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Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone

Megan H. MacKenzie

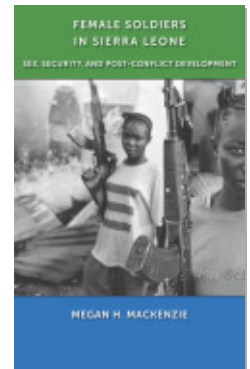
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NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. For examples of such images, go to worldvision.com.au/.../S2_4_Rights.jpg, www.gendercide.org/case_conscription.html, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2994096.stm, or www.mylearningspace.net.au/.../34/Figure-14.jpg. In fact, the image found at users.otenet.gr/~tzelepisk/yc/cs.htm of a twelve-year-old boy soldier can be seen on multiple sites and campaign posters, including the Children and War: Impact Project at the University of Alberta.
2. Malinda Smith, *Beyond the African Tragedy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
3. I develop this concept and discuss its theoretical foundations later in this chapter.
4. For example, see former British prime minister Tony Blair's speech from October 2, 2001, to the Labour Party annual conference, in which he declared, "The starving, the wretched, the dispossessed, the ignorant, those living in want and squalor from the deserts of Northern Africa to the slums of Gaza, to the mountain ranges of Afghanistan: they too are our cause."
5. Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs are an example of this. Similar models of this program were used by the United Nations in Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.
6. Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (New York: Zed Books, 2001); Mark Duffield, "Social Reconstruction and the Radicalization of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance," *Development and Change* 33, no. 5 (2002): 1049–1071.
7. Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars*, 2.
8. *Ibid.*, 16.
9. *Ibid.*, 11.
10. *Ibid.*, 88.
11. Shadd Maruna and Russ Immarigeon, eds., *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration* (Portland, OR: Willan, 2004), 6.
12. *Ibid.*, 5.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Isobel McConnan and Sarah Uppard, *Children Not Soldiers: Guidelines for Working with Child Soldiers and Children Associated with Fighting Forces* (Save the Children), <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2002/sc-children-deco1.htm>.

15. National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, *The DDR Program: Status and Strategies for Completion* (Freetown, Sierra Leone: Government of Sierra Leone, 2002), [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SIERRALEONEEXTN/ Resources/ddr_status.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SIERRALEONEEXTN/Resources/ddr_status.pdf).
16. Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where Are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives during and after War* (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004).
17. Susan R. McKay, "The Psychology of Societal Reconstruction and Peace: A Gendered Perspective," in *The Women and War Reader*, ed. Lois Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York: NYU Press, 1998), 348–362.
18. Mary Caprioli and Mark A. Boyer, "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 4 (2001): 503–518.
19. McKay, "The Psychology of Societal Reconstruction and Peace," 356.
20. Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
21. Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
22. Rita Abrahamson, "Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 30, no. 1 (2005): 68.
23. Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (London: Routledge, 2006), 35.
24. Selected contributions to the field of gender and conflict include Laura Sjoberg's book *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq: A Feminist Reformulation of Just War Theory* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006); Charli Carpenter's *Innocent Women and Children: Gender, Norms and the Protection of Civilians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and Christine Sylvester's "The Art of War/The War Question in Feminist IR," *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (2005): 855–878.
25. Rawwida Baksh-Soodeen and Linda Etchart, *Women and Men in Partnership for Post-conflict Reconstruction: Report of the Sierra Leone National Consultation, Freetown, Sierra Leone 21–24 May 2001* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).
26. Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, *Women, Gender, and Terrorism* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011); Swati Parashar, "Feminist International Relations and Women Militants: Case Studies from Sri Lanka and Kashmir," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 2 (2009): 235–256; Myriam Denov, "Girls in Fighting Forces: Moving beyond Victimhood" (Montreal: CIDA, 2007), http://www.crin.org/docs/CIDA_Beyond_forces.pdf.
27. Christine Sylvester and Swati Parashar, "The Contemporary 'Mahabharata' and the Many 'Draupadis': Bringing Gender into Critical Terrorism Studies," in

- Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson, Marie Breen Smyth, and Jeroen Gunning (New York: Routledge, 2009), 178–193.
28. Denov, “Girls in Fighting Forces.”
 29. Rachel Brett, “Girl Soldiers: Challenging the Assumptions” (Quaker United Nations Office), http://www.quuno.org/geneva/pdf/Girl_Soldiers.pdf; Yvonne Keairns, “The Voices of Girl Child Soldiers” (Quaker United Nations Office, October 2002), <http://www.quuno.org/newyork/Resources/QUNOchildsoldiers.pdf>.
 30. Tsjeard Bouda, “Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Building Blocs for Dutch Policy” (Conflict Research Unit, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, March 2005), <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/50/58/35112187.pdf>.
 31. McKay and Mazurana, *Where Are the Girls?*; Dyan Mazurana and Christopher Carlson, *From Combat to Community: Women and Girls of Sierra Leone* (Cambridge, MA: Women Waging Peace, 2004); Rachel Brett, “Girl Soldiers: Denial of Rights and Responsibilities,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2004): 30–37.
 32. Specifically, see Christine Sylvester, “Development Studies and Postcolonial Studies: Disparate Tales of the ‘Third World,’” *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1999): 703–721; Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women’s Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zed Books, 2007); Cindy D. Ness, *Female Terrorism and Militancy: Agency, Utility, and Organization* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
 33. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).
 34. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (New York: Grossberg Books, 1988), 271–313.
 35. *Ibid.*, 306.
 36. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (New York: Random House, 1978).
 37. *Ibid.*, 178, 154.
 38. *Ibid.*, 25–26.
 39. *Ibid.*, 108, 37.
 40. *Ibid.*, 111.
 41. Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), xx.
 42. *Ibid.*, 69.
 43. *Ibid.*, 58.
 44. Fiona Fox, “New Humanitarianism: Does It Provide a Moral Banner for the 21st Century?” *Disasters* 25, no. 4 (2001): 275.
 45. Gilles Deleuze, “Foreword,” in *The Policing of Families* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), xvi.
 46. Fox, “New Humanitarianism,” 284.
 47. Jacqueline Stevens, *Reproducing the State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 210.
 48. *Ibid.*, 22.
 49. *Ibid.*, 218.

50. This work is not anthropological. I do not pretend to know how conjugal order is understood within specific ethnic groups and communities in Sierra Leone. Where possible, I provide as much information as I can related to local practices and norms, marital laws, and paternity laws, but this work is primarily focused on how external—Western-liberal— notions of conjugal order have been imposed within Sierra Leone.
51. In this book I use the expression “children born as a result of wartime rape” to refer to this specific category of children whose paternity is known to be linked to rape. I also use “children born of war” to refer to a larger population of children that may face similar stigmas and vulnerabilities to children produced during rape. Similar to Carpenter’s *Innocent Women and Children*, I argue that terms such as “war babies” and “rape babies” are negative and feed the tendency to sensationalize their identity.
52. Hansen, *Security as Practice*, 18–19 (emphasis in original).
53. Stevens, *Reproducing the State*, 23.
54. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge) 1990; Michelle Lazar, *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse* (London: Palgrave, 2007).
55. Lazar, *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*, 4.
56. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 2001).
57. Allan Dreyer Torfing, “Introduction,” in *Discourse Theory in European Politics*, ed. David R. Howarth and Jacob Torfing (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
58. This includes an analysis of Sierra Leone’s marriage and adoption laws and an analysis of government policies related to the disarmament process and marriage and childbirth.
59. These include the policy documents from organization such as COOPI, CAW, Human Rights Watch, CEDA, and Caritas Makeni.
60. More than twenty local languages are spoken in Sierra Leone.
61. See chapter 2 for more detailed information.
62. Exceptions to this include McKay and Mazurana, *Where Are the Girls?*, but many of their interviews are with girl soldiers and not adult women.
63. Macartan Humphreys and Heremy Wienstein, *What the Fighters Say: A Survey of Ex-Combatants in Sierra Leone*, PRIDE Interim Report (June–August 2003).
64. C. Adler and A. Worrall, eds., *Girls’ Violence: Myths and Realities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 83.

CHAPTER 2

1. Kriole poem, “For Dear Father Land.”
2. R. Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation and Disease Are Threatening the Social Fabric of Our Planet,” *Atlantic Monthly* 273 (1994): 44–74.

3. Several useful and insightful texts on Sierra Leone's civil conflict include John Hirsh's *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001); Ibrahim Abdullah's *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War* (Oxford: Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2004); and David Keen's *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (New York: Palgrave, 2005). Perhaps the most thorough text is Lansana Gberie's *A Dirty War in West Africa: The RUF and the Destruction of Sierra Leone* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). Gberie was a journalist in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 1996 and visited the country for extended periods in 1999, 2001, and 2002. He interviewed many of the major players in Sierra Leone's conflict, including RUF leader Foday Sankoh, former president Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, and numerous civilians. Lansana Gberie, Ian Smillie, and Ralph Hazleton also cowrote *The Heart of the Matter: Sierra Leone, Diamonds and Human Security* (Ottawa: Partnership Africa Canada, 2000). This manuscript was published in 2000 during a time of increased scrutiny of the diamond industry and, particularly, the role of "blood diamonds" in fueling, sustaining, and intensifying the conflict, this report on the role of diamonds in the Sierra Leone civil war received a great deal of public attention.
4. Smillie, Gberie, and Hazleton, *The Heart of the Matter*.
5. A. B. Zack-Williams, "Child Soldiers in the Civil War in Sierra Leone," *Review of African Political Economy* 28, no. 87 (March 2001): 73–82; Michael G. Wessells, *Child Soldiers: From Violence to Protection* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); R. Maclure and M. Denov, "'I Didn't Want to Die So I Joined Them': Structuration and the Process of Becoming Boy Soldiers in Sierra Leone," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 1 (2006): 119–135.
6. There are also several manuscripts focusing specifically on the role of the United Nations and Britain in Sierra Leone, including Assefaw Bariagaber, "United Nations Peace Operations in Africa: A Cookie Cutter Approach?," *Journal of Third World Studies* 23, no. 2 (2006): 11–29, and Paul Williams, "Fighting for Freedom: British Military Interventions in Sierra Leone," *Contemporary Security Policy* 22, no. 3 (2001): 140–168. Despite the detailed accounts of the various phases of the civil conflict offered in these texts, none of them dedicate significant attention to female combatants.
7. Jacqueline Knörr, "Female Secret Societies and Their Impact on Ethnic and Trans-ethnic Identities among Migrant Women in Freetown, Sierra Leone," in *Women and Migration: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Jacqueline Knörr and Barbara Meier (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 80–99.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Fr. Joseph Momoh, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
10. Catherine Zainab Tarawally, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, November 2005.
11. Fr. Joseph Momoh, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Knörr, "Female Secret Societies," 85.
15. The World Health Organization has identified female genital mutilation (FGM) as a major health concern. Specific groups aimed at stopping FGM and raising awareness include FORWARD, Care2, and the FGM National Clinic Group.
16. John L. Hirsch, *Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001).
17. Richard Phillips, *Sex, Politics and Empire: A Postcolonial Geography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 119.
18. Ibid.
19. Adekeye Adebajo and David Keen, "Sierra Leone," in *United Nations Interventionism 1991–2004*, ed. Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 246–247.
20. A. Porter, *Croledom* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 3.
21. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone."
22. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*.
23. Ibid., 18–19.
24. In *ibid.*
25. Phillips, *Sex, Politics and Empire*, 2.
26. Lenore Manderson, "Colonial Desires: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in British Malaya," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 3 (January 1997): 373.
27. Mariarosa Dalla Costa, *Paying the Price: Women and the Politics of International Economic Strategy* (New York: Zed Books, 1995).
28. R. C. Harris, "The Simplification of Europe Overseas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, no. 4 (1977): 469–480.
29. Quoted in Phillips, *Sex, Politics and Empire*, 1.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 127.
32. Ibid., 128.
33. Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968).
34. Richard Burton, *To the Gold Coast for Gold: A Personal Narrative* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), 187.
35. Quoted in Phillips, *Sex, Politics and Empire*, 182.
36. Lynn M. Thomas, "Imperial Concerns and 'Women's Affairs': State Efforts to Regulate Clitoridectomy and Eradicate Abortion in Meru, Kenya, c. 1910–1950," *Journal of African History* 39, no. 1 (1998): 121–145; Jean Allman and Victoria B. Tashjian, *I Will Not Eat Stone: A Women's History of Colonial Asante* (Portsmouth, OH: Heinemann, 2000).
37. Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 71.

38. Ernest Graham Ingham, *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years* (London: Seeley, 1894), 316.
39. Barbara E. Harrell-Bond and Ulrica Rijnsdorp, *Family Law in Sierra Leone* (Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1975), 8; quotation on p. 12.
40. Dehunge Shiaka, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
41. Valerie Nicol, "Promoting Gender Equality through Legal Reform," in *Women and Men in Partnership for Post-conflict Reconstruction: Report of the Sierra Leone National Consultation, Freetown, Sierra Leone 21–24 May 2001* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002), 59–75.
42. Michael Wessells and Davidson Jonah, "Recruitment and Reintegration of Former Youth Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Challenges of Reconciliation and Post-agreement Peace Building" in *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-agreement Peace Building*, ed. Siobhan McEvoy-Levy (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2006), 27–49.
43. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy."
44. Cooper in Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*, 9.
45. Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*.
46. In Barbara Crossette, "Singling Out Sierra Leone, U.N. Council Sets Gem Ban," *New York Times*, July 6, 2000, World section, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/06/world/singling-out-sierra-leone-un-council-sets-gem-ban.html>.
47. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*, 85.
48. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone."
49. Ibid.
50. Abdul K. Koroma and A. N. D. Koroma, *Sierra Leone: The Agony of a Nation* (Freetown: Andromeda Publications, 1996); W. Reno, "The Failure of Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone," *Current History* 100 (2001): 219–225.
51. Ibrahim Abdullah, "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF/SL)," in *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War*, ed. Ibrahim Abdullah (Oxford: Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2004), 41–65.
52. In Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*, 93.
53. Paul Williams, "Fighting for Freetown: British Military Intervention in Sierra Leone," *Contemporary Security Policy* 22, no. 3 (2001): 140–168.
54. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone"; Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*.
55. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone," 204.
56. William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
57. Hirsch, *Sierra Leone*.
58. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*.
59. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone."
60. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*, 98.
61. Hirsch, *Sierra Leone*, 150.

62. Ibrahim Abdullah, "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36, no. 2 (June 1998): 203–235.
63. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*.
64. Williams, "Fighting for Freetown."
65. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*, 167.
66. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone," 246.
67. Hirsch, *Sierra Leone*.
68. Thokazani Thusi, "Learning from Sierra Leone," in *A Step towards Peace: Disarmament in Africa*, ed. Nelson Alusala and Thokozani Thusi (Tshwane: Institute for Security Studies, 2004).
69. In Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone," 267.
70. There was a separate disarmament process for children.
71. Reliefweb, "Sierra Leone War Is Over, Declares President 18 January 2002," <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/AllDocsByUNID/e7837aa561f-4387ac1256b480050a45b> (accessed October 12, 2007).
72. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*.
73. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone," 215.
74. Isobel McConnan and Sarah Uppard, *Children Not Soldiers: Guidelines for Working with Child Soldiers and Children Associated with Fighting Forces* (Save the Children), <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2002/sc-children-deco1.htm>.
75. National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, *The DDR Program: Status and Strategies for Completion* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 2002), http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SIERRALEONEEXTN/Resources/ddr_status.pdf, p. 4.
76. Further details about the DDR process can be found in chapters 4 and 5.
77. As noted in chapter 4, the length of the training programs became shorter as funds for these initiatives dried up. In the end, some ex-combatants were trained for only three to six weeks.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. For a more detailed analysis of post-conflict training options for female soldiers, see chapter 4.
82. For example, UNICEF's Girls Left Behind program offered *gara* tie-dyeing, catering, tailoring, and weaving. Children Associated with the War (CAW) and the Augustan Bintue organizations offered tailoring for female soldiers.
83. Ibid.
84. Adebajo and Keen, "Sierra Leone."
85. National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, *The DDR Program*.

86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Sulay Sesay, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
89. Physicians for Human Rights, *War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone: A Population Based Assessment* (Washington, DC: Physicians for Human Rights, 2002).
90. Florence Buegwa, "Gender and Human Rights in Post-conflict Reconstruction," in *Women and Men in Partnership for Post-conflict Reconstruction: Report of the Sierra Leone National Consultation, Freetown, Sierra Leone 21–24 May 2001* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002), 75–81.
91. Jebbeh Forster, "HIV/AIDS: A Strategy for Sierra Leone," in *Women and Men in Partnership for Post-conflict Reconstruction: Report of the Sierra Leone National Consultation, Freetown, Sierra Leone 21–24 May 2001* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002), 143–157.
92. Ibid., 148.
93. For more details on the various roles reported by women, see chapter 3.
94. Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, ed., *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peace Building (The RIREC Project on Post-Accord Peace Building)* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
95. Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa*.
96. Edward Anague, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
97. Christian Aid, Sierra Leone, *What Price Peace? An Analysis of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Plan* (London: Christian Aid, 1999).
98. Myriam Denov, "Girls in Fighting Forces: Moving beyond Victimhood" (Ottawa: CIDA, 2007), http://www.crin.org/docs/CIDA_Beyond_forces.pdf.
99. Brooks in S. Shepler, "Les filles-soldats: Trajectoires d'après-guerre en Sierra Leone," *Politique Africaine* 88 (2002): 49–62.
100. United Nations, *From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: UN Strategy to Support National Recovery and Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone* (United Nations, 2002), available at <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2002/undp-sle-28oct.pdf>.

CHAPTER 3

1. Mohamed Sesay, interview by author, Edmonton, Alberta, October 2010.
2. Jennifer Turpin, "Many Faces: Women Confronting War," in *The Women and War Reader*, ed. Lois Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York: NYU Press, 1998), 3–19.
3. R. Charli Carpenter, *Innocent Women and Children: Gender, Norms and the Protection of Civilians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
4. See Rawwida Baksh, Linda Etchart, Elsie Onubogu, and Tina Johnson, eds., *Gender Mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation: Building Sustainable Peace* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

5. Sara Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); Mary Daly, *Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy* (London: Women's Press, 1984).
6. April Carter, "Should Women Be Soldiers or Pacifists?" in *The Women and War Reader*, ed. Lois Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (New York: NYU Press, 1998), 33.
7. Patricia T. Morris, "Women, Resistance, and the Use of Force in South Africa," in *Women and the Use of Military Force*, ed. Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993).
8. Esther Madriz, *Nothing Bad Happens to Good Girls: Fear of Crime in Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
9. *Ibid.*
10. Merry Morash, *Understanding Gender, Crime, and Justice* (London: Sage, 2006), 137.
11. See Carpenter *Innocent Women and Children*.
12. Madriz, *Nothing Bad Happens to Good Girls*, 32.
13. Amnesty International, "Sierra Leone: Rape and Other Forms of Sexual Violence against Girls and Women," June 29, 2000, <http://asiapacific.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAFR510352000?open&of=ENG-SLE>.
14. Physicians for Human Rights, *War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone: A Population Based Assessment* (Washington, DC: Physicians for Human Rights, 2002).
15. "Gender Profile Sierra Leone," *AFROL News*, http://www.afrol.com/Categories/Women/profiles/sierraleone_women.htm.
16. We the Women, "Sierra Leone's War: Women the Worst Losers," <http://www.wethewomen.org/entry/help-war-time-sexual-abused-sierra-leones-woman> (accessed February 21, 2005).
17. Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (New York: Zed Books, 2001), 123.
18. *Ibid.*, 125.
19. World Bank, "Consultations with Youth in Sierra Leone," 2005, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2007/Resources/1489782-1137012196309/2112807-1150737906527/Draft_Consultations_with_youth_in_Sierra_Leone.pdf (accessed December 3, 2008).
20. *Ibid.* (my emphasis).
21. Tom McKinley, "Sierra Leone Diamond Town Seeks Alternative," BBC (Koidu, Sierra Leone, April 4, 2002), Africa section, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1908691.stm>.
22. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, "Participatory Research Study with Adolescents and Youth in Sierra Leone" (Precious Resources, 2002), www.Womenscommission.org/reports/sl/06.shtml (accessed March 30, 2006).
23. U.S. Department of State, "Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2003: Sierra Leone," Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, February 25,

- 2004, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2003/27750.htm> (accessed April 22, 2006).
24. Interviews were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of interviewees 1 through 50 are withheld by mutual agreement. All names used in text are pseudonyms. Interviews by author, 12 November 12–December 20, 2005.
 25. Interviewee 28, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 26. Interviewee 14, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 27. Interviewees 44, 12, 38, 9, 21, 22, 33, 4, 18, 39, 2, 25, 42, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 28. Vivi Stavrou, “Breaking the Silence: Girls Abducted during Armed Conflict in Angola,” Final Report: Canadian International Development Agency and the Christian Children’s Fund, Period covering September 2003–March 2005, <http://www.crin.org/bcn/details.asp?id=13699&themeID=1004&topicID=1026>.
 29. Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (London: Routledge, 2006), 99.
 30. Interviewee 14, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 31. See chapter 2.
 32. Interviewee 32, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 33. Interviewee 8, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 34. Andrea Ferrero, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, November 2005.
 35. Rachel Brett, “Girl Soldiers: Challenging the Assumptions” (Quaker United Nations Office), http://www.quno.org/geneva/pdf/Girl_Soldiers.pdf.
 36. Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where Are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives during and after War* (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004), 114.
 37. Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson, *From Combat to Community: Women and Girls of Sierra Leone* (Cambridge, MA: Women Waging Peace, 2004), 21.
 38. UNICEF, “The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls in West and Central Africa and the UNICEF Response,” http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Impact_final.pdf (New York: UNICEF, 2005).
 39. Glenis Taylor, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, November 2005.
 40. Fr. Joseph Momoh, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
 41. It should be noted that the intake forms for each of these children included a set list of questions for the child and a list of criteria for the social worker to fill out regarding the child. Questions included the following: Were you raped? Did you partake in drug abuse? What were you doing before the war? Criteria included information about the physical state of the child—whether the child was ill, pregnant, or disabled in any way. There was a large disparity in the amount of information included in each form. Some were complete and included additional quotations from the child, while others had questions and columns left blank. I have tried to summarize the information about these children as clearly as

possible and to present the information in a manner as close to the original forms as possible.

CHAPTER 4

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61. Interviewees 11, 22, 24, 53, 67, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
62. Interviewee 5, interview by author, Makeni, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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12. Interviewee 17, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.

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17. Interviewee 1, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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19. Interviewee 42, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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21. Interviewee 37, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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23. Interviewee 8, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
24. Interviewee 19, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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27. Interviewee 23, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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CHAPTER 6

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CHAPTER 7

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43. Glenis Taylor, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
44. *Ibid.*
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CHAPTER 8

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3. <http://www.unisa.edu.au/hawkecentre/events/2008events/RedCross.asp>.
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6. Edward Anague, interview by author, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2005.
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