus, divorce among Somali refugee populations is much higher than in their society prior to becoming refugees.

114. Somali women refugees who were interviewed concerning their problem claim that the high rate of "abandoned" Somali wives can also be attributed to the fact that men no longer have a viable economic role to perform in the refugee setting. Thus, the man may leave in search of other economic opportunities, reportedly in Saudi Arabia or other more developed economies.

115. These examples illuminate the need for providing social services among refugee populations, including professional social workers trained to understand human problems and to work together with individuals and families in conflict due to their refugee status.

IV. SOCIAL SERVICES

116. Social service officers are frequently targeted within UNHCR to address gender issues in the field. One of the principal concerns is to ensure active refugee participation in the camps and settlements in planning community services and other development agendas.

117. One of the primary problems in assisting refugee women which is often recognized by social services officers in the field is the lack of female participation in refugee leadership committees. Several factors have been identified which contribute to low female participation in refugee committees, including:

- (a) Cultural factors discouraging women's participation in public forums;
- (b) Lower educational levels of women (particularly in languages such as English and French), thus making it difficult for women refugees to communicate directly with national camp administrative staff;
- (c) Predominantly male camp administrative staff who are less aware of the female refugees' situation and have very little direct contact with women;
- (d) Labour burdens of women that do not allow them the extra time necessary to participate in meetings and decision-making processes.

118. In Somali refugee camps in Ethiopia, all-male refugee committees claim that women have no role in leadership within their culture, therefore they should not be encouraged to participate in refugee leadership committees. In this case, separate women's leadership committees have been established, where it is often not acceptable for men and women to work together.

119. In Djibouti, Somali refugee leadership is organized in a traditional manner. Clan elders are the community leaders, often advised by younger and more educated "technical experts" in certain matters. Each clan also have a group of elderly women who provide advice regarding the particular problems of women and children. This traditional system allows for a broader representation of opinions and concerns in community leadership. Unfortunately, these traditional leadership systems are often not well understood in the refugee setting. Artificial leadership structures may be imposed by camp administrators who are unaware of traditional mechanisms of integrating gender concerns in decision making.

120. In every camp, even where female illiteracy rates are high, there are women leaders who are educated. These women can be sought out and consulted to work together with camp administrators to convey information on the problems confronted by women. It is always preferable to have more females in the

general camp administration. But where this is not possible, women refugee leaders can be targeted for regular consultation and interpretation, in order for administrators to be kept informed regarding the situation of women refugees.

121. The problem of refugee leadership varies cross-culturally. Ghana reports that Liberian women refugees assumed responsibility for leadership in their communities in Liberia and therefore have had no problem in participating in decision making in their exile status. It is also noted that war situations experienced by refugees have often strengthened women, who are forced to become leaders in their families in the absence of men at war.

V. REFUGEE WOMEN: CASE STUDIES FROM SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES

122. The special problems confronted by women in female-headed households in Africa have long been recognized in development literature. These problems are compounded when women are in exile. In Mozambique, scatted data indicates that 25-40 per cent of households are female-headed. In comparison, figures for the local population indicate that 22 per cent are female-headed, emphasizing that the burden of problems confronted by female-headed households is even greater among refugees.

123. The previous roles and functions of family members may no longer be able to operate in the refugee setting. For many refugee families, this causes a cultural identity crisis, as well as an economic hardship. In flight, households and family members are separated. Men's and women's roles, developed over time to suit the environment and the economy where they evolved, are so disrupted that the family may become dysfunctional. The case studies from UNHCR field offices highlight the different kinds of problems confronting refugee women across the continent.

A. Malawi

124. In a meeting conducted with refugee leaders concerning the issues of female refugee participation in the camps, it was noted that several problems confronted the refugee community and family. The refugee men complained that there was a high rate of divorce and adultery and that traditional norms were disintegrating in the camp. Refugee women were often blamed for these failures. Marriage was reportedly under stress because it was taking place under non-traditional norms which would usually bind two families together. Inter-marriages were reportedly common but broke down due to a lack of respect for each other's traditions. Marriages have traditionally been held together in Mozambique with payment of dowry, but refugees are without the resources necessary to maintain this tradition.

B. Côte d'Ivoire

125. In Côte d'Ivoire, refugee camps have not been developed. Refugees have instead integrated into villages and therefore live similarly to nationals. Field studies of refugee women indicate that of the 9,957 surveyed, 72 per cent are illiterate. Forty-seven per cent are heads of families with an average of six dependents.

C. Mozambique

126. Mozambique is currently planning a needs assessment of female-headed households in major areas of returnee concentration in order to understand how they are attaining self-sufficiency. Information from the survey will be used to design quick impact projects to assist returnees.

127. The situation of women refugees varies from country to country. Mozambican refugees in Malawi originate primarily from a rural background and are illiterate with very little formal skills training. By

contrast. Togolese refugees in Benin and Ghana are urban people. In view of these differences, assistance projects and the search for durable solutions must recognize their different needs.

VI. UNHCR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEE WOMEN

128. In order to address the critical needs of refugee women, UNHCR has developed special assistance programmes and implemented policies to integrate gender concerns fully into general programme planning.

129. The UNHCR Executive Committee has repeatedly given priority to the concerns of refugee women, particularly with regard to protection. Action has been taken to implement a more gender-sensitive approach to refugee assistance in several areas including:

(a) Providing manuals and guidelines to field staff regarding how to provide appropriate assistance to refugee women. Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women and the UNHCR Policy on Refugee Women provide basic orientation to UNHCR staff in the field and for implementing partners working with refugee populations. These documents offer practical application of a gender-sensitive approach and outline UNHCR policies:

(b) Recruiting specialist staff to address gender issues, including a Senior Coordinator for Refugee Women. In order to implement these policies and practical guidelines effectively, staff with expertise in gender issues have been posted in field offices and at headquarters. While many have been placed in social service positions, the integration of gender issues in all sectoral programme planning is being encouraged:

(c) Providing gender-awareness training courses;

(d) Integrating gender issues in programme planning. While the appointment of specialist staff has raised awareness regarding the needs of refugee women, implementation has been less effective where camp-level field/administrative staff do not include females. Female staff working in camps and settlements provide a critical link to understanding the needs of refugee women and directing that information into the proper channels for assistance programming;

(e) Increasing the numbers of female staff in the field. The UNHCR people-oriented planning (POP) training courses have been one of the most successful efforts to raise gender awareness among staff members. Case studies of refugee populations are used to illustrate the particular problems faced by women and include active problem solving by course participants. Since 1992, 10 POP courses have been held in various parts of Africa, for UNHCR and implementing partner staff members.

VII. UNHCR AND OAU ASSISTANCE EFFORTS IN AFRICA

130. In preparation for the World Conference on Women, UNHCR country-planning strategies were reviewed to compile and describe specific assistance efforts targeted to refugee women. In summary, women refugees in Africa currently benefit from:

(a) Implementation of social services, especially through the placement of female social workers in the field;

(b) Training, especially to assist women in initiating income-generating activities;

(c) Establishment of women's groups;

(d) Leadership skills training to increase women's roles in decision making in camps and settlements; and

(e) Provision of health education and family planning.

131. Field experience from across the continent reveals that the priority areas of assistance for refugee women are as follows:

(a) Protection;

(b) Education;

(c) Appropriate health care;

(d) Social services refugee participation.

(a) Protection

132. The subject of protection of women refugees has already been discussed elsewhere in this paper.

(b) Education

133. Provision of education for refugees is one of the priorities in UNHCR's delivery of services. Education is a critical resource that can be carried with the refugee when he/she returns to the country of origin. In many cases, construction, enhancement and/or rehabilitation of educational facilities can easily benefit both refugees and the local population. Therefore government, NGO and UNHCR funds can be utilized for educational development.

134. Unfortunately, the refugee child confronts special problems in access to education due to their exile status. Normal school attendance is disrupted during flight and relocation in the country of asylum.

135. UNHCR often has a limited ability to meet the educational needs of refugees adequately for several reasons:

(a) Refugee camps and settlements are often located in remote/isolated areas where no educational facilities have been established and there is a lack of interest in their development in these regions of low population density;

(b) Parallel structures are developed for the refugee population who are perceived as temporary (this is costly and may not allow facilities to be well utilized by local populations following the return of refugee populations).

136. The education of females is recognized generally as a problem in Africa. Enrolment levels for females are equal to males in the lower primary levels but continue to drop. Very low percentages of secondary school populations are female.

137. Girls and women face unique educational problems in exile due to language barriers, as females are frequently less conversant in second languages used for instruction in schools. Use of mother tongue texts is preferred for pre-literate classes; but such texts are often not available in the refugee setting.

138. In the Sudan, female participation in education at the primary level is around 45 per cent. At the secondary level, this drops to 25 per cent. In Ethiopia, low enrolment for Sudanese girls were also reported.

In most cases, girls will stop their education after only one or two years of primary education, and remain illiterate. This problem has partly been addressed by the establishment of adult literacy classes targeting married women. Nursery schools/day care is also provided for their children, thus providing free time for women

139. In the refugee camps of northern Kenya, some of the obstacles faced by female students are currently being addressed in the following ways:

(a) The central part of the campaign is to recruit and train more female teachers. They present role models for female pupils and make education for girls more acceptable to parents who may wish to restrict their contact with adult men outside of the home;

(b) Use of Somali textbooks is also promoted. This is important for girls and women and also makes the move to repatriation a more recognizable goal;

(c) Nursery schools have been introduced. It is anticipated that the introduction of education for girls at an earlier age will encourage them to continue their education;

(d) Introduction of two shifts for school. Girls are more likely to attend afternoon sessions, allowing them to complete domestic chores in the morning;

(e) The introduction in the curriculum of home economics which includes important course materials such as health, hygiene and nutrition. Girls are more likely to attend school if home economics is offered and they will also benefit from other courses at the same time;

(f) Establishment of school committees with two parents (one male and one female) from each class. This includes women as parents in the decision-making process and provides a good example for female students.

140. UNHCR is also sponsoring selected women refugees for university education through a German-sponsored programme. Due to their lower participation in secondary school, it is often difficult to find qualified female candidates for these scholarships. But in some countries, special efforts have been made to look for female candidates. In Côte d'Ivoire, for example, 33 of the 65 beneficiaries are female, thus disproving assumptions that there are not enough women applicants.

141. In its education programme for refugees, OAU looks at the problem from the period before the refugee/returnees and displaced women leave their countries. A majority of these women did not have any kind of formal schooling before their departure. This is mainly due to traditional beliefs in most of the African countries that boys should go to school while girls stay at home to learn how to take care of the home with their mothers. The women therefore find themselves at a disadvantage in the employment sectors, participation in their own activities and understanding of their rights; thus, a chance to mix with the local people becomes difficult.

142. The OAU Secretariat, under the Bureau of Refugees, Displaced Persons and Humanitarian Affairs Division, provides education and training by awarding scholarships to refugees in the marketable fields that will, upon completion of their education and training programme, enable them to secure employment.

143. The Bureau has noted that in the past, more men than women applicants have been sponsored by the OAU Secretariat. This is mainly due to women's low level of education. In 1992, a staff member from the OAU Bureau for Refugees undertook missions to various OAU member States. During her visits, she talked to many women refugees and urged them to apply to OAU for sponsorship. So far, the responses have been

few; the OAU Secretariat will continue to give priority to the women applicants in the fields of education and training to reduce disparity.

(c) Health and nutrition

144. The health and nutrition of refugee women and children is affected by several factors, including:

- (a) Food distribution systems;
- (b) The sexual division of labour and women's traditional role in control of household resources;
- (c) Special nutritional needs of pregnant and lactating women; and
- (d) Proper training and education of community health workers.

145. In refugee relief systems, food distribution is one of the primary methods of assistance. Where food is distributed to male heads of households, traditional patterns of resource allocation within the household may be ignored, thus diminishing women's traditional roles in providing food to the family.

146. Community health workers and social service field staff need to be trained and sensitized to the special needs of women and children. Training for community health workers and social service workers can easily include a component to address gender issues. Where the larger POP training courses cannot reach field staff in all locations, short gender sessions with relevance to health (or other technical fields) have been integrated into other planned technical workshops.

Harmful traditional practices

147. Other special women's health issues addressed by UNHCR include a project to address the problems of harmful traditional practices among Somali refugee women. In order to address this, a survey was conducted among refugee and returnees populations in Ethiopia to understand the magnitude of the problems and identify ways to work with the people in alleviating many of the health problems associated with the practice of female genital mutilation.

148. Following the survey and meetings with women's groups and community leaders, it was decided to conduct a campaign to educate people on the problems and health risks of certain traditional practices. The campaign includes training of traditional birth attendants and community health workers in Somali refugee camps and returnees communities.

149. By sensitizing community and religious leaders and training professional health workers within the community, it is believed that the prevalence of harmful traditional practices should decrease. It is important to note that the project has not experienced any hostility, primarily because it has worked with both males and females in the community (particularly elders and respected religious leaders) to gain acceptance of the project.

(d) Social services

(i) Employment

150. One of the reasons for securing meaningful employment is having a good education. Since the percentage of educated refugees, returnees and displaced women is far less than that of men, there are very few women in the employment sector. Besides, the women may have language problems in their countries of asylum that would also contribute to their unemployment.

151. Self-help projects in favour of refugees is a field of special interest to the OAU Secretariat. This is partly due to the persistent socio-economic crisis in Africa which has been characterized by high unemployment in most OAU member States. Subsequently, OAU has for a long time been faced with an ever-increasing problem of unemployed refugees, the majority of them being hosted by very poor countries. This situation obliged OAU to hold serious consultations with other refugee-serving bodies on how to tackle this problem effectively. After a series of surveys in member States over-burdened by refugees, OAU, under its Bureau for Refugees, decided to embark upon projects which would help refugees engage in gainful activities instead of depending on handouts which had drastically dwindled. Since 1987, the OAU Secretariat has been funding many income-generating projects in favour of both men and women refugees in different OAU member States. These include various ongoing small-scale projects such as poultry, sewing and knitting, gardening, carpentry, handicraft, fishing, tanning and baking.

152. In addition to income-generating projects, women want to be involved in challenging roles or obtain certificates for the skills they have acquired and will be able to take back home when repatriation time comes. This creates the need for involving and including refugee women in all the affairs which affect their lives such as in decision-making structures, project planning and skills training projects.

153. In 1990, for example, the Mozambican refugee women in Tongogara refugee camp in Zimbabwe organized themselves into a cooperative and started running and managing a large-scale income-generating vegetable gardening project. The project was a great success and there are similar examples of well-organized projects run by women in different refugee settlements or other habitual places.

VIII. OAU SPECIAL REFUGEE CONTINGENCY FUND

154. This is the fund for the operation of the OAU Bureau for Refugees programmes. It comes mainly from the 2 per cent of the total OAU Administrative Annual Budget and is used for the following programmes:

- (a) Establishing income-generating projects;
- (b) Awarding scholarships to refugees;
- (c) Emergency activities and assistance to member States; and
- (d) Sensitizing the international community on the plight of refugees, returnees and displaced persons.

IX. INTER-AGENCY EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEE WOMEN

155. The African Women in Crisis (AFWIC) programme is a United Nations inter-agency programme that addresses many of the problems of refugee, returnee and displaced women in Africa and integrates development and relief agencies in their approach to assistance. A memorandum of understanding was signed between UNHCR and UNIFEM to allow the integration of relief and development assistance for refugee and displaced people, specifically focusing on gender issues.

156. AFWIC was designed to offer a development-oriented strategy to disaster relief and management efforts, giving particular attention to women's resources in the development process. AFWIC includes:

- (a) Direct support of activities including surveys, preparation of materials, training programmes and participatory projects;

(b) Catalytic activities including mental health counselling, data collection, improving disaster manuals to be gender sensitive; and

(c) Advocacy activities including promotion of legal; advocacy for women's groups and networks, increased protection for refugee and displaced women and incorporating gender issues into regional refugee legislation.

157. One of the projects currently supported by UNIFEM is assisting refugee women in Ghana. In the primary refugee camp of Gomba Buduburam in Ghana, 5,100 of the total Liberian refugee population of 6,800 are women and children. Most of the women are in female-headed households.

158. The UNIFEM project has assisted women to adjust to their changed socio-economic position in exile, through provision of mental health counselling, public health education, marketable skills training and micro-business management. The refugees themselves were trained in counselling techniques in order to help other refugees. Women refugees also participated in the construction of a women's centre which will be used for skills training. Women also learned basic construction techniques through the project.

159. AFWIC provides one example of how UNHCR can work together with other agencies to integrate the agendas of relief and development in assistance to refugee women. Field offices can assist in this process by disseminating information on AFWIC to their implementing partners and helping them to prepare appropriate proposals for submission.

X. ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEE WOMEN AND THE WOMEN-IN-DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

160. Assistance strategies for refugees realize the importance of including development agencies in relief programmes. It is only through involvement in the infrastructure and services of poor communities and regions that the cycle of displacement and emergencies can be addressed. But there is also a need to recognize the differences between development projects and assistance to refugee populations. While it is important for NGOs and development agencies to coordinate agendas, it is also important to recognize the very different obstacles that UNHCR confronts in assisting refugees. The luxury of long-term planning strategies cannot work when confronting the often sudden and unexpected emergencies of refugee influxes.

161. Understanding the different agendas of relief and development assistance is also critical when assessing gender issues. While WID programmes were integrated into the priorities of NGO and donor community plans during the 1970s, the introduction of WID into UNHCR assistance efforts came much later. There is an urgency for refugee action plans to "catch up" with the international WID agenda, but this task is complicated by the different constraints and needs of refugee communities. UNHCR cannot model their assistance efforts for women in the same WID-development framework. Ongoing conflicts limited the assistance provided to the most immediate health care and basic services. Security conditions prevent frequent or regular interaction with refugee populations that enable UNHCR staff or implementing partners to develop a socio-cultural understanding of gender specifics within a given refugee population.

XI. REPATRIATION AND REINTEGRATION

162. An important part of planning for the repatriation process is understanding the socio-economic situation in the area of proposed reintegration. Critical gender issues for planning include land availability and land tenure. Traditional land tenure may exclude returnee widows from access to land, thus making their economic options more limited. In areas where land shortages exist, women may be more adversely affected than returning men.

A. Returnee women in Humera

163. The gender-specific problems that face returnee populations can be illustrated with examples from the Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan returning to their homes in the Humera area. Recent research indicates that an estimated 23 per cent of returnee women in Humera are female-headed households. Of this group, an estimated 6 per cent are in fact single women without dependents.

164. The farming areas allocated for returnees are 51 km from the villages. Many women are unable to participate in agriculture because of this distance. The division of labour among this returnee population also restricts women's access to land. Men plough the land, thus women in female- or single-headed households do not plough. These women are forced to rent their land, thus severely reducing their own profits and resources, as the payment favours the renter. These problems could partly be alleviated by allocating to women and the elderly the plots nearest to the village.

165. With regard to shelter, returnee women also face problems. As men are traditionally responsible for shelter construction, women in female-headed households are forced to pay men to assist them in shelter construction, thus decreasing their limited resources.

166. In Mozambique, understanding intra-household dynamics is also critical for appropriate repatriation planning. It is estimated that 15-25 per cent of households among Mozambican refugees in South Africa are polygamous. Wives in polygamous households often have their own residences and therefore head their own households; thus, preparations for shelter and food distribution systems need to understand the dynamics of the polygamous household.

XII. WOMEN AND PEACE

167. The literature on refugee and displaced women often depicts them as the target and the primary victims of civil wars. But women in exile are not merely victims; they assume new roles and responsibilities, they become heads of their families, sole providers and key decision makers.

168. The challenging new roles and responsibilities of the refugee experience have forced many women to develop new strengths and resources. Their experience in coping with the tragedies of war make refugee women the most appropriate candidates for inclusion in peace awareness and education as well as in decision-making processes in peace negotiations.

A. Somali women and peace negotiation

169. An examination of the socio-cultural traditions of Somalia reveal that women have a significant role in peace making. After marriage, a women retains her kinship ties with her father's group, including property rights. These dual kinship roles which follow marriage often exist across two neighbouring but warring clans. As a result, women have suffered greatly in Somalia's civil war, which has become a familiar war for many. It has also meant that women now assume the role of ambassador between rural groups. This is a function of their traditional role in systems of exchange where women were exchanged to seal a peace treaty between two conflicting groups.

170. It is reported that, at the height of the civil war, women provided the only means of communication between rival clans, since their status allowed them to cross clan boundaries.

171. During the fourth Humanitarian Conference on Somalia held in Addis Ababa in December 1993, 12 of the 140 Somali delegates were women. These women prepared an important statement regarding the need to include women in conflict resolution and decision making. Their statement included the following:

"We believe that we Somali women can play a key role in bringing peace, and that only Somalis can disarm themselves. Thus we urge the international community to increase the key roles that women can and must play in the peace and nation-building processes."

"This Conference demonstrates the marginalization of Somali women both by the lack of women present and the lack of any formal forum on women's issues which are fundamental to peace and development. We insist that this be redressed at any future conference on Somalia."

172. For preparation of the final declaration of the Conference, these women prepared a short statement as follows:

"Women form the backbone of Somali family care and community cohesion. Even so, they feel marginalized in all levels of decision making. Thus they insist on being equally represented in the peace and nation-building decision-making processes."

This was unfortunately never included in the final Conference document. The exclusion of their statement was not protested.

173. The Kampala Women and Peace Conference, held in November 1993, noted that:

"It is often stressed in Africa that the empowerment of women is also crucial to sustainable efforts in peacemaking."

The lack of women's participation in decision making has excluded them from policy making in general and specifically from peace negotiation. This is also true in the refugee setting, where refugee leadership often excludes women.

174. The Conference papers noted that women are less directly involved in war; they are not typically the soldiers in battle. But women have their own roles in war: to care for the survivors of their families, often in an alien setting as refugees or displaced people. Although women suffer the magnitude of hardship in war, they are not involved in decisions that lead to war, or in matters of security and peace.

175. During the collapse of communities caused through conflict, the role of women is crucial. They continue to pass on culture and traditions to the young generation. They preserve human dignity and social order in the midst of chaos and civil strife.

XIII. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

176. Since the problem of refugees, returnees and displaced persons will not immediately disappear from Africa, OAU, through its refugee machineries, namely the OAU Commission of Fifteen on Refugees which is the policy organ in refugee matters, the OAU Coordinating Committee on Assistance to Refugees and the OAU Bureau for Refugees shall continue to carry out various activities to alleviate the problems of refugees and displaced persons. This should be done in close collaboration with member States, UNHCR, other United Nations agencies, various NGOs and the international community as a whole, paying special attention to women's special needs not only because they are in the majority but because they are also vulnerable.

177. In the light of this, the following are some recommendations on refugees, returnees and displaced women which are necessary for their welfare:

(a) When member States and other bodies involved in refugee work are planning for refugee populations, they should create a home/community environment as it helps to bring some kind of normality to the women's lives in the abnormal situations;

(b) OAU member States, international organizations and NGOs should make a concerted effort to listen to refugee and displaced women and include them in deciding their welfare in such areas as educational programmes, skills-training projects, income-generating projects and management;

(c) The institutions which are responsible for policy making and allocating funds and resources need to target these resources to the very population they are trying to serve, the majority of whom are women and children;

(d) There is a great need to employ women field workers such as consultants, camp administrators, donors, etc., as this helps women to be more open with their problems, especially if they have been sexually abused;

(e) It has also been noted that many women become victims of sexual violence before and after their flight. There is therefore the need to give them some counselling, medical care as well as legal assistance. This will help them to recover from emotional and physical trauma. On the whole, women also need to be the targets of public-awareness campaigns in camps/settlements to focus on publicizing the problems of rape, etc., and later to be involved in participating in preventive measures.

178. Preparation for the World Conference allows an opportunity to re-examine the problems confronting women the world over. For UNHCR, it is a chance for field officers to share and exchange ideas concerning their successes in reaching refugee women, or their frustrations in confronting obstacles in delivering assistance.

179. The following recommendations are made:

(a) All national reports for the World Conference should include information on refugee and displaced women, particularly where large portions of the population are in exile;

(b) Peace education for refugee women and men should be integrated into both formal and non-formal education curriculum that reaches refugee populations, encouraging refugee participation and experience sharing in designing appropriate peace education programmes;

(c) National women-in-development agendas should incorporate refugee-relief concerns to include a more comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes of refugee emergencies.

180. The World Conference provides an important forum for inter-agency communication and highlights the need to link relief and development agendas for women in Africa. Within the agenda for the fourth World Conference on Women, the topic of refugee women was placed under the heading of "women and peace", recognizing the need to include refugee women in an African forum for peace. Refugee women are the witnesses of war's devastation and can provide personal testimony for the need to negotiate for peace.

A.3. Promotion des Arts, de l'Écrit et
du Droit d'Auteur

Imingo

Umuvugo

1. BUTARE : RUKUNDO Charles

2. KIBUNGO : MULIGO Emmanuel

3. KIGALI NGALI : MATABARO Berckmans

4. GITARAMA : BIZIMANA Léon

5. RUHENGARI: HITAYEZU Jean Bosco

6. GISENYI: ~~AGIKUNDIRI~~ Aimé

7. KIBUYE: NSENGIMANA Léon

8. BYUMBA: MUHIRWA TERENCE

9. UMUTARA : NYAGATOMA Pierre Célestin

10. GIKONGORO : KAMUHIRE Dieudonné

11. CYANGUGU : MUSHINZIMANA Alexis

12. KIGALI-VILLE : ~~UWAHIGIRI~~ Victoria

8 ✓
2 ✓
10 ✓
3 ✓
17 ✓
6 ✓
1 ✓
7 ✓
4 ✓
12 ✓
7 ✓
5 ✓

V. **Abagize komite y'irushanwa**

- a) Mu rwego rwa Perefegitura
- Perezida: Perefè wa Perefegitura
 - Umwungirije: Umuhuzabikorwa wa MIGEFASO muri Perefegitura
 - Mu rwego rwa Perefegitura, abandi bagize komite ni abantu 5 bazatoranywa hakurikije inshingano basanganywe

- b) Mu rwego rw'igihugu
Komite y'ijonjora igizwe n'abantu 10:

- 3 ba MIGEFASO
- 2 ba MIJESCAFOP
- Abahanzi 2
- 1 wa ORINFOR
- 2 ba ONG

VI. **Ingenzi**

- a) Mu rwego rwa Perefegitura
- Imyiteguro y'abahanzi yatangira kuva igihe babimenyeye
 - Ijonjora ry'abahanzi rizaba tariki ya 28 Gashyantare

- b) Mu rwego rw'igihugu
Haba imivugo cyangwa indirimbo, aba mbere bazakora irushanwa rya nyuma i Kigali kuri Stade AMAHORO k'umunsi w'abari n'abategarugori tariki ya 8 Werurwe 1998

VII. **Ishimwe riteganyirijwe abarushanwa**

- a) Mu rwego rwa Perefegitura:
- * Uwa mbere: 60.000 Frw
 - * Uwa kabiri: 40.000 Frw
 - * Uwa gatatu: 20.000 Frw
- b) Mu rwego rw'igihugu:
- * Uwa mbere: 160.000 Frw
 - * Uwa kabiri: 130.000 Frw
 - * Uwa gatatu: 110.000 Frw
 - * Uwa kane: 90.000 Frw
 - * Uwa gatanu: 70.000 Frw
 - * Barindwi bakurikira abo batanu bazahabwa 30.000 Frw buri wese cyangwa buri tsinda.

Ministeri y'Umuryango, Uburinganire
n'Ubwuzuzanye n'Imbereho Myiza y'Abaturage

FISHI YO GUTANGA AMANOYA: IMVUGO

Amazina y'abarushanywa	Isanga-nyama-tsiko	Inganzoy'U-muvugo.	Umwimerere	Gukuri-kiranya neza ibitekerezo	Ikiyarwa nda	Kuragira bwoba Kudate-gwa	Igite	Yose hanwe
1. Mengirwa	20 10 10	10	5	5	4	3	3	50
2. Muliya	8 7	6	3	3	3	2	2	34
3. Muriyama	18 8	8	4	3	3	2	3	40
4. Muriyama	7 8	7	4	3	3	2	2	35
5. Muriyama	7 8	7	3	2	2	1	2	25
6. Muriyama	7 7	6	3	3	3	1	1	31
7. Muriyama	6 7	5	3	3	2	1	2	29
8. Muriyama	7 7	7	3	3	3	1	2	33
9. Muriyama	6 6	6	3	3	3	2	2	31
10. Muriyama	7 8	7	3	3	3	2	2	35
11. Muriyama	7 6	7	4	3	3	1	2	33
12. Muriyama	8 7	8	4	3	4	2	2	38

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