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AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS INFLUENCING MOZAMBICAN WOMEN'S ATTAINMENT OF POST-WAR WELL-BEING

By

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ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS INFLUENCING MOZAMBICAN WOMEN'S ATTAINMENT OF POST-WAR WELL-BEING

By

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If civilian women's capacity to recover after war is to be encouraged, it is necessary to not only take into consideration the negative impacts of warfare upon them, but also the ways in which they recover from the impact war. In order to evaluate the ways in which women in one developing nation, namely Mozambique, have sought to recover from war, in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with 47 women living in rural areas of Northern Mozambique. Findings revealed that factors facilitating women's attainment of post-war well-being existed at all levels of the social system. These included individual-level factors such as the determination to recover; micro-level factors such as access to familial support; meso-level factors such as the community's response to women recovering from war, access to social support, culturally appropriate resources for health and healing, educational resources, and economic resources; and macro-level factors such as changes to the larger social system that have altered women's social status. These factors additionally interacted in order to give rise to women's capacity to attain well-being after war. These findings are significant as previous studies have allowed for the identification of discrete variables that are potentially important to women's attainment of post-war well-being, but have not provided a comprehensive picture of this process and the multiple variables that are potentially significant to it. In addition, while multiple previous investigations have identified implications of warfare for women in developing nations, these studies have

not examined the ways in which they have sought to recover from these impacts. This investigation thus represents a contribution to the literature on warfare and women as it not only examined the ways in which women in a developing nation have sought recover from the impact of war, but it also provided a comprehensive analysis of this process, taking into consideration multiple variables at all levels of the social system. Implications for policy and practice are discussed.

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Introduction

It is essential to consider civilian women's experiences during and after periods of armed conflict as, during times of war, these women are not only often targeted for gender-based violence, but they also experience the deprivation of war differently than do men. Women's experiences during times of war have significant public health consequences for those communities involved in conflict. However, these experiences and their consequences have only recently received much attention (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). Understanding women's experiences of post-war adjustment and their attainment of well-being in post-war societies is thus an area of inquiry that warrants investigation and from which women worldwide can derive benefit. This is also consistent with the increasing emphasis within psychology on understanding factors that contribute to individuals' capacity to attain well-being in the face of significant adversity (Masten, 2001; Sheldon & King, 2001).

To date, women's socially determined experiences of psychological well-being and distress have been routinely pathologized in contrast to the experiences and needs of men that have been held up as the norm (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2000; Worrell, 2001). This includes women's experiences of post-war adjustment. Responses to survivors of warfare usually favor a male-centered paradigm that does not take into consideration women's differential, gendered experiences of warfare (Sideris, 2003). Hence, this investigation focused attention on Mozambican women's experiences of warfare and their process of post-war adjustment. This investigation not only elucidated the ways in which warfare has impacted Mozambican women, but also allowed for an understanding of factors that have impacted their lives postwar, including characteristics

of their environments that have facilitated and inhibited their attainment of postwar well-being, to be obtained. This investigation represents a contribution to the literature on women and warfare as it casts light on a previously overlooked area of inquiry, namely the understanding of women's postwar adjustment, and it allows for the foundation to be laid for future interventions aimed at assisting women who have survived war.

Mozambique represented an ideal site within which to examine civilian women's experiences of post-war adjustment. Not only have Mozambican women survived a particularly brutal war (Igreja, 2003; Sideris, 2003), but the 14 years that elapsed since the end of the war when this investigation was conducted ensured that these women had a period of post-war adjustment upon which to reflect. In addition, obtaining insight into these women's experiences of warfare and post-war adjustment will inform an understanding of the experiences of women in other African nations that have more recently emerged from or are currently experiencing civil war (e.g., Rwanda, Angola, and Uganda).

Chapter 1

Women and Warfare

In recent wars as many as 90% of all casualties were civilians, of which the majority are estimated to have been women and children (McKay, 1995; Okazawa-Rey, 2002). This is the result of relationships of gender inequality that exist between men and women and that govern societies worldwide. These relationships exist on a continuum ranging from sometimes-violent relationships between men and women within the home to the construction of social policy and cultural norms that serve to exclude women from equal participation in social life. During times of war, women's gender roles and their bodies are imbued with a significance that affects their experiences of warfare. In addition, women's needs often go unmet both because their devalued social status provides them with access to fewer resources than men as well as because their specific biological needs are often overlooked by service providers (Cockburn, 2001; Colson, 1999; Indira, 1999; Lentin, 1997; Moser, 2001).

The targeting of civilians has thus become a common characteristic of modern warfare. In addition to physical violence, the destruction of infrastructure such as health care clinics and power lines as well as the damaging of resources such as agricultural land and water sources are powerful ways in which civilians are targeted during war. This induces fear and has both physical and psychological implications for civilians affected by war (McKay, 2005). Given their gender roles as caretakers and providers for their families, women are often disproportionately targeted for or affected by these forms of violence.

In developing nations in particular, women's roles as caretakers of their families

and as agricultural producers cause them undue duress during times of warfare. Women's ability to care for themselves is compromised by their need to care for others as well. This encumbrance places them under particular threat as they are rendered less mobile than men and are thus less able to leave areas of danger, exposing them to the threat and reality of violence. In addition, women's and girls' roles as agricultural laborers and food producers for their families cause them to spend much of their time in agricultural fields that may be land mined or frequented by enemy soldiers, exposing them to increased threat of violence or injury.

The social consequences of rape can also be significant, and enemy combatants often capitalize upon its disruptive force during times of war (Arcel, 2000; Cockburn, 2001; McKay, 1998; Turshen, 2000). For example, in recent years deliberate and calculated attacks on women have been central to two especially high profile genocidal wars fought in Rwanda and Bosnia (Human Rights Watch, 2000; Salzman, 2000). In addition, a recently released report by Amnesty International (2004) documents the large-scale violence perpetrated against and deprivation suffered by women in the war zone of Darfur in the Sudan. Finally, women's loss of male breadwinners if their husbands die during war may also result in their loss of access to economic resources; this may force many women into prostitution as their only means of survival (Cockburn, 2001; Lentin, 1997; McKay, 1998).

Women's gender roles, gender-specific experiences during times of war, and their unique biological needs thus interact with the resources available to them within their environments in order to give rise to their post-war experiences and needs (Ben-Zur & Zeidner, 1996; Sideris, 2003). As a result, women's reactions to the trauma of

war are different from those of men (Berberich, 1998).

Women and post-war society. Women's experiences during times of war have post-war consequences both for individual survivors as well as for their families and larger communities. At the same time, the larger social consequences of warfare have implications for individual women's ability to attain post-war well-being. Women's experiences of warfare, therefore, have multiple, interwoven, contextually determined implications for their experiences of post-war adjustment.

The generalized social devastation wrought by war has particular consequences for women. First, levels of social violence are often elevated in the wake of war, rendering daily life more dangerous for women and girls than for men as they live with the ever-present threat of sexual assault. Second, the destruction of the natural environment that occurs during times of war disproportionately affects women and girls who are primarily responsible for agricultural labor in many communities. This is especially problematic when landmines buried in agricultural land remain unexploded and continue causing injury to civilians after a war is over. Finally, violence can erode reciprocal relationships between community members that women often rely upon for access to resources, thus further reducing their access to resources important to their survival (Cockburn, 2001; Moser, 2001).

The experience of rape may also have significant social implications for individual survivors of warfare. In many societies, women who have been raped are ostracized from their families and communities, they may not be eligible for marriage, and their communities may likewise reject any children that result from rape. Women who are thus isolated from their communities may also lose their access to economic

resources and consequently face threats to their survival, forcing some into prostitution (Amnesty International, 2004; Arcel, 2000; McKay, 1998; Turshen, 2000; Watts & Zimmerman, 2002).

Finally, the experience of all forms of wartime violence can give rise to long-term physical and psychological consequences for survivors. These may include somatic complaints, intrusive thoughts, sexually transmitted diseases, infertility, and long-term physical damage resulting both from rape and related pregnancies (Liebling & Kiziri-Mayengo, 2002; McKay, 1998). In fact, it was found that Ugandan women still experienced psychological symptoms of trauma up to 13 years after the end of the war (Liebling & Kiziri-Mayengo, 2002). In addition, as a result of girls' and women's unequal access to resources, those who have lost limbs due to landmines and other forms of mutilation are less likely to be fitted for prostheses than men and boys and thus face a lifetime of limited productivity (McKay, 1998). This also inhibits their chances of marriage or causes them to be abandoned by their husbands, thus limiting their access to economic resources (McKay, 1998). These consequences of war may be further exasperated by women's lack of access to adequate or even marginal health services in many nations (Turshen, 2000).

The social contexts within which women reside after war thus have significant implications for their experiences during and after war. Not only are women's experiences of post-war adjustment determined by their gendered experiences of warfare, but the gendered contexts within which they seek to survive post-war also have significant implications for their capacity to achieve well-being. Accordingly, social contexts that do not support the recognition of women's particular post-war needs are

not conducive to their capacity to achieve well-being in the wake of war. It is important, therefore, to understand the ways in which women have sought to navigate these contexts and the ways in which they have worked to achieve well-being after living through war.

Mozambican Women's Experiences of Warfare

Mozambique has witnessed approximately 30 years of almost continuous warfare. A war of independence against Portuguese colonizers was fought from 1964 to 1974. This was followed by a civil war between the socialist Frelimo government and the South African-supported Renamo that lasted from 1976 to 1992. During the latter war, civilians often lived side-by-side with soldiers from opposing sides and much of the war was fought in areas frequented by civilians. An estimated 8 million Mozambicans were affected by this war, of whom approximately 600 000 were killed, 1.7 million fled to neighboring countries, and 4.5 million became internally displaced (Peltzer & Chogo, 1996). It is estimated that virtually every Mozambican family had at least one member killed, mutilated, or who went missing (DeAbreu, 1998; Turshen 2001). In addition, while it is not known exactly how many women were raped during the war, it is estimated that hundreds of thousands were injured (DeAbreu, 1998). Finally, it is believed that at the end of the war approximately 2 million landmines remained unexploded throughout the country, mostly along roads (Peltzer & Chogo, 1996).

This recent civil war was characterized by extreme social disruption, during which women in particular were targeted for violence. Renamo deliberately destroyed social relationships that give meaning to daily life and employed tactics aimed at

sowing fear and economic destruction amongst civilians. War tactics included the murder and abduction of civilians (primarily women and girls), the throwing of dead bodies into wells in order to contaminate water sources, forcing civilians to flee their homes as a result of fighting, mutilation, torture, or the enforced witnessing of the torture of others, stealth attacks upon villagers during the night, and the rape of girls and women in front of family members and others (Cliff, 1991; Magaia, 1989; Peltzer & Chongo, 1996; Sideris, 2003; Summerfield, 1999).

The abduction of women and girls was a particularly brutal aspect of this war. These women and girls were often forced to act as sex slaves and laborers for Renamo soldiers. They were kept by soldiers for extended periods of time before being abandoned in unfamiliar locations, making it difficult, if not impossible, for them to find their way back to their villages. In some cases, women had no choice but to remain with their abductors as their wives after the end of the war. Another significantly brutal aspect of the civil war in Mozambique was the deliberate, large-scale mutilation of women, children, and the elderly in order to reduce their productivity (DeAbreu, 1998; Igreja, 2003; Magaia, 1989; Peltzer & Chogo, 1996; Turshen, 2001).

The consequences of war for Mozambican women were multiple and resulted both from their individual experiences of warfare as well as from the socio-cultural meaning attached to these experiences by their larger community (Sideris, 2003). Various authors, including DeAbreu (1998), Igreja (2003; 2004), Nordstrom (1997), Sideris (2003), and Turshen (2001) have documented the impacts on civilian women of the recent war in Mozambique. During the time immediately following the war, survivors were found to suffer psychological, physical, and socio-cultural symptoms of

trauma such as intrusive thoughts, nightmares, poor appetite, somatic complaints, and general feelings of malaise and depression described as an injury to the spirit (DeAbreu, 1998; Igreja, 2004; Nordstrom, 1997; Sideris, 2003). In addition, multiple authors have noted that many women who had been raped, particularly those who became pregnant by enemy soldiers, were ostracized from their families and rejected by their husbands (Igreja, 2003; Peltzer & Chogo, 1996; Turshen, 2001).

Sideris (2003) conducted interviews with Mozambican refugee women living in South Africa in order to understand their gendered experiences of war-related distress. What was particularly notable about these women's experiences of distress was that these were closely related to their loss of social connection to their communities and their loss of access to their land. For these women, their ability to farm their land and to provide for the sustenance of their families was an integral component of their sense of self-worth. In addition, these Mozambican women acutely felt the loss of their kinship networks that provide them with support and access to resources. The latter was of particular significance as women often lost access to economic resources through displacement and war and could not depend upon their families and larger community for support (Sideris, 2003).

Mozambican women have also exhibited notable strength in the face of post-war adversity. Some women have drawn upon the informal economy and other sources of sustenance in the face of the economic devastation wrought by the war. In fact, for some women, the independence that came along with the capacity to earn their own living was perceived as a benefit of war (Sideris, 2003). In addition, communities in different areas of the nation have sought to rebuild social structures and relationships that have

been destroyed in the recent war (Igreja, 2004). The use of indigenous methods of healing is one key way in which communities have sought to recover from the war. Ceremonies in which victims of war violence were symbolically cleansed of their wartime experiences and restored to their pre-war identities allowed individuals and their larger communities to begin the process of post-war recovery. These ceremonies allowed families and community members to accept back individuals who experienced war-related violence and to allow them to once again participate in the activities and ceremonies of their communities (Honwana, 1998; Green & Honwana, 1999).

However, it is important to note that this process of post-war recovery has occurred within a context where civilians have had inadequate, if any, access to physical and mental health resources. Specifically, Mozambicans have limited access to medical services, which are particularly limited for inhabitants of rural areas. Similarly, few resources for the psychological and psychiatric care of war survivors exist. Mental health resources are only available to a select few who reside in urban areas (Igreja, 2004; Peltzer & Chongo, 1996), and the majority of these services are provided by foreign Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) whose services are not necessarily appropriate to the local cultural context, but rather are shaped by Western interpretations of well-being (Igreja, 2004). Mozambican war survivors thus have largely needed to rely upon traditional resources for healing, including local spiritual leaders and healers (Igreja, 2004; Peltzer & Chongo, 1996).

This situation was further exacerbated by economic reforms forced by structural adjustment policies imposed upon Mozambique as it makes its transition from a socialist to a capitalist economy. These reforms have led to reduced government social

spending, which has further limited women's access to formal health resources, economic support services, education, and supportive services such as childcare (Cliff, 1991; Marshall, 1990; Sheldon, 2002; Roesch, 1994). This is significant as such reforms not only place a heavy burden upon women who have to perform additional labor in order to care for their families in the absence of health and other resources (Cliff, 1991; Roesh, 1994), but may also limit women's access to resources necessary for their attainment of post-war well-being and economic self-sufficiency.

Mozambican women thus have significant gendered post-war needs that result both from their gendered experiences of warfare and the existence of a post-war context that does not necessarily support all of their particular needs. Understanding the ways in which these women have sought to adjust to life after war will shed light on the ways in which they have compensated for their lack of access to many of the resources that are often considered to be essential for post-war recovery. In particular, this investigation contributes to the literature on women, war, and Mozambique by providing a comprehensive picture of the way in which women in a developing nation recovered after war and factors that impacted this process. Previous research has primarily focused on the negative and long-lasting effects of war on women, rather than on the ways in which women recover from these effects. This investigation aimed to fill this gap in the existing literature.

Understanding Mozambican Women's Experiences of Post-War Adjustment

Women's gendered experiences of well-being and distress have not been adequately considered and are often pathologized (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2000; Worrell, 2001). Women's voices are therefore not often heard when the effect of the violence of

war on civilians is considered (Sideris, 2003). This is further complicated by the current dearth of information that exists regarding the processes of post-war adjustment employed by individuals in developing nations (Igreja, 2003; 2004).

An examination of well-being acknowledges the fact that communities worldwide find ways to put their lives and communities back together after war (Last, 2000). Accordingly, well-being can be defined as an individual's ability to withstand and recover from difficulties and strive towards health (Lorion, 2000). However, well-being is not just a function of individual characteristics, but consists of individuals' interaction with their environments (Kelly, 2000; Lorion, 2000).

The attainment of well-being, therefore, results from a combination of individual characteristics and ecological contexts that support thriving (Davis, 2002; Masten, 2001; Poorman, 2002; Shalev, Tuval-Mashiac, & Hadar, 2004). In other words, when individuals striving to be well are embedded within contexts that support their ability to thrive, they are able to attain well-being. In order to adequately examine whether Mozambican women attained well-being after war, and to clarify the process through which such well-being was obtained, it was, therefore, important to understand which characteristics of the ecological context both facilitated and inhibited their post-war adjustment while elucidating individual variables that also contributed to this process. Potentially important factors identified through prior studies existed at multiple levels of the social system (i.e., individual to macro-level) and included factors such as social support, access to community-based resources, and access to resources for spiritual health. These factors are elucidated below.

Various authors (e.g., Davis, 2002; DeVries, 1996; Hiegel, 1994; King, King,

Fairbank, Keane, & Adams, 1998; Shalev, Tuval-Mashiac, & Hadar, 2004) have found that women's access to social support networks is essential to their ability to successfully survive conditions of physical and psychological duress. Poorman (2002) additionally found that reciprocal social support relationships were important to women's ability to thrive in the face of adversity. Social support networks may both protect individuals from harm when they encounter conditions of stress and may be essential to their attainment of well-being (Cohen & Ashby, 1985). Accordingly, Mozambican women's access to social support networks, both within the micro-level contexts of their families and the meso-level contexts of their larger communities, may have helped to mitigate the impact of the war upon them, and their ability to reconstruct their networks of support may have been an important component of their ability to attain postwar well-being.

Second, Davis (2002) and Shalev, Tuval-Mashiac, and Hadar (2004) found that the post-trauma adjustment of individuals who have experienced disturbing events is strengthened through their access to meso-level, community-based resources that support their attainment of well-being through the provision of mental health resources such as counseling. This has been reinforced by multiple findings regarding the importance of survivors of wars' access to high quality and appropriate resources for mental health such as traditional healers, self-help groups, and religious leaders for their attainment of post-war well-being (e.g., DeVries, 1996; Hiegel, 1994; Turner, McFarlane, & van der Kolk, 1996). Accordingly, access to resources that help women meet psychological needs that result from their experiences of violence is important to their ability to successfully adjust to life in the wake of trauma. It was, therefore,

important to understand the kinds of meso-level resources supporting their mental health that Mozambican women have found or would have found helpful in meeting their post-war needs and to understand the ways in which they have compensated for any lack of access to such resources.

Third, given the significance and the complexity of local spiritual beliefs (Englund, 1998; Igreja, 2003), it was important to examine the significance of these beliefs to women's process of post-war adjustment. Specifically, it was important to examine the impacts that Mozambican women's spiritual beliefs and access to meso-level resources for spiritual health have had upon their process of postwar adjustment.

Fourth, given that women often lose access to meso-level economic resources during times of war (DeAbreu, 1998), it was important to examine the ways in which participants in this investigation had sought to survive economically after the war. It was thus important to not only understand Mozambican women's particular post-war economic needs, but also to understand the ways in which they had responded to the economic realities of living in a post-war society.

Fifth, the impact of post-war changes on the meso and macro-levels of social systems sometimes led to increased violence against women (Cockburn, 2001; Moser, 2001). This was explored with participants in this investigation. They were asked about their exposure to post-war violence and the forms that this violence has taken.

Sixth, individual demographic variables that were hypothesized to be potentially significant to women's experiences of post-war adjustment included, but were not limited to, their age, marital status, and whether they lost their partners during the war. Where relevant, women were asked to speak about the importance of these variables to

their experiences during and after war in order to ensure that the relative significance of each variable to their attainment of post-war well-being was understood.

Seventh, women were asked to speak about factors significant to their post-war well-being that were not identified prior to the start of data collection. These factors that may have impacted their post-war well-being were examined, including ways that they have sought to survive despite these concerns.

Finally, it was important to understand contextual and other variables important to women's post-war adjustment from their perspective, rather than imposing upon them Western perceptions of well-being. It was thus important to allow women to attribute meaning to those factors that have affected their lives in a post-war society and to explicate the significance of the social contexts within which they lived. This allowed for an understanding to be obtained of the ways in which women have navigated the post-war context in Mozambique, which resources were most significant to their post-war attainment of well-being, and the ways in which these various variables interacted in order to give rise to their particular post-war experiences.

Various previous studies have thus pointed to factors at different levels of the social system that are potentially significant to women's attainment of post-war well-being. However, these previous investigations have not provided a comprehensive picture of women's attainment of post-war well-being, but have rather allowed for the identification of a variety of discrete variables that are potentially significant to their post-war adjustment. This investigation sought to make a further contribution to the literature on women and war by simultaneously examining the effect of a combination of these previously identified variables as well as other factors at all levels of the

ecological system upon women's attainment of well-being after war. The goal of this investigation was, therefore, to obtain a more complete picture of the process through which women in a developing nation attain well-being after war.

Given the increasing emphasis in the psychological literature on a need to identify factors that contribute to human well-being and adjustment to adversity and the need to not define well-being as the simple absence of adverse symptoms, but rather as an active process of adjustment (Masten, 2001; Sheldon & King, 2001), this research represents a unique contribution to the scientific literature. This is especially true as this work elucidates the perspectives and experiences of women who have survived warfare in a developing nation, a population that is routinely overlooked when research on well-being and adjustment is conducted. In addition, elucidating contextual variables important to Mozambican women's attainment of well-being will allow for the development of successful interventions aimed at women adjusting after war. This is significant as intervening at a level above that which one intends to impact (e.g., intervening at the meso-level if one intends to impact families) increases the likelihood that ensuing interventions will be successful (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). Finally, understanding factors that women consider to be important to their attainment of post-war well-being lays the foundation for the development of appropriate quantitative measures of post-war well-being in women.

Theoretical Justification

This investigation draws upon empowerment theory as a way to understand women's post-war recovery. Empowerment is recognized as a potentially powerful path to wellness within unjust social settings (Cowen, 1991; Rappaport, 1981). It is argued

that wellness and well-being are inextricably bound up with empowerment insomuch as the capacity to make choices about the kind of life one wants to live and to have access to resources that support such choices are key to individuals' attainment of well-being. A body of research confirms the contribution of such capacity for choice to the attainment of well-being. The simple sense of control, even if it is perceived rather than actual, has been shown to contribute significantly to well-being. Conversely, groups that disproportionately lack control and face conditions of oppression and diminished social status tend to face increased risks of developing mental health and social problems (Moane, 2003; Prilleltensky, 1994; Spacpan & Thompson, 1991). An individual's attainment of well-being is, therefore, impacted by their membership in groups that may have differential access to rights and/or resources necessary for empowerment and well-being (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Mays, Bullock, Rosenzweig, & Wessells, 1998).

The above model of well-being also recognizes that factors impacting individual well-being and sense of personal power exist at all levels of the social system (Nelson, Lord, & Ochoka, 2001; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003; Zimmerman, 2001). This is particularly appropriate to this investigation given the multi-leveled impact of warfare upon civilian women and the fact that factors at various levels of the social system have implications for women's post-war recovery (e.g., the post-war political context and women's access to economic resources; Anckermann, et al, 2005; Hernández, 2002; Mays, et al., 1998). An individualized, medical-model is thus not necessarily appropriate to understanding women's experiences during and after war, but rather it is necessary to understand their post-war attainment of well-being within the social contexts created by war and its aftermath.

Finally, drawing upon the work of Martín-Baró (1994) many authors argue that during times of war those who are in positions of power are able to victimize those who, by virtue of their membership in various groups, are disempowered. It is also argued that this damage extends to all levels of the social system and encompasses much more than just the direct effect it has on impacted individuals. The damage of war is thus damage to society at large. Subsequently, in post-war social contexts, if the realities of the disempowered are not examined and some redress of power does not occur, those who were victimized during the war will continue to suffer injustices that render it difficult for them to achieve post-war well-being (Comas-Dia, Lykes, & Alarcon, 1998; Hernández, 2002). Hence, it is necessary to listen to the voices of those individuals who were victimized during war and to obtain an understanding of their realities in order to ensure that they have access to resources at all levels of the social system that would allow them to obtain well-being after the war.

Empowerment and the attainment of well-being. The principal goal of empowerment is to increase the power of those who lack it as one way of reducing domination. Empowerment is thus both a process as well as an outcome (Prilleltensky, 1997; Rappaport, 1994; Zimmerman, 2000; 2001). Hence, individuals are empowered and have access to well-being if they exist within relatively just and egalitarian social contexts that allow them to exercise control over their daily lives and to make choices accordingly.

Factors supporting empowerment at different levels of the ecosystem include individual-level factors such as personal motivation and self-efficacy, access to supportive relationships within the family as well as the larger community, access to

resources (economic and other), effective integration into supportive community settings, and a just social and political climate. When favorable, these factors increase individuals' access to resources necessary for them to be able to exercise control over their lives and the choices they make in order to experience self-determination (Nelson, Lord, & Ochocka, 2001; Prilleltensky, Nelson, & Pierson, 2001; Zimmerman, 2001). It is additionally important to note that these factors that exist at different levels of the ecosystem interact in order to increase empowering processes as well as empowering outcomes (Zimmerman, 2001) for individuals.

Hence, if empowerment is a route to well-being in the face of oppression and deprivation, it is necessary to consider the ways in which war, which is ultimately a form of oppression for those victimized by it, affects individuals at different levels of the ecological system. It is also essential to elucidate the ways in which their recovery from war and related attainment of empowerment can be supported at all levels of the ecosystem, rather than just at the individual level (Moane, 2003; Watts & Serano-García, 2003).

Conclusion

Gendered social structures serve to prevent women's particular post-war needs from receiving adequate consideration in post-conflict societies and in scholarly literature. This is true in spite of the fact that the extent of many women's post-war needs constitutes a significant public health concern in nations emerging from war (McKay, 1998; Sideris, 2003). Women's attainment of well-being in the face of adversity has also not been adequately examined. Models of well-being have focused on the absence of illness rather than the presence of well-being, and have been defined with

predominantly male samples focusing on masculine indicators of health. This renders it difficult to understand the ways in which women achieve well-being in the face of adversity. Finally, prior research conducted on human health and well-being in the face of adversity has been based upon *a priori* assumptions about health and have not allowed for women's voices to be heard on this topic (Poorman, 2002). There thus exists a dearth of information on women's particular experiences of post-war adjustment and attainment of well-being.

Current Study

The current investigation focused attention on the ways in which Mozambican women have sought to adjust to life after war. It sought to elucidate the ways in which Mozambican women perceive their process of post-war adjustment and factors that are significant to this process. The following research questions framed the investigation:

- Have Mozambican women attained post-war well-being?
- How have Mozambican women achieved post-war well-being?
- What factors have facilitated and/or inhibited Mozambican women's attainment of post-war well-being?

Chapter 2

Method

Methodological Justification

Perhaps more than any other method, in-depth qualitative interviews have the potential to expose the meaning behind participants' lived experiences and related actions. This method permits research participants to speak in their own words about their experiences and the meaning they attach to these. In-depth qualitative interviews thus minimize the likelihood that investigators will make incorrect assumptions about and attach inaccurate meaning to participants' actions and experiences (Banyard & Miller, 1998; Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003). This is particularly important when insight is sought into the subjective interpretation of the experiences of populations who have been previously excluded from investigation. In addition, qualitative methods allow for the exploration of the impact of context upon participants' experiences (Banyard & Miller, 1998; Suzuki, Prendes-Lintel, Wertlieb, & Stallings, 1999). The use of qualitative methods thus allowed the investigator to explore the aspects of Mozambican women's social contexts that were significant to their process of post-war adjustment and attainment of well-being.

In addition, qualitative methods can be empowering to participants. The ability to make one's voice heard and to have the ensuing information shared with those in power may be particularly empowering to those who are not conventionally heard. It may therefore be empowering to marginalized members of a particular society to tell their stories in their own words and to have their needs taken into consideration. In-depth qualitative interviews are one such forum through which marginalized voices can

be amplified (Banyard & Miller, 1998; Rappaport, 1995, 2000). In addition, consistent with an empowerment approach, this research was conducted in collaboration with participants (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2000; Riger, 1993). Specifically, participants were provided with the opportunity to voice issues that were of concern to them that had not been identified by the investigator and were provided with the opportunity to be involved in the process of interpreting findings.

In contrast, quantitative methods are not always ideally suited to the investigation of cross-cultural phenomenon. Forced response items used with quantitative measures can be perceived as silencing by non-Western participants (Zea, Reisen, & Diaz, 2003) who may find such items frustrating and difficult to respond to (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). These items may consequently yield less useful data than would the use of qualitative methods. In addition, many quantitative measures of disorders commonly associated with the survival of warfare, such as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, were developed and validated with populations in developed, Western nations and are thus not necessarily appropriate to the realities and experiences of individuals from developing nations. This is true with regard to the ontology of these disorders, the assumption that a universalistic approach to psychological processes is appropriate, the symptoms and concerns that are assumed to be paramount to participants in differing contexts, and the inappropriate medicalization of human responses to suffering caused by political circumstances (Rosner, 2003). In order to obtain accurate data from participants in this investigation, it was thus important to examine participants' perspectives without making undue *a priori* assumptions regarding their experiences and post-war adjustment processes. The use of qualitative

methods was particularly well-suited to this task.

Finally, prior to the start of data collection, the investigator conducted informal interviews with Mozambican employees at CARE Nampula in order to obtain their input with regard to the appropriateness of the data collection methods that were used. All interviewees agreed that enough time has passed since the end of the war for women to feel comfortable discussing their experiences and that participants would respond well to being interviewed. It is for these reasons that in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews were selected for this research. This allowed participants to freely express themselves without the constraint of often inappropriate force-response quantitative items while providing the investigator with insight into their interpretations of their lived experiences and the contexts within which these have occurred.

Preliminary Research Activities

During the summer of 2004, one year prior to the start of this investigation, the investigator spent one month in Mozambique conducting a pre-dissertation visit designed to lay the foundation for this research. She visited various potential research sites and conducted informal interviews with service providers and Mozambican women in order to assess the feasibility and appropriateness of the investigation. In addition to confirming the appropriateness of the research methods to be used, the investigator was able to identify Meconta District as the research site. Not only was it a site of Renamo occupation during the war, but it was also a location within which the investigator was able to receive the support needed from CARE staff in order to render the investigation feasible.

In addition, before beginning data collection it was important to ensure that the

researcher's understanding of "well-being" was appropriate within the Mozambican context. Key informant interviews were, therefore, first conducted with ten diverse stakeholders, aged 18 and older. Key informants who represented a cross-section of Mozambican society were recruited in order to ensure that an accurate understanding of well-being in Mozambique could be obtained. These key informants were able to speak to interpretations of well-being as these relate to women residing in various socio-cultural contexts (e.g., the difference between rural and urban residents' interpretations of well-being).

Key informants included three men and seven women and represented both academic and non-academic perspectives on well-being. Two informants were undergraduate college students, one was a medical doctor working for the provincial Health Department, two were women employed in the informal industry, one was a clerical worker, and four were employed in various capacities at non-governmental organizations. Key informants were thus knowledgeable about the experiences of rural as well as urban women as well as women from different socioeconomic groups.

Key informants were recruited by the investigator who approached individuals with whom she was acquainted both at the Catholic University of Mozambique (UCM) and at various NGOs in Nampula. NGO staff members were also asked to recommend colleagues who would potentially be open to being interviewed. In addition, the investigator made announcements at student meetings at UCM asking students if they would be interested in participating in a brief interview. Finally, the investigator approached members of the larger Nampula community through the local Catholic Church. She asked the local priest to make an announcement to members of his parish

telling them about the investigation and asking them to let the investigator know if they were interested in participating.

In order to obtain a definition of well-being appropriate to Mozambique, commonalities across key informants' definitions of well-being were identified. Key informants were asked to provide their own definition of well-being, and then discussed what factors they believed influenced individuals' attainment of well-being (see Interview Guide in Appendix A). Overall, there was agreement across informants with regard to what it meant to be well in the Mozambican context. In short, they agreed that "well-being" was the ability to achieve one's goals and aspirations. Informants agreed that because individual perceptions of what it means to be well may vary, it is necessary for individuals to have access to rights and resources that allow them to attain their particular versions of the "good life." This both includes access to resources that meet their basic needs (such as water, food, and housing) as well as resources such as education that assist them in achieving their larger goals (e.g., obtaining better employment). In addition, informants agreed that access to equal rights for men and women is essential to women's capacity to attain well-being as this ensures their access to resources (such as education and employment) that support their attainment of well-being.

The achievement of well-being for Mozambican women was thus seen by the key informants as both a process and an outcome. According to key informants, in order for Mozambican women to be considered to be well it is necessary for the conditions that facilitate the achievement of their personal goals and aspirations to be present.

Location

Data collection took place in Meconta District in rural Nampula Province. Nampula Province was selected as the research site for this investigation because it was a site of active Renamo occupation (Jacobson, 1999), and little research has been conducted in this province. Meconta is an impoverished rural district of Nampula. However, it is within a day's travel of an urban area. In addition, Renamo was active in Meconta during the recent war.

A group of six similar farmers' associations within this district were identified in collaboration with extension workers at CARE Nampula. All of the farmers' associations were located close to one another (within five to ten miles from one another) and shared resources (e.g., health posts, schools, and NGO-based resources). Members of the different associations knew one another and sometimes participated in joint activities. Each association consisted of approximately twenty families who lived in close proximity to one another. These were relatively stable communities, and many of these families lived close to one another and knew one another during the war. Families farmed their own machambas[1] and sold their produce according to their needs. Members often sold their produce in bulk and were able to demand better prices for their goods as they had collective bargaining power. Farmers' associations had governing bodies to which members were elected. Both men and women make up these governing bodies.

Sample

Participants who were 25 and older were purposively selected for participation

[1] Plots of land farmed by individuals and/or family groups.

as these women would have been teenagers or older during the war. It was expected that they would be able to remember their experiences during and after the war, and would be able to reflect on the impact that the war has had upon their lives. Only women who remained within their communities during the war were recruited for participation as it is likely that those women who were refugees or who migrated to other communities in order to escape the war had experiences that were qualitatively different from those women who remained within their home communities. Finally, both women who were married and unmarried and women who did and did not have children during the war were recruited for participation.

Procedures

CARE extension workers first introduced the investigator to key female stakeholders, known as community Animators, in the targeted communities. Animators fulfill important leadership roles in their communities and, for example, organize women's groups, conduct nutritional education, and keep track of infants' development. They also serve as gatekeepers to their communities. The fact that the investigator was introduced to these key stakeholders by extension workers with whom they were familiar and whom they trusted assisted in her acceptance within the targeted communities. Finally, through her association with the community Animators, the investigator then obtained legitimacy with other members of the targeted communities. This facilitated the process of data collection.

Data were collected using semi-structured, in-depth qualitative interviews. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed for analysis. Detailed analytic notes were also taken during the interviews. These notes, in addition to the preliminary analyses

conducted during the course of data collection, guided the data collection process. A modified grounded theory approach, similar to that proposed by Glaser & Strauss (1967), was used to inform this process. Accordingly, as data collection proceeded and theoretical categories of interest were elucidated through initial analysis, areas of further inquiry were identified and data collection efforts were focused on expanding understanding of these categories. Different dimensions of these categories of interest were explored until no new information emerged and a category was considered to be saturated. Data collection was thus guided by the investigator's emergent understanding of participants' interpretations of their experiences of post-war adjustment.

All participants were verbally informed of the purpose of the investigation and were provided with the opportunity to participate. An oral consent procedure was used as 43% of Mozambican women have no education (DHS, 1997) rendering it unlikely that they are literate. In addition, the investigator's discussions with other researchers who have worked in Mozambique revealed that literacy is particularly limited in rural areas. The consent process was audio taped, and a log of all participants who were approached for an interview and their related participation decisions was maintained. Only two of the 49 women who were invited to participate in the study declined. One cited a heavy workload as a reason for not being able to participate. The reason why the other woman declined to participate is unknown. Those who consented to participate in the investigation were provided with a written copy of the consent form. The various components of the consent form were explained to participants so that, even if they were not literate, they could ask someone to read the form to them if they so desired.

In addition, participants were interviewed in locations where they felt

comfortable and had privacy. Potential locations that would meet these criteria were identified at the research sites prior to the start of data collection. It was not possible to assume that women would have a reasonable expectation of privacy at home and it was, therefore, necessary to identify other locations that would be appropriate for interviews. Interviews were usually conducted in the meeting spaces of the various associations. These varied from outdoor clearings located a small distance from the nearest homes to rough structures located within walking distance from participants' homes. These locations were central enough to be convenient for participants, while simultaneously providing them with a private space a distance away from their neighbors. It was also not possible for other community members to approach these spaces without being seen, rendering it possible for participants' privacy to be protected.

All interviews were conducted either in Portuguese or, when necessary, in Macua (the primary indigenous language spoken in Nampula province) with the assistance of a Portuguese-Macua translator. Less educated women, who made up the majority of participants, were not able to speak Portuguese; in order to not exclude them from participation it was necessary to interview them using a translator. In cases where a translator was used, the investigator conducted all interviews and the translator translated all questions and participants' responses. Ten interviews were conducted in Portuguese and 35 interviews were conducted in Macua with the aid of a translator. In addition, two participants spoke some Portuguese and only drew upon the services of a translator when they had difficulty expressing themselves in Portuguese. The translator was present during these interviews to assist when needed. All participants were assigned neutral identification numbers to which only the investigator had access.

Prior to the start of data collection at each farmer's association, the investigator would visit the site in order to meet with members the association and to let them know about her data collection activities. In each case, the investigator met with varying numbers of women, the community Animator, and in some cases other key members of the association. During these visits she explained the purpose of her work, telling women that she wanted to speak to them about their experiences during and after the war. The investigator also asked women who were present at these initial meetings to tell others who were not there about what she would be doing. The community Animator, in particular, was asked to share this information with other women in the association. The investigator ended these meetings by asking women to let the community Animator know if they were interested in being interviewed. She also told them that they could approach her personally upon her return to the community if they wanted to be interviewed and wanted to come to her directly. In this way the investigator was able to inform as many women as possible about the interviews that she would be conducting, giving women an opportunity to volunteer to be interviewed if they were interested in doing so.

Each week the investigator arranged for days and times that she would return to the community when the Animator was available and participants' daily work activities would not be too disrupted. The Animator was asked to let adult women in the community know when the investigator would be around to conduct interviews. Animators informed women who were not at the initial meetings that the interviews would focus on their experiences during and after the war. If women wanted to know the purpose of the interviews, they were told that the investigator was interested in

understanding factors that helped women recover from the impact of the war. If women were potentially interested in being interviewed they often let the Animator know in advance, or they would approach the investigator when she came to their association. Sometimes as many as three or four women were waiting for the investigator to arrive as they were interested in being interviewed, while at other times the investigator arrived at the farmers' associations to find no interested participants.

Incentives for participation were not offered to participants, following discussions with other researchers already working in Mozambique. These researchers indicated that offering incentives to participants would render sampling difficult as ineligible individuals would volunteer to be interviewed in order to obtain the incentive. In addition, discussions with staff at CARE revealed that providing some members of the community with a reward for participating in the investigation may have placed them in a difficult position as others would question the fact that they received something not available to others.

Interviews were conducted over a period of six months, until redundancy was achieved (Patton, 2002). In other words, when new information ceased to be obtained from participants, data collection was considered complete. The final sample consisted of 47 women aged 25 to 61 ($\underline{M}$ = 40). All participants were farmers, 45 were married and 2 were widowed. The husbands of those participants who were widowed died from causes other than the war. All except one of the participants had between one and nine children, with an average of five living children per family.

Measurement construction. The semi-structured interview guide consisted of open-ended items designed to elicit new information from participants. Items to be

asked of all participants were constructed based upon the investigator's review of the literature and discussions with local service providers and Mozambican women. In addition, as data collection progressed, questions designed to elucidate previously overlooked areas of inquiry were also included. A list of potentially relevant probes was included with all questions.

After the first few interviews were completed, it became apparent that participants had some difficulties responding to questions regarding the impact of the war upon them. Participants were not able to readily identify impacts and consequences of the war for their lives when they were asked direct questions in this regard. However, through their discussions of their experiences during and after war it was possible to identify impacts of the war upon them. The interview protocol was then revised in order to minimize these difficulties for participants. Interview questions were revised in order to allow for a discussion that flowed naturally from women's experiences during the war to their lives after the war. This allowed participants to become grounded in their memories of the war, making it easier for them to reflect on factors that were significant to their post-war recovery. Participants were asked about their recovery after the war, whether or not the war has changed their lives, their attainment of well-being after war, and factors that were potentially significant to their post-war recovery. These questions allowed participants to reflect upon various periods of their lives during and after the war while follow-up probes allowed the investigator to explore specific aspects of these experiences with women in more detail.

When new, systematic areas of inquiry were identified during initial interviews, items related to these areas of inquiry were added to the protocol and were asked of the

remaining participants. This is consistent with a modified Grounded Theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Additional areas of inquiry did not deviate significantly from those already identified, but rather allowed for the refinement and expansion of categories. Emergent categories of interest centered upon the investigator's improved understanding of women's experiences during and after war. As her understanding of women's experiences during war, their interpretations of these experiences, and her understanding of the post-war context in Meconta deepened, she was able to ask questions that were more relevant to women's experiences. For example, during data collection the importance of curandeiros[2] to women's post-war attainment of well-being became apparent to the investigator and specific probes around this topic were included. The final interview guide can be found in Appendix B.

Recruitment and training of translators. Given the multi-lingual nature of this investigation it was necessary to recruit translators to assist both with the translation of interview documents as well as with the translation of interviews in the field. First, a student at UCM was recruited in order to ensure the accuracy of the investigator's translation of English versions of interview documents into Portuguese. This student was financially compensated for her work.

Second, it was necessary to ensure that all Portuguese interview protocols could be effectively orally translated into Macua and that all Portuguese-Macua-Portuguese translations of interviews in the field were accurate. It was not possible to use university students for Macua translations as the majority of these students came from regions of Mozambique other than Nampula and did not speak or were not fluent in Macua.

[2] Traditional healers

Therefore, two women living in the City of Nampula were recruited to assist with this task. A local priest referred two women with some education who were literate and fluent in both Portuguese and Macua to the investigator. These Portuguese-Macua research assistants were trained by the investigator with regard to the need for accuracy in all translation. They were financially compensated for each document and interview that they either translated or verified was accurately translated. The research assistants met individually with the investigator on a weekly basis while translation was underway. The interview guide was considered final only after they reached agreement regarding the ease with which the protocol could be used in Macua.

Third, given the significant logistical problems inherent in reaching targeted communities, it was not possible to bring outside individuals along to act as translators during interviews. Hence, five community Animators at the targeted farmers' associations were recruited in order to act as translators in the field, as they were some of the only women in these communities who were fluent in both Portuguese and Macua. In addition, discussions with service providers revealed that women in the targeted communities would be uncomfortable and perhaps unwilling to be interviewed if an outside translator was used. However, it is possible that participants were not entirely comfortable discussing their experiences during after the war in front of someone with whom they were familiar. While participants did not express overt discomfort at being interviewed in the presence of another community member, it is possible that they were uncomfortable in this context.

One Animator acted as a translator for two closely related associations that she was the Animator for; otherwise, each association had their own Animator who was

employed as a translator. It was not possible to use one Animator as a translator for all the associations as the distances between associations was too difficult for women to travel on foot (the primary form of transportation available to rural women) on the regular basis necessary for interviews to be conducted. Upon the recommendation of staff at CARE, these women were compensated for their work with gifts of food and household necessities (e.g., flour, sugar, and soap).

Every attempt was made to ensure that the primary concerns associated with translation, namely ensuring that translators understood the importance of accurately translating all questions and responses and ensuring that colloquial words and phrases were accurately translated, were addressed through the thorough training of all translators (Patton, 2002). All Animators were individually trained by the investigator in basic research methods, including the importance of accurately translating all research materials and all interview content, the maintenance of participant confidentiality, and the use of empathic listening skills. The investigator met with all the Animators one-on-one before they started work in order to instruct them.

The Animators also had their accuracy and competency as translators assessed before the start of data collection. Prior to the start of interviews the Animators independently translated at least one mock interview conducted by the investigator from Portuguese into Macua and from Macua into Portuguese. These interviews were tape recorded and listened to by the Portuguese-Macua research assistants who provided their feedback on the accuracy of the Animators' work to the investigator. This allowed for the Animators to receive specific feedback regarding their work. When necessary, the Animators received further instruction in order to improve their work. Feedback

generally centered on the need to translate responses completely and on the need to accurately translate all questions.

In addition, the importance of maintaining participant confidentiality was impressed upon all research team members. All team members were not only educated about manners in which participants' confidentiality was to be maintained, but they were also required to sign a confidentiality agreement indicating their understanding of the fact that their employment would be immediately terminated if they committed any breach of confidentiality.

Finally, in order to ensure the quality of all translators' and research assistants' work, their compensation was dependent upon their successful completion of all of their work and time commitments. In order to ensure the continued accuracy of the Animators' work, all interview tapes were reviewed on a weekly basis by one of the two Portuguese-Macua research assistants under the supervision of the investigator. Animators could thus be provided with immediate feedback intended to ensure the accuracy of their future work. Translation was generally accurate. However, in some cases the Animators had trouble accurately translating individual words (e.g., they were not sure of the correct Macua word for a corresponding Portuguese term). In these cases, the research assistants provided the investigator with the correct translations and she conveyed these to the Animators. In the rare event that Animators left information out when translating participants' responses, the research assistants provided this missing data to the investigator who then instructed the Animators in the importance of not committing such omissions. This allowed for the continued accuracy of translation during data collection to be assessed.

Transcription of interviews. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed for analysis. The Portuguese portions of all interviews were transcribed by the investigator and by one UCM student recruited to assist with this process. This student was trained with regard to the importance of accuracy in transcription and the maintenance of confidentiality when transcribing interview documents. Once the student's competency as a transcriber was established, the investigator verified the accuracy of a randomly selected subset of all transcribed interviews. The student was financially compensated and also received a bonus at the end of her tenure as a transcriber because her transcription was consistently accurate. A subset of these interview transcripts were translated into English and shared with the investigator's dissertation advisor.

Data analysis. Drawing upon a modified grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the investigator's emergent understanding of the data that resulted from the continual review of all interview notes was used in order to guide data collection. The investigator constructed an analytic table by which to organize her emergent understanding of the data. Accordingly, after each day of interviewing, she listened to all interviews conducted that day while reviewing and supplementing her notes taken during interviews. Data were then organized, by interview question and participant, into an analytic table. Each week, the investigator reviewed all analytic tables and generated an aggregate table that summarized the information that emerged across participants by interview question. She used this opportunity to identify and make note of emergent themes. These allowed the investigator to document and organize her emergent understanding of the data. This process also guided data collection as it allowed the

investigator to identify potentially interesting areas of inquiry that had not been adequately explored. Necessary changes were then made to the interview guide in order for these new areas of inquiry to be further explored (See Appendix C for a table summarizing the data that emerged from these 135 pages of notes).

A number of emergent areas of inquiry were pursued with participants. First, after initial interviews were completed it became apparent that curandeiros (traditional healers) played a significant role in women's recovery from their experiences during war and their reintegration into their communities when they returned from being kidnapped. Second, it appeared that, contrary to expectations, women were accepted back into their communities after they returned from being kidnapped. Third, it was surprising that women's discussions of their experiences during the war focused largely on the disruptive force that the war was in their lives, including the deaths of family members and their loss of economic resources, rather than on their own personal experiences of violence. Fourth, another surprising and emergent finding was that virtually all of the women in this investigation indicated that, despite their experiences during and after the war, they believed they had attained well-being since the war. Fifth, many participants discussed the importance of being able to obtain an education on their recovery from the impact of the war. Sixth, when discussing their post-war needs women largely identified a need for access to economic resources in order to facilitate their recovery after war. Seventh, participants mentioned the importance of changes to their societal rights as women to their ability to recover from the impact of the war. Eighth, participants often noted the impact of the extended dry season on their lives. Ninth, participants noted increased post-war crime levels. Finally, participants

mentioned the fact that members of their communities sold one another out to soldiers during the war, betraying either community leaders sought by combatants or wealthier individuals who could be robbed.

Multiple participants mentioned these issues without prompting. Follow-up probes revealed that these factors were potentially significant to women's post-war experiences and needed to be explored further. In subsequent interviews, the significance of these areas of inquiry was explored with participants. Not all emergent areas of inquiry were found to be significant, but in some cases valuable and previously unanticipated information emerged.

Final data analysis was conducted using Atlas.ti and using a modified grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Data analysis consisted of an inductive thematic content analysis (Patton, 2002). Accordingly, drawing upon Glaser and Strauss (1967)'s suggestions, a subset of interview transcripts were read and emergent themes were identified. As each transcript was analyzed, and new themes were identified, these were compared to previously identified themes in order for overarching analytic categories to be generated. These categories were used in order to construct a coding framework that was used to deductively analyze all data. The initial emergent themes that were identified by the investigator earlier during the process of data collection were incorporated into this new coding framework. All transcripts were then deductively coded using this framework. This allowed for the identification of commonalities across participants. Convergent and disconfirming evidence for the final framework was sought from each transcript (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This process ensured that the coding framework used reflected an emergent understanding of the data and

participants' perspectives.

The coding framework included codes identifying participants' experiences during the war, their definitions of well-being, factors contributing to their attainment of well-being at various levels of the ecosystem, factors inhibiting their attainment of well-being, and characteristics of post-war society as described by participants. This allowed for the identification of the process whereby women attained well-being after war as well as inhibitors of this process. A grounded theory reflecting factors impacting women's attainment of post-war well-being at multiple levels of the ecosystem was developed. See Appendix D for the final coding framework.

Multiple sources of data triangulation were incorporated into the process of data analysis. First, the bulk of data analysis occurred while the investigator was still in Mozambique, allowing for participant input to be obtained with regard to emergent findings. This member check took the form of three informal discussion groups conducted after the completion of initial data analysis. The investigator convened three informal groups of participants in three different farming associations in order to share with them her emergent findings and to present them with questions regarding her interpretations of the data. These groups consisted of four to ten women (depending upon participant availability) who had participated in interviews, as well as a translator. This ensured that the investigator had the opportunity to discuss her initial findings with participants and to obtain their input with regard to the appropriateness of various analytic categories and the ways in which she interpreted these. No information that could be linked to any particular individual was shared. The investigator's interpretations of the data were validated through these conversations. Finally, all data

analysis and interpretation occurred in conjunction with the investigator's dissertation chair, who represented an impartial third party involved in the analysis.

Additional methods to improve the trustworthiness of qualitative inquiry outlined by Guba and Lincoln (1989) were also followed. First, credibility was established using various techniques. The investigator spent a number of months within the research site, thereby engaging in prolonged engagement. She also engaged in persistent observation in order to identify potential characteristics of the communities in question most relevant to the investigation (e.g., women's roles within their communities). In addition, the investigator engaged in peer debriefings. She regularly discussed with her committee chair, and occasionally, where relevant, with other members of their committee, her emerging understanding of the data, including her findings and conclusions. Progressive subjectivity was also engaged in. Prior to the start of the inquiry, the investigator provided her committee chair with a written version of her construction of the research and what she believed that she would find. At regular three month intervals during the process of data collection and analysis (and sometimes more frequently), the investigator reiterated her construction of the data and allowed her committee chair to assess the degree to which she was open to the emerging constructions of the data offered by participants. Her committee chair alerted her to any concerns that emerged regarding her attachment to her original construction of the data and any related lack of openness to participants' interpretations of their experiences.

Second, transferability was increased through the provision of thick description of the phenomenon under investigation. Finally, dependability and confirmability of the investigation were ensured through the maintenance of an audit trail of all data

collection and analysis procedures, related decisions that were made, and justifications of these decisions. See Appendix E for a complete description for all methods used to protect the rigor of all data and data collection and analytic methods.

Chapter 3

Results

The goal of this examination was to elucidate those factors that have contributed to Mozambican women's attainment of post-war well-being as well as factors that have inhibited this process. In addition to a discussion of participants' experiences during war and the consequences of these experiences for their lives post-war, factors impacting women's attainment of well-being at the various levels of the social system were examined.

Mozambique today

First, in order to understand well-being within the Mozambican context, it is necessary to understand what the Mozambican context is like. Mozambique was a Portuguese colony until the mid-1970's when it obtained independence. Until their independence, Mozambicans did not have much in the way of rights and liberties. As is the case with most colonized people in Africa, their movements were restricted and their life choices were limited. However, soon after independence one of the most brutal wars in African history erupted. This war was particularly destructive as it had destabilization as its goal. During the war, Renamo deliberately destroyed Mozambique's infrastructure, including roads, bridges, clinics, and schools. The legacy of the war was thus all the greater and the destruction it wrought more all encompassing. It is within the context of this legacy that data were collected for this investigation.

Since the end of the war in 1992 Mozambique has been governed by a parliamentary democracy with Frelimo as the ruling party. There have been multiple peaceful elections over the course of the past 15 years. The new government has shown

concern for the rights of women and has legally mandated gender equality. In addition, there are many organizations and agencies, governmental and other, whose stated goal is the improvement of the position of women. While data from this investigation do not reflect on the work of these organizations, they do form part of the social context within which data were collected.

For the first time in its history, Mozambique is now a self-governing nation in which women have legal rights and social opportunities that were not previously available to them. However, as will be discussed in ensuing sections, this does not necessarily guarantee that women and girls are able to exercise these rights and take advantage of these opportunities. In addition, most adult Mozambicans grew up either under colonial rule or during time of war. Hence, for many Mozambicans, the past 15 years have been the first ones of relative peace and freedom that they have ever experienced.

During the 14 years that had passed between the end of the war and data collection for this investigation, many Mozambican development efforts were initiated. However, Mozambique still remains a desperately poor country. Many roads are still unpaved, goods and services are not always readily available, especially outside of urban areas, and water shortages are a standard occurrence. Many families have no running water in their homes, and some lack both water and power. Rural families in particular have no access to modern amenities. The majority of families have little in the way of material belongings and many live on less than US$1 a day, including what they produce. Access to health care is limited, and outside of urban areas health facilities are either non-existent or provide significantly limited services. In addition, access to

education is limited for many Mozambican families. This is particularly true of rural inhabitants who may have to walk long distances to attend school, if a school is even available. For example, there are few secondary schools in the province of Nampula, and parents often have to send their children out of town to stay with relatives if they want them to finish their schooling. However, in spite of this, many adults are attending school at night in order to develop their literacy and improve their employment opportunities.

In the following section the investigator relays her observations of the context in Meconta, District where data were collected 14 years after the war ended. The north of Mozambique, where data for this investigation were collected, is significantly less developed than the south. In addition, the rural areas that were targeted for this investigation are severely under-resourced compared to urban areas.

The context in Meconta. Meconta District in Nampula Province is a largely rural district dotted with a handful of small villages and other settlements. The rural areas where data were collected surrounded the villages of Meconta and Namialo. These small settlements consisted of clusters of mud and brick houses with a mixture of reed and corrugated iron roofs, some district government offices, and a few extension offices for aid agencies and the Department of Agriculture. In addition, there were two bare-bones restaurants primarily serving roast chicken and beer, a gas station, a guesthouse with no running water, a number of small general stores, and an open-air market. Rudimentary health posts staffed by nurses and other employees, a few schools, and a Catholic mission were also scattered around the area. Participants in this investigation were able to reach Namialo, by foot, within a few hours to a day.

The main road running through the district was paved within the year before data were collected and is a major thoroughfare for transportation and industry in the area. However, no secondary roads in the area were paved. The main road also served the many local inhabitants who moved around either by foot or on bicycles, carrying their belongings on their heads. At any given time clusters of barefoot women and girls wearing brightly colored capulanas[1] or men dressed in what would pass for rags in any Western country could be seen walking on the side of the road en route to their destinations.

Rural settlements were clustered along this major road, known as the Corridor, although many were located some distance away from the road and could only be reached via a network of footpaths. Parcels of farmland (machambas) also dotted the side of the road, and men, women, and children could often be seen working in these, bent double over their hoes. During the dry season the area was covered in red clay dust and termite mounds, some as tall as a person, pointing to the sky. The occasional palm tree reminded one that one was in the tropics. However, once it rained the vegetation became so thick it was almost impossible to see beyond the road.

The dominant religions in the area were Christianity and Islam. However, local inhabitants also drew upon their indigenous spiritual beliefs and often combined these with their mainstream religious beliefs. As such, individuals regularly drew upon traditional healers known as curandeiros for their medical and spiritual needs. Indigenous approaches to healing were also combined with Western medicine. The latter was often sought out first, when available, and if it did not prove effective, a

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[1] Capulanas are a sarong-style wraps which make up traditional dress for many Mozambican women.

spiritual cause for an individual's illness was assumed and a curandeiro was consulted.

A distinction between psychological and physical health concerns was not necessarily drawn, rather a person was perceived to be a holistic entity in which physical and psychological health is connected. Treatment by a doctor or a curandeiro was thus aimed at resolving both physical and psychological ailments. In some cases where an affliction was believed to have a clearly spiritual origin, the assistance of a curandeiro was exclusively sought rather than that of a medical doctor. Curandeiros thus played an important role in the provision of health care to Mozambicans in general and the residents of Meconta District in particular.

The farmers' associations targeted for data collection consisted of loose gatherings of clay houses, located varying distances from one another, linked by footpaths, and interspersed with machambas. Houses were constructed using hand-made clay bricks and had thatched reed roofs. The floors were made from clay and some had small verandas where the inhabitants could sit in the shade. Wealthier families could afford corrugated iron roofs and wooden doors for their homes, although these did not usually lock. The houses varied in size and had one or more rooms. Inside, open doorways connected rooms, and most houses had few small, uncovered windows. Furniture was limited, with only wealthier families being able to afford rough-hewn tables, chairs, and beds. Otherwise, woven reed mats served as a place for inhabitants to sit and sleep. Most families had few eating utensils and often used clay pots they made themselves for storing food and water. There was no power and cooking was done over open fires. Machambas and flocks of chickens surrounded most homes. Some families also farmed goats and other livestock, and many owned a cashew tree.

All of the participants in this investigation were subsistence farmers; however, they did sell their surplus crops and livestock in order to obtain cash to purchase that which they could not produce themselves. Entire families were usually involved with agricultural production. However, women were often responsible for the bulk of the agricultural labor, and women and girls were also responsible for fetching water, caring for children, and processing and preparing food. Water was obtained from communal wells and rivers that were often located long distances away from the settlements. As a result, women and girls often walked entire days carrying one heavy bucket of water on their heads and another in their hands, often with an infant strapped to their backs. In addition, processing and preparing food is extremely time consuming and labor intensive in the absence of any modern conveniences. Rural women thus had very little time for themselves and they spent most of their time caring for the needs of their families. These women's attainment of post-war well-being thus needs to be understood within this context.

Well-being in Mozambique

In order to understand women's attainment of post-war well-being in Mozambique, it is necessary to first understand the way in which well-being is defined within the Mozambican context. Thus, prior to the start of data collection, key-informant interviews were conducted in order to obtain a definition of well-being appropriate to Mozambique.

Key informants noted that definitions of well-being vary across individuals and settings, and that individuals in rural and urban areas may have differing, context-specific interpretations of what it means to be well. However, they concurred that in

order for someone to be well in Mozambique it is necessary for them to be able to achieve their own personal goals and aspirations. They also agreed that well-being is facilitated by individuals' access to rights and resources that can assist them in attaining their particular versions of the "good life." Informants indicated that well-being for women in Mozambique is impacted, in part, by their access to democratic rights. Access to such rights removes gendered restrictions to women's well-being as it allows them to pursue goals previously closed to them. For example, the right to attend school or to receive equal consideration in the workplace opens opportunities for women and removes restrictions to their capacity to achieve that which they want in life.

Informants also agreed that women require access to basic resources necessary for human survival in order for them to be considered to be well (e.g., water, food, and housing). Accordingly, if it is necessary for women to channel their daily energy into maintaining the survival of themselves and their families it is not necessarily possible for them to achieve those goals that would contribute to their achievement of well-being. In addition, access to resources such as education provides individuals with the tools they need in order to achieve their personal goals and aspirations.

Finally, key informants indicated that women's capacity to achieve well-being might be impacted by various socio-cultural variables. Informants recognized that an intersection between gender and variables such as rural and urban residence exists which might significantly impact individuals' capacity to attain well-being. It was also noted that, as a result of their socially defined gender roles, and in spite of their legal rights, women may not have access to all the rights and resources that are available to men. This has implications for their attainment of well-being.

There was considerable agreement across informants with regard to the meaning of well-being in Mozambique. All of the key informants noted that well-being includes the capacity to achieve one's personal goals and aspirations. However, there was not complete agreement across informants with regard to those factors that impact individuals' attainment of well-being. Overall, key informants agreed that the attainment of well-being is supported by individuals' access to various rights and resources. In addition, given both the significance of the differences that exist across rural and urban areas in Mozambique and the prominence of recent changes to women's access to rights and resources, the importance of these factors to women's attainment of well-being were raised by all key informants. However, not all informants discussed gendered limitations to Mozambican women's access to rights and resources. Seven informants noted the significance of this factor to women's attainment of well-being. Those informants who did not discuss these gendered limitations recognized the importance of women's access to rights and resources to their attainment of well-being; however, they did not perceive significant gendered limitations to these rights and resources (e.g., the fact that not all women are able to exercise their rights) nor did they consider these limitations to be significant to women's attainment of post-war well-being.

The attainment of well-being for Mozambican women is thus not a straightforward process, but is rather context-specific and is influenced by a number of socio-cultural variables. These factors influencing Mozambican women's well-being will be discussed in more detail in ensuing sections.

Factors impacting Mozambican women's attainment of well-being. Mozambican

women's rights have only recently been enshrined in law. This has opened many new opportunities for women in Mozambique, including the opportunity to attend school, obtain employment, and participate in political processes. As a result, Mozambican women not only have access to more ways to achieve their goals and aspirations, but they can aspire to more than they were able to aspire to before. However, the fact that women have access to legal rights does not necessarily ensure that their socially determined roles and responsibilities reflect these rights. In reality, many Mozambican women are disproportionately responsible for arduous household responsibilities and have access to fewer financial and educational resources than do men. This is often particularly pronounced in rural areas. As a result, Mozambican women often lack universal access to the rights and resources that facilitate their achievement of well-being. As the following informant notes:

> *"Women have achieved emancipation, but they are still in the process of obtaining well-being...those women who study...those who haven't studied still live in rural areas and they still experience deprivation, they still have not achieved well-being...she is free, Mozambique is free, but fundamentally, she does not have well-being...she does not have resources...."*[2]

The limitations to women's access to rights and resources necessary for their attainment of their goals and aspirations are often centered within the family. Women and girls may be denied educational opportunities open to male members of their families and their husbands and male relatives may control all household finances,

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[2] Quotes have been translated either from Portuguese to English or from Macua to Portugese to English. When a translator was present during an interview, quotes are in the third person as this is how the translator presented the information to the investigator. In order to maintain the authenticity of the data and to minimize the loss of meaning that occurs with translation, quotes that were translated from Macua into Portuguese were left in the third person. Quotes from interviews conducted in Portuguese are presented in the first person.

providing them with limited access to financial resources. Hence, in the absence of familial support for their goals and aspirations, Mozambican women may not be able to achieve their hopes and dreams, and they may not have well-being. As the following informant notes:

> *"It doesn't help if a family has many resources, but the woman is deprived of her rights, in this case we would not consider it well-being..."*

These gendered dimensions of well-being are also impacted by factors such as urban and rural residence. Informants agreed that not only do rural and urban women have differing social roles, but they also have access to different resources. As a result, rural women's perceptions of their own well-being may differ from those of urban women. Overall, rural women have access to fewer resources than do urban women and their social roles may be more restrictive and their daily responsibilities greater relative to those of their husbands. As the following key informant states:

> *"What is happening for example in the rural areas, women are deprived of their rights...so for her to be well, she needs to be able to express herself within her home, and when she is able to be more or less equal to a man, this also makes up part of well-being..."*

Rural women may also have more limited access to education than urban women because there are fewer schools in rural areas, and girls may be more likely to be kept home from school in order to perform household tasks, while boys are not. For example, the following informant spoke about the fact that girls and boys may not have equal access to education:

> *"When this is the case, we cannot say that someone is developing well-being...well-being has its source in equality between people."*

Finally, rural women may require assistance in meeting their basic survival needs (e.g., access to food and clean water) in order to ensure that they have the capacity to pursue

their versions of the "good life." In contrast, urban women may have more ready access to these resources. As a result, rural women may have more limited access to resources that support their attainment of well-being than do urban women.

The achievement of well-being for Mozambican women is thus not a state, but rather a process. According to key informants in this investigation, in order for Mozambican women to be considered to be well it is necessary for the conditions that facilitate the achievement of their personal goals and aspirations to be present. Well-being for women in Mozambique is thus intricately tied up with the changes to the socio-political system that have occurred in Mozambique in recent years awarding all citizens, and women in particular, access to greater social and political freedom. This has not only altered women's capacity to attain well-being, but it has also changed the ways in which they think about their own well-being. In addition, according to key informants, women's attainment of post-war well-being cannot be understood in the absence of an examination of their socio-cultural contexts. These contexts not only have implications for the ways in which women perceive their own well-being, but they also both support and/or inhibit their attainment of well-being. Finally, it is important to note that women's attainment of well-being is supported by the interaction of variables that exist all levels of the social system. For example, the interaction between women's access to political freedoms supported by changes occurring at the macro level of the social system as well as their access to micro level resources such as familial support for their endeavors are both significant to their attainment of well-being. These factors will be explored in more detail in ensuing sections.

Women's Experiences During Warfare

In order to obtain insight into Mozambican women's attainment of post-war well-being it is necessary to first understand what they are recovering from and what it means to them to attain well-being in the wake of war. Hence, in order to understand Mozambican women's attainment of post-war well-being, it is necessary to first understand their experiences during the war, as well as their and their communities' interpretation of these experiences. These interpretations may have determined the ways in which community members reacted to women after war as well as the implications of their wartime experiences for women.

All of the 47 women interviewed during the course of this investigation had some direct experience of the war, ranging from the theft and destruction of their property to having been beaten or kidnapped. All but two participants lost their homes and all participants had some of their property stolen by combatants (this included farm animals, produce, and household implements). While only six of the women interviewed reported being kidnapped themselves, another twenty-four participants reported that members of their families or larger communities had been kidnapped. Not all kidnapped family and/or community members returned. In addition, while none of the participants in this investigation reported injuries beyond being beaten (two women were beaten by combatants and two reported that they were stripped and left naked by soldiers) and none admitted to being raped, participants reported that kidnapped women from their community were routinely forced to "marry" combatants and that members of their communities, including members of their families, were mutilated and/or killed during the war. In two cases women were kidnapped along with their husbands, but both

returned. Women thus had significant experiences of violence during the war, both individually and collectively.

Participants described their daily experiences of wartime violence in the following ways:

> *"[The war] chose no-one, all the families suffered because of the war."*

Participants also discussed the generalized fear, loss, and violence generated by the war:

> *"...the soliders burnt down our houses, they also took our goats, our chickens, they took our household belongings. They also killed people."*

> *"...she said that during that time she always fled into the bush...and some of her family members also lost their lives because of the war...and houses of hers were destroyed during the war..."*

> *"Some people they killed, others they took with them."*

Another participant who was beaten by combatants said the following:

> *"...it wasn't just her they beat...they also beat other people who lived in the region in the same way...some they took into the bush, there were others they beat, killed, and left there."*

Finally, participants also discussed the deprivation created by the war:

> *"She said that they didn't have clothes to wear...they just wrapped bags around themselves..."*

In addition to the experience of violence, when participants were asked to describe their lives during the war, they reported that its constant presence rendered it difficult for them to engage in many of the activities that usually define their experiences of daily living (e.g., sitting down to a meal with their family or simply engaging in household chores). Women often found these daily disruptions traumatic as it leached their lives of order and meaning. The following participant described her day-to-day life during the war:

"During the time of the war, all the people slept in the bush, there was no time to farm, there was no time to bathe, there was no time to fetch water, there was no time to play or to sit and braid hair, there was no time. All the time we just fled into the bush, all the time we just fled..."

Another participant noted:

"...for example, we were not able to walk to visit our neighbour or to go from here to Nampula."

Another participant said the following about her life during the war:

"...during the war we didn't have, we didn't have the ability to do anything, yes, we were limited, for example, I was limited, I couldn't do anything else, all there was was thinking about the war."

Women also described their daily experiences during the war as that of "living like an animal". Not being able to perform tasks that give meaning to daily living while having to sleep in the bush with animals each night served to erode women's sense of their own humanity. The boundaries between the natural world and the human world thus became indistinct and reduced participants, in their minds, to animals running for their lives, rather than people living meaningful lives. For example, the following participant described her experience of fleeing her home each night during the war:

"...we left naked, without capulanas, without anything, we were only interested in removing our hearts into the bush. During that time, we weren't people, we were only animals."

Another participant echoed this sentiment:

"Yes...we resembled animals when we were not animals..."

Finally, those women who were kidnapped experienced the war in a particularly traumatic manner. These women were often taken in order to perform domestic, agricultural, and sexual labor for combatants. One participant described this phenomenon in the following manner:

"She said that when the soldiers arrived in this community, they started burning houses, killing people; she also said that when they arrived here they always took the crops, clothes, animals like chickens and goats, and they also took people to help them carry these things to where they lived..."

One participant who had been kidnapped, but escaped, said the following:

"She was kidnapped, but she escaped. They captured her...they captured her with a child on her back, afterwards, they took of all of her clothes, she was naked, and she hid..."

Other participants said the following about women's experiences of sexual assault during kidnapping:

"...the women were always raped there [in the bush]; sometimes the men were killed..."

"Our greatest injury was domestic violence...women were forced to marry soldiers in the bush..."

"They took the women, they only wanted the women to enter there [into the bush], when they arrived there they were forced to marry, one soldier had five or six wives."

What is particularly notable about women's experience of violence during kidnapping is that while women who were not kidnapped discussed the fact that kidnapped women were often raped, those women who were kidnapped themselves denied that they or anyone else was raped during this time. It is thus evident that while gendered violence was a significant occurrence during the war, women who were potentially victimized remain unwilling to discuss this experience.

Some participants also described the psychological toll being kidnapped took upon members of their communities:

"She said that, these people, because they were there in the bush, when they got back here to their home, they didn't want people to see their faces, they hid their faces, they lived like that, they hid their faces, and they had injuries."

Finally, participants often spoke about the physical toll kidnappings took upon them and other members of their families who were forced to perform hard labor and were deprived of food. The following participant described her experiences of being kidnapped during which she was forced to perform agricultural labor for combatants:

> *"We were like slaves, we worked in the machambas, and we suffered a lot...we had nothing to eat..."*

Another participant additionally described the nutrional deficits she experienced while she was kidnapped:

> *"...she said that there in the bush they suffered a lot because there was not salt, there was nothing to eat, other people died..."*

The recent war in Mozambique was disruptive to individual women as well as their larger communities. It destroyed the daily fabric of life and left a trail of physical, psychological, and social destruction in its wake. In addition to the daily experience of violence and loss, the war robbed women of their sense of humanity and the ability to live meaningful lives.

The Post-War Context

In addition to examining what women experienced during the war as a means of understanding their post-war adjustment, it is also necessary to consider the post-war context within which they resided. Participants in this investigation lived on a narrow economic margin. Discussions with staff at CARE revealed that members of the targeted communities were living on less than one US Dollar a day, including everything that they produced. As a result, they were particularly vulnerable to economic setbacks. In addition, participants lived in a rural area where they walked long distances to attend school and relied on a local catholic mission or scattered health posts

staffed by nurses for their health care. Finally, in order to reach the nearest town women walked many hours, even as much as a day. Hence, in order to purchase staples such as rice and other products, women often had to walk long distances carrying heavy bags.

All participants were subsistence farmers who also sold their surplus produce to wholesale vendors. As members of farmers' associations they benefited from collective bargaining power and coordinated services from non-governmental organizations. However, families were entirely dependent for their living upon what they produced to eat and sell. In the absence of sufficient income from what they produced, families were not able to purchase additional staples (e.g., rice and salt), or to attend school. Consequently, a recent water shortage that resulted from insufficient rainfall had a significant impact upon women's overall access to economic resources and basic resources such as adequate food (the rainy season did eventually start towards the end of data collection, thus alleviating this concern). Women were also responsible for carrying water from nearby wells and rivers each day (sometimes walking as far as four and a half miles each way), caring for young children, and preparing food for their families. Finally, residents of post-war Meconta were plagued by thieves who stole both their personal belongings and their produce.

Consequences of Wartime Experiences for Mozambican Women

The recent war in Mozambique took a physical, social, and psychological toll upon civilian women. However, as a general rule, participants in this investigation indicated that they did not feel that the war had had significant negative consequences for their health and their lives today. In fact, some participants indicated that they had started to forget about the war. As the following participant noted:

"No, the war didn't have many consequences... I am already starting to forget...I don't forget, but...nobody can forget the time that has already passed, but I am already starting to recover a bit."

Another participant said the following:

"She said that during this time, now, it [the war] does not have consequences because she is able to enter into her machamba, to farm without looking over her shoulder, without seeing anyone approaching with guns, yes, they are farming freely..."

Nevertheless, while participants did not identify lingering consequences of the war, they did indicate that in the months immediately following the war they experienced significant levels of economic suffering as a result of the destruction wrought by the war. The majority of participants lost their homes, many if not all of their belongings, and their agricultural resources such as seeds and produce. Consequently, at the end of the war, many women were left with the need to rebuild significant components of their economic lives. The majority of women interviewed indicated that their most significant needs at the end of the war were survival needs (e.g., access to machambas, seeds for food production, and household and farming implements). For example, the following participant responded when she was asked what her most significant needs were at the end of the war:

"...what she really needed to recover was...was to open machambas. Yes, she thought 'if I don't open machambas, if not, I will die of hunger'..."

In addition, some participants identified persistent physical and psychological impacts of the war. However, these impacts were not significant enough to interfere with their daily lives. A small number of women indicated that they still suffered from bodily aches and pains related to their experiences during the war (e.g., one participant

indicated that her legs still sometimes ache as a result of having to walk over mountains during her kidnapping). However, women were more likely to face psychological rather than physical consequences as a result of their wartime experiences. These included thoughts about the war and fears related to their wartime experiences. For example, the following participant spoke about her lingering fear after the war:

> *"She said that she still doesn't believe it [that the war has ended] in her heart, she is still scared and thinks 'when are they going to come back and kill me?'"*

The war also appears to have had an impact upon the ways in which individuals relate to one another. Women indicated that post-war levels of crime and related social violence have increased. One participant described this post-war criminal activity:

> *"They [thieves] take people's belongings from their homes, sometimes they find a child there that was left to stay with the door, and they kill the child and take the belongings."*

Another participant talked about her sister's experiences with thieves:

> *"Her little sister suffers because of thieves... when she goes to her machamba the thieves sit there hiding along the way waiting for her to pass, then they follow her, similarly when she goes to get water, they are there, and in her house she suffers."*

While participants did not directly attribute this increase in crime to the war, they did attribute it to post-war changes in individuals' attitudes and to economic challenges present in post-war society. Participants noted that many people now have less respect for the social norms that govern interaction between community members. In addition, the lack of economic opportunities available in the postwar society was also blamed for increases in crime. One participant gave the following explanation for the increasing levels of crime:

> *"...during that time [before and during the war] people had fear, today they*

don't have fear, the people break everything, they don't want to attend meetings, and today there are a lot of things..."

What is notable, however, is that in spite of their experiences during the war and the impacts that the war has had upon women, their families, and their communities, all but two of the women interviewed indicated that they have achieved well-being in the wake of the war. The two participants who indicated that they had not achieved well-being were experiencing significant and recent personal setbacks. One woman was recently widowed, having lost her husband to illness. The other woman was suffering from illness that was causing her significant problems. These factors were significant enough to overshadow all other aspects of their lives that may have contributed to their well-being.

Finally, variables such as age and marital status did not appear to account for differences across participants' post-war experiences. Of those women who were married during the war, none lost their husbands. Since the end of the war, all participants either remained or became married. Age also did not account for differences across participants, including differences in their access to education. Education emerged as a variable of interest when data collection was already underway. Hence, not all women were asked about their schooling. However, while all of the women in their 20's who were asked about attending school were doing so, women aged 30 and above were equally likely to not be attending school, no matter what their age. Those women who were not attending school all listed similar obstacles to school attendance. These obstacles included that the school was too far to walk to, that the period of hunger made it hard for them to have the energy to attend school, and that their eyes were not good enough for them to be able read.

Age did appear to account for some differences across participants' with regard to their awareness of socio-political matters. Women who were younger than 40 were generally more likely to speak about their personal access to political rights and related new opportunities than were older women. While older women noted changes in women's rights and the resources that they have access to, they were less likely to speak about the manner in which these changes related to the ways in which they lived their own lives. For example, an older woman may have noted that women can now fulfill roles that were previously closed to them without necessarily discussing in a detailed manner the ways in which these changes affected them personally. In contrast, younger women were more likely to express a desire to obtain employment or spoke in a more concrete manner about the ways in which their lives have changed as a result of the changing socio-political climate (e.g., having access to human rights). It is possible that younger women were more comfortable with and aware of these changes and thus more likely to take advantage of them than were older women. However, given the relatively small size of the sample it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions from these data.

Finally, given that participants in this investigation considered themselves to have recovered from the war in spite of its impacts upon them and their families, it is important to understand the way in which they defined well-being as well as those factors that have facilitated their recovery and their attainment of post-war well-being.

Post-War Well-Being

As was noted above, as a general rule, participants in this investigation considered themselves to have achieved well-being after the war. When they were asked whether they considered themselves to be well, participants responded in the following

ways:

> *"She has already managed to be well today."*
>
> *"Yes, after the war ended, we are free, we sleep outside, we leave our doors..."*

Other participants described the fact that they had attained well-being after war in the following ways, emphasizing their capacity to freely engage in their daily activities:

> *"She said yes, she sits at home, takes her hoe, goes to her machamba, she comes back from her machamba, she gets her water bucket, goes to the river, farms without seeing any enemies, that is how she has well-being..."*
>
> *"...she defined well-being for herself, she said that when the war ended she started living well, she is able to sleep without hearing guns, she is able to see the house of her family...she has managed to obtain food."*

Other participants described their well-being with a specific emphasis on their newfound social and political freedom:

> *"After the war ended...see...the world is free, we go to the village, and we buy chickens there, capulanas, sugar, there are cars there, we go to Nampula, hepa, it's a marvel..."*
>
> *"We are free...we are not scared of doing our daily tasks..."*
>
> *"...we already have machambas, when we wake we are able to go to our machambas, at night, we are able to sleep without any doubts, we only wait for the illnesses that God sends our way."*

When asked about her postwar attainment of well-being, another participant responded: *"We are free."*

For participants in this investigation, well-being was thus defined by their capacity to live lives of their choosing. Participants spoke about their access to resources, their freedom to come and go as they wished, and a general absence of political and other upheaval. Participants thus felt that they were well as the socio-political climate supported their capacity to be well. This is reflective of the changes

that have occurred in Mozambique in recent years and the fact that, for all of the participants in this investigation, the 14 years that passed prior to data collection were likely an exceptional period of peace and freedom for them. Their capacity to attain these relatively peaceful and meaningful lives was facilitated by various individual and contextual factors present within the post-war context. These are examined in more detail below.

Facilitators of Mozambican Women's Post-War Well-Being

Participants' attainment of post-war well-being was supported by the manner in which they and other members of their larger community dealt with the war and responded to those women who experienced the violence of war. This defined the social context within which women recovered from war and had significant implications for their capacity to attain well-being after the war. Factors that have supported women's attainment of well-being exist at all levels of the ecological system. Please see Table 1 for a complete breakdown of factors impacting women's attainment of well-being at various levels of the social system.

Table 1.

Facilitators of Women's Attainment of Post-War Well-Being

Individual-level facilitators	Micro-level facilitators	Meso-level facilitators	Macro-level facilitators
➢ Personal determination ➢ Personal strength	➢ Economic and nutritional support received from family members ➢ Familial support and acceptance of wartime	➢ Community acceptance of victims of war ➢ Availability of culturally appropriate resources for the treatment of	➢ Changes to the larger socio-political context that have provided women with access to increasing rights and

Table 1 (cont'd)

victims	victims of war	resources
➢ Arrangements made by family members for victims of war to receive appropriate treatment, when necessary	➢ Access to resources such as farmers' associations and schooling	

Facilitators of Mozambican women's well-being at the individual-level. The primary individual level facilitator of Mozambican women's well-being was the determination expressed by so many women to recover after the war. These women recognized that at the end of the war it was necessary for them to work hard in order to put back together their and their families' lives.

Participants displayed a significant amount of personal determination, strength, and a sense of personal empowerment. This allowed them to work towards attaining well-being after the war as it allowed them to achieve access to some of the resources that facilitated their capacity to live the kinds of post-war lives they want to live. What is particularly notable is the belief espoused by participants that, not only were they capable of recovering from the war, but they were able to do so by drawing upon their personal and collective resources without necessarily receiving any outside assistance. The following participant described how when the war ended she went to work to regain access to economic resources necessary for her and her family's survival:

> *"She had the strength to make her machambas, that...after the war ended she felt the need and the desire to work in her machamba, to make her machamba."*

Another participant described the general individual determination that marked the

recovery process for women after the war:

> *"People worked hard, each person...there were people who worked in groups; they made machambas because here there is a shortage of employment, there is only farming."*

Finally, a participant discussed the way in which some women worked together to recover after the war:

> *"...women formed organizations for women...they were together with other women, they worked together in a group...with other women..."*

This individual strength and determination allowed women to start the process of economic recovery after the war and allowed them to put in place some of the factors that have facilitated their capacity to achieve their post-war goals and aspirations and to overcome the impacts of the war upon them and their families. Given women's responsibilities for the well-being of their families, it was also particularly important for them to be able to have access to resources that would allow them to effectively care for their families. Their sense of personal determination allowed them to fulfill this need. It is finally notable that this personal determination was supported by a socio-cultural context that supported women's recovery.

Facilitators of Mozambican women's well-being at the micro-level. At this level of analysis, women's attainment of post-war well-being was supported by the ways in which their families responded to them and assisted them during and after the war. This support and assistance provided women with some of the physical and psychological resources they needed in order to recover from their wartime experiences.

Not only did family members assist one another materially when necessary, but family also supported women who were kidnapped or suffered violence in their

recovery. First, during and after the war, family members assisted one another in small ways by sharing food and clothing when necessary. This allowed women to mitigate some of the economic and nutritional health impacts of war. Given that women were largely responsible for caring for their families' nutritional and other needs, this alleviated some of the pressure upon them. For example, the following participant described how family members helped one another:

> *"She said that during that time those who had some food offered it to others, they said 'come help me in my machamba, and then I will give you some to eat."*

Another participant described the assistance that she received from her family after her house was burnt down:

> *"She said that when they burnt her house down she received help from her family, they took beans and corn and gave it to her; she built her house and until now she is living without problems in her life."*

What is particularly notable about this support provided to one another by family members is that families accepted back those individuals who were kidnapped during the war, regardless of what happened to them while they were kidnapped, and provided them with whatever support was available in order for them to recover from these experiences. Given that the majority of kidnap victims were women who were often raped as part of their kidnap experience, this was significant as it provided these women with a supportive context within which to recover from their experiences. In some cases this was as simple as welcoming women and girls back and providing them with food and clothing. In many cases women who were kidnapped for extended periods of time, often years on end, may have lost their homes and personal belongings and often returned home with nothing. In these cases, family members helped women get back on their feet. For example, the following participant described the assistance family

members provided to one another:

> *"When those who were kidnapped returned home, they [the family members] took some food and gave it to them...they came back from there and had nothing...their family gave them what they purchased."*

Family members also arranged for their wives, daughters, and mothers to receive treatment for symptoms related to their kidnapping and experiences of violence during the war. This was particularly significant given the physical and psychological health toll that kidnappings often took upon individuals. Family members both arranged for war victims to receive medical care, as was available, as well as for them to receive treatment from traditional healers known as curandeiros to address the physical and psychological symptoms they suffered as a result of their experiences during war (this treatment will be discussed in more detail in the next section on meso-level factors). For example, the following participant described the medical care her mother arranged for her to receive, in conjunction with nuns from a nearby mission, after she returned from being kidnapped.

> *"When I returned after the war, I went to see a doctor...I went to the hospital where they did tests and found nothing...it was my mother and the nuns who helped me."*

Another participant described how when she returned from being kidnapped, her family arranged for her to be treated by a curandeiro in order for her to recover from her experiences during kidnapping:

> *"When she arrived here...when they brought her back from there, her family arranged for her to be treated by a curandeiro. She wasn't a compete person, she was a like a 'bandito[3]' from the bush"*

This participant indicated that after treatment she was a person again and managed to

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[3] Participants often referred to soldiers as 'banditos', or bandits

recover from her experiences during kidnapping.

This familial support for women who experienced war-related violence and loss was significant as it increased their access to resources necessary for their recovery. However, this familial support also appeared to be in contrast to the experiences of women in other war affected areas where victims of sexual assault were often ostracized from their communities. When participants were asked whether, like in these other areas, victims of kidnapping, who were often raped, were ostracized from their communities, they indicated that this was not the case in their communities. They indicated that families were glad to have their mothers and daughters return to them. When asked whether, like in these other areas, women were ostracized from their communities when they returned from being kidnapped, the following participant said:

> *"She said that it was not the same here like there, when these people came back they were received by their families."*

The large number of former kidnap victims who are living within the communities from which they were kidnapped also evidences this. These women were married with children and appeared to be fully integrated into the fabric of their communities.

The support that families provided to one another during and after the war thus helped to mitigate the impact of the war upon women and assisted them in their post-war recovery and attainment of well-being.

Facilitators of Mozambican women's well-being at the meso-level. At this level of the ecological system women's attainment of post-war well-being was supported through their interactions with other members of their larger community and their access to community-level resources. The attitudes of community members towards women who experienced violence during the war as well as women's post-war access to

the resources necessary to support their recovery assisted participants in their attainment of post-war well-being.

The first meso-level facilitator of women's well-being was the fact that community members allowed those women who returned from being kidnapped to maintain secrecy regarding their experiences. In this way, even though community members knew about what was happening to kidnapped women, they provided individuals in their communities with a method for disassociating themselves from what happened to them during the war. This allowed communities to deal with the violence of war by mitigating the impact this violence may have had upon them. In this way, both women and their communities were spared some of the social consequences of their experiences. For example, the following participant described her feelings regarding the experiences of returned kidnap victims:

> *"She said that she is not going to go after those who entered into the bush so that they don't have to speak about the taboos that occurred there in the bush."*

Second, the availability of culturally appropriate resources through which women and their larger communities could make sense of their experiences during war allowed these women to participate in the social structures of their communities without suffering stigma as a result of violence they may have suffered or even participated in during their kidnapping. Women who experienced violence during the war were treated by curandeiros who cleansed them of their experiences and provided them with a culturally appropriate manner through which to be reintegrated into their communities.

In addition to receiving treatment for their physical health concerns, women were ritually washed by curandeiros. This was intended to break the link between what happened to them and their current and future lives. This ritual washing was intended to

cleanse women of their experiences during the war and to allow them to once more become part of their communities. As a previously quoted participant noted, the cleansing restored her humanity after she returned from being kidnapped. This thus served as a form of renewal for these women, symbolically breaking the connection between them and their experiences and allowing them to be accepted back by their communities.

By treating them, curandeiros provided victims of the war as well as other members of their communities with a way in which to make sense of what happened to them. This allowed community members to accept women who suffered violence, often of a sexual nature, back while allowing them to recover from the war and to attain well-being. The following participant described her feelings after being treated by a curandeiro, referring to her freedom from the consequences of her kidnapping:

"After being treated by that doctor [curandeiro], she was free."

Another participant said the following regarding the treatment returnees received from curandeiros, emphasizing their acceptance by their communities and their return to their former lives after being treated:

> *"...there weren't problems when these people came back here, at home they arranged for them to see a curandeiro, they were treated, and they lived like they lived before the war."*

Other participants said the following about returnees' recovery after being treated by a curandeiro, also emphasizing the secrecy that surrounds these experiences:

> *"She said yes, these people who were captured felt better [after they were treated]."*

> *"She said that other people were free [after being treated], they just can't talk about what happened there [in the bush]."*

What is particularly notable is that all of the participants in this investigation who had been kidnapped were subsequently married with children or remained married upon their return. In addition, participants whose family members were kidnapped during the war indicated that these individuals remained married or married upon their return. These women also became part of farmers' associations and participated in related activities and institutions. Hence, these women were not ostracized from their communities, but rather were allowed to participate in social institutions and community events and activities.

Third, participants in this investigation had access to various meso-level resources that contributed to their empowerment and their related capacity to pursue their own versions of what it means to be well. These resources included access to farmers' associations, programs provided by non-governmental organizations (e.g., women's savings groups), and adult education programs.

Participants credited their memberships in farmers' associations and women's savings groups with providing them with material resources that facilitated daily living (e.g., seeds to plant and additional financial resources). This is especially significant given that key informants identified access to resources as an important component of Mozambican women's attainment of well-being, particularly in the case of rural women. For example, when asked what being in a farmers' association meant to her, the following participant responded:

> *"It is a good thing. She thinks that it is a good thing because of the seeds, these associations bring seeds...the associations bring seeds and give them to her...she plants these seeds in her machamba."*

Another participant spoke about the women's savings groups that have been started by NGOs:

"Regarding the savings group, she likes it a lot because it will help us move forward..."

While the savings groups were more of a potential than a reality for many participants their potential was definitely appreciated by these women. Participants indicated that in the future when they had better harvest and more surplus produce to sell they would certainly be contributing to these groups. Participants appreciated the fact that savings groups would allow them to have more money to pay for their children's health care and to purchase additional material resources for their families. These savings groups thus had the potential to facilitate their daily lives.

Meso-level resources provided by non-governmental organizations thus supported participants' post-war attainment of well-being as it alleviated their work burdens and increased their access to resources. These resources facilitated women's capacity to achieve life goals and to move beyond simply caring for their families.

In addition, participants identified the ability to obtain an education as a facilitating factor in their attainment of post-war well-being. Participants spoke about the fact that obtaining an education allowed them to strive for larger life goals and to achieve goals that were previously closed to them. Participants also indicated that schooling could potentially facilitate their ability to earn an income and to assist their families in better meeting their needs. Educational opportunities thus contributed to women's attainment of well-being in two ways. It allowed them to attain their life goals while simultaneously facilitating their access to economic resources.

Those participants who attended school clearly articulated the goals they wanted to achieve (e.g., obtaining employment at the local health post) and the reasons why they were attending school (e.g., to learn to write). These women indicated that they felt

that obtaining an education was a key facilitating factor when it came to achieving their life goals. One participant made the following statement about her desire to attend school:

"She thinks that today in order to achieve anything it is necessary to study..."

Another participant explains that she hopes to be able to obtain employment if she attends school:

> *"She goes to school so she can learn to write. These [aid] organizations are always arriving, she wants employment, so she can also be in the group that they will hire from, speaking Portuguese..."*

At the meso level of the ecological system participants thus received supports from members of their larger communities and had access to resources such as farmers' associations and adult education programs. These supports and resources assisted participants in attaining well-being as it supported their capacity to attain their particular life goals while facilitating their daily lives.

Facilitators of Mozambican women's well-being at the macro-level. At this level of analysis, the primary facilitator of Mozambican women's attainment of post-war well-being was the recent post-war changes to the larger social system that have allowed them to access rights and resources to which they did not previously have access. Post-war changes to the government and the social system in Mozambique have awarded women greater access to legal rights as well as increased access to liberties and resources that were previously denied to them for gendered reasons. These changes have given women increased access to resources such as education and access to rights that have allowed them to achieve more than they were able to before.

Participants were aware of the rights that they now had access to and were able

to take advantage of some of these new opportunities. The following participant discussed some of the changes to the social system that she has observed since the war:

> *"Because of democracy we are recovering, and men are feeling this difference. They are discovering that they cannot treat their wives badly. We can also not treat our husbands badly, we are equal."*

She then goes on to say:

> *"We have human rights."*

Another woman said the following about her perception of her changing rights:

> *"She always thinks 'from where we came, eee, today is about moving forward, we are moving forward. My rights are changing'..."*

Participants were also aware of the fact that their new rights provided them with access to new resources, such as the opportunity to obtain an education and access to opportunities for greater political participation. As the following participant noted:

> *"...we women were not able to go to school, but now we are already going to school."*

Finally, another participant discussed some of the changes that she has noticed as a result of these changes to the social system, including women's increased access to political power:

> *"She said that the difference she noticed is that today women are studying and have jobs, yes, because back then women didn't work, only the men worked, but today women work as well, like men; if someone says 'that woman over there, she is a minister', she really is a minister, while before it wasn't like that..."*

In addition to other factors supporting women's attainment of post-war well-being, changes at the macro level of the social system have provided a context within which women can strive to achieve their particular versions of what it means to be well.

Women's increased access to rights and resources allows them to alleviate some of their gendered labor and other burdens and facilitates their capacity to aspire to and achieve new, larger life goals. These changes to the social system have broken down some of the gendered barriers that women experienced to their attainment of well-being and have provided a context within which they have achieved post-war well-being.

Inhibitors of Mozambican Women's Attainment of Post-War Well-being

While participants did not identify significant barriers to their attainment of post-war well-being, two obstacles to women's capacity to attain their post-war versions of what it meant to be well did emerge. First, during the time that this investigation was being conducted, participants were in the midst of a water shortage resulting from insufficient rainfall. This gave rise to significant hunger due to insufficient harvests and additional hardship to women who had to walk longer distances than usual in order to obtain water for their families. Hence, participants were not able to adequately meet their survival needs and were not free to pursue other activities. In addition, this dry period served to prevent women from obtaining extra cash from the sale of their produce, rendering it more difficult for them to attend school and to pursue other activities. Participants described the impact of this dry period in the following manner:

> *"She said that the difference is that during the war they killed people like animals, while today, if it wasn't for this hunger, we could sit and play without any worries..."*

However, in spite of this hardship, participants still considered themselves to be well. Participants acknowledged that the time of drought and hardship was a temporary occurrence and once it has passed, they would continue to be well. For example, the following participant noted:

"She said that this time is a good, the only bad is this hunger, if it wasn't for this hunger she could sit there and say 'now I am free'..."

Another participant also indicated that while the period of drought did impact her well-being, overall she considers herself to be well in spite of this. She acknowledged that the period of drought is temporary:

"I am well, I am just not well during this time, we have a significant lack of water in our area..."

Similarly, the following participants noted:

"...her crops aren't coming out in her machamba, if she was working and her crops came out, she would have no problems."

Finally, another partcipant noted that she essentially considered herself to be well, but the hunger did somewhat impact this state of being:

"She said that she has well-being, it is just this problem of hunger."

Participants thus felt that while their attainment of post-war well-being was impeded by the period of hunger they were experiencing, it did not entirely limit their access to post-war well-being. Participants were aware that the drought was a temporary state and that once it has passed they would be able to resume their lives as before. It is notable that the dry period did end during the course of data collection with the start of the rainy season.

Participants additionally identified post-war crime levels as an impediment to their capacity to live well after the war. This is significant as women are often particularly vulnerable to criminal activity. Their gender roles may expose them to threats as they spend time in machambas or when they are walking to and from water collection sites. Participants indicated that crime levels interfered with their daily

activities. They described this obstacle in the following way:

> *"...when the war ended we were free, we can sleep outdoors, we can leave our doors...we sleep outdoors because of the heat, we felt...eee...we only have fear of thieves."*

Another participant described the presence of significant criminal activity in the Corridor (the road between two major cities where Meconta district is located) as a war:

> *"She said that the war is over, yes, but it is not over because of the thieves, the war of the knives has ended, of the weapons, but the war still exists in the 'Corridor.'"*

Another participant said the following:

> *"...at night she does not sleep well because of the thieves."*

Post-war criminal activity thus inhibited participants' capacity to live the kinds of lives they wanted to live after the war. Participants' activities were constrained by their fear of being victimized by post-war crime.

Conclusion

Overall, Mozambican women participating in this study's attainment of well-being was supported at all levels of the ecological system. In addition to their individual determination to recover after war, the support that they received from their families and larger communities, coupled with a changing social system, supported their post-war attainment of well-being. Women's access to culturally appropriate resources that assisted them in recovering from their experiences during war, as well as the supportive community contexts within which they resided mitigated the negative impact of war upon them. However, women did experience some barriers to their ability to attain post-war well-being. Specifically, the presence of high levels of post-war crime and the fact that they did not have access to the resources necessary to buffer them against the

effects of natural phenomena such as water and food shortages impacted their post-war capacity to attain well-being.

The gendered consequences of the war for women were thus mitigated by their access to resources at multiple levels of the social system. As a result, participants not only felt that they were able to live their daily lives in the ways that they saw fit, but they also felt that they were able to work towards better futures. As the following participant said:

> *"...we are recovering, now, today, we are moving forward, we really are moving forward; women are allready studying, because before the war, and during the war, it was before we moved forward, but today women are studying and are going to work."*

Chapter 4

Discussion

While previous studies have documented the negative impacts of war upon women, no previous research has documented the ways in which women recover from the impacts of warfare. This study thus represents a significant contribution to the literature on women and warfare. Findings from this investigation can be used to inform programming aimed at women recovering from warfare and can inform future inquiries intended to further elucidate the ways in which women in developing nations recover from warfare.

This investigation locates women's experiences of post-war recovery within the context of the gendered social systems present both during and after the recent war in Mozambique. This is significant given that women's experiences during warfare are the result of gendered social systems (Cockburn, 2001; Moser, 2001). In addition, authors such as Martín-Baró (1994) have argued that it is essential to consider relationships of power when considering individuals' experiences during and after war. Hence, an examination of women experiences of post-war recovery that situates their experiences within the context of the larger social system within which they reside is essential. Participants in this investigations' attainment of post-war well-being was supported by resources at all levels of the social system that mitigated the gendered impact of the war upon them. In addition, changes to the larger social system have provided women with increased access to rights and resources that have also contributed to their capacity to attain post-war well-being.

Findings from this investigation also provide support for the assertion that well-

being is supported by individuals' interactions with their environments (Davis, 2002; Masten, 2001; Poorman, 2002; Shalev, Tuval-Mashiac, & Hadar, 2004). As such, the ecological contexts within Mozambican women sought to recover from war was significant to their post-war recovery. The fact that participants in this investigation had access to supportive contexts, from the micro to the macro levels, is thus particularly significant (Kelly, 2000; Lorion, 2000). Previous studies have documented the negative impacts that unsupportive post-war contexts can have upon women. Specifically, other researchers have noted cases in which women who had been raped during war were rejected from their families and communities, resulting in their loss of social and economic resources necessary for their post-war recovery (Igreja, 2003; Peltzer & Chogo, 1996; Turshen, 2001). In addition, it has been argued that the absence of resources that are conventionally thought to support post-war healing, such as counseling and culturally appropriate treatments for trauma, can be detrimental to individuals' recovery after war (Igreja, 2004; Peltzer & Chongo, 1996). Finally, researchers have argued that post-war contexts that do not support women's attainment of economic well-being exacerbate the economic difficulties generated by war (Cliff, 1991; Marshall, 1990; Sheldon, 2002; Roesch, 1994).

The current findings are consistent with the conclusions drawn from these prior studies. Those women who participated in this investigation were able to recover from their wartime experiences as a result of their access to resources supporting their attainment of well-being at multiple levels of the ecosystem. First, because their families and communities accepted women in the targeted communities, regardless of their experiences during the war, they had access to social support networks that

supported their capacity to recover from the physical and psychological duress of war. Access to such networks of support has been shown to mitigate the impact of negative life events upon individuals (Davis, 2002; DeVries, 1996; Hiegel, 1994; King, King, Fairbank, Keane, & Adams, 1998; Shalev, Tuval-Mashiac, Hadar, 2004).

Second, women's access to culturally appropriate resources designed to minimize the impact of their war-time experiences (i.e., treatment by curandeiros) supported their capacity to recover from war. The importance of such post-war support to individuals' capacity to attain well-being after war has been well documented in the literature on warfare (DeVries, 1996; Hiegel, 1994; Turner, McFarlane, & van der Kolk, 1996). For example, both Honwana (1998) and Green and Honwana (1999) argue that receiving treatment from a traditional healer has significant salubrious psychological impacts upon Mozambicans recovering from the war. In fact, it is argued that such treatment has the effect of bringing about a complete psychological recovery for war-affected individuals.

Interestingly, women in this investigation did not have access to post-war counseling services, a resource that has been shown to benefit survivors of war and violence (DeVries, 1996; Hiegel, 1994; Turner, McFarlane, & van der Kolk, 1996). In addition, while authors such as Igreja (2003) have recognized the importance of indigenous methods of healing for women in post-war Mozambique, limitations to such treatments have also been noted. Specifically, in some parts of Mozambique these forms of healing have proven to be insufficient to address the extensive psychological impact that the war has had upon women (Igreja, 2003). It could, therefore, potentially be argued that participants in this investigation may have benefited from psychological

counseling were they to be aware of the existence of such services.

In contrast, Honwana (1998) and Green & Honwana (1999) argue that counseling services are not only inappropriate to the Mozambican context, but do not necessarily benefit Mozambican recipients. Accordingly, traditional methods of healing have been shown to have more beneficial psychological results for Mozambicans who, in many cases, believe that discussing negative past experiences may have a detrimental effect upon the discussant. It is believed that discussing negative past experiences invite evil spirits into one's life. Having to discuss past negative experiences is thus both inappropriate and potentially anxiety provoking for individuals who instead attempt to make a clean break with these past events. Such breaks include a process whereby family members and communities, with the assistance of a traditional healer, allow individuals to face what happened to them and to then put this experience behind them. This usually takes the form of a ritual cleansing that allows individuals to sever the connections between themselves and their traumatic experiences. In this way, healing allows individuals to reestablish their original identities and to resume their lives as they did before their negative experience (Honwana, 1998; Green & Honwana, 1999).

In addition, Honwana (1998) argues that the individualistic nature of Western approaches to healing after trauma also renders these inappropriate to the Mozambican context. Accordingly, Mozambican approaches to health include an emphasis on entire families and communities. This interpretation of health does not consider trauma as something that happens to an individual, but rather, the traumatic event is thought to include the individual's family and community. A negative event affecting an individual may consequently be perceived as polluting an entire community. As a result, healing

after trauma needs to focus on the social setting within which the affected individuals reside rather than just on the affected individuals themselves. As such, ritual cleansings allow families and communities to be relieved of the negative consequences they may suffer as a result of an individual's traumatic experience. In this way, individuals affected by trauma can be effectively reintegrated into their communities (Honwana, 1998).

While findings from this investigation do not pretend to settle this debate in the literature, they do provide support for the assertions made by Honwna (1998) and Green and Honwana (1999). Participants in this investigation did indicate that after receiving treatment by a curandeiro they were able to recover from the negative impacts of their wartime experiences. In addition, participants' assertions that the war no longer had consequences for their lives today is consistent with Green and Honwana (1999)'s findings that Mozambicans prefer to make a clean break with past negative experiences, not thinking about or talking about these experiences once they have passed. Finally, the effective reintegration of war-affected individuals into their communities and the assertion by participants that families were willing to welcome back women who were kidnapped also provide support for the findings by Honwana (1998) and Green and Honwana (1999).

This is additionally significant as Igreja, Schreuder, & Kleijn (2004) argue that in Mozambique the ability to effectively participate in the daily routines and ceremonies of living (e.g., marriages) is key to individual well-being. The capacity to be reintegrated into their families and communities and to resume the functions of daily living is thus important to the attainment of post-war well-being for Mozambican

women. This assertion is additionally supported by the fact that participants in this investigation felt that their capacity to regain normalcy after the end of the war and to resume the functions of daily living was important to their attainment of post-war well-being. Practices designed to alleviate trauma and to allow women to reintegrate into their communities were thus key to these women's post-war attainment of well-being.

Finally, these findings also provide support for those of Sideris (2005) who conducted research with Mozambican refugee women living in South Africa. Sideris (2005) noted that Mozambican refugee women living in South Africa found their separation from their families and communities to be particularly traumatic, as well as their inability to fulfill their traditional roles as farmers and providers for their families. Hence, it is significant that women in this investigation were able to remain within their communities and to fulfill their culturally defined gender roles as farmers and providers for their families. This contributed to their ability to attain normalcy in the wake of war and thus to their post-war attainment of well-being.

Third, participants' access to meso-level resources that supported their attainment of economic well-being, combined with their individual determination to recover from the impact of the war, allowed them to minimize the significant and detrimental economic impacts of warfare upon their lives post-war (DeAbreu, 1998). However, these factors were not sufficient to allow participants to completely overcome the economic toll taken upon them by the recent war in Mozambique. Women were still vulnerable to economic setbacks as they did not have sufficient buffers (e.g., long-term savings) in place to protect themselves against natural and other phenomena that impacted their levels of agricultural production and related access to income. During the

time that this investigation was being conducted women's savings groups were being started in the targeted communities. It is possible that over time such savings groups will serve to buffer women against events such as drought or crop blight; however, at the time of this investigation it was not possible to effectively assess the impact of these groups. Participants understood the potential importance of such groups and noted these as a positive aspect of their membership in farmers' associations, but they were not yet able to speak about the potential long-term benefits of such groups.

Fourth, factors at all levels of the social system served to increase participants' access to resources necessary for their post-war empowerment, hence improving their post-war well-being. In addition to individual women's sense of personal empowerment expressed through their belief that it was possible for them to recover from the war through their own efforts, they had increased post-war access to resources that improved their capacity to make choices about their lives, including increased economic, educational, and political power. This not only contributed to the post-war redress of power considered by many to be necessary for true post-war recovery and the prevention of future wars (Comas-Dia, Lykes, & Alarcon, 1998; Hernández, 2002; Green & Honwana, 1999), but it also increased women's capacity for self-determination and well-being (Nelson, Lord, & Ochocka, 2001; Prilleltensky, Nelson, & Pierson, 2001; Zimmerman, 2001). This is particularly significant given the established connection between empowerment and well-being (Cowen, 1991; Rappaport, 1981). This is additionally consistent with findings by other authors who have documented individuals' potentially increased awareness of their own rights resulting from post-war reconstruction processes as well as the fact that individuals may take advantage of

changes to post-war social systems in order to expand their access to key resources (e.g., women who use the social disruption that occurs after war to become economically active where they were not able to do so before or during the war; Chingono, 1996; Jacobson, 2005; Sideris, 2005; Thompson & Eade, 2004).

Findings from this investigation thus suggest that empowerment theory provides a useful framework within which to examine women's attainment of post-war well-being. This is especially true if a definition of empowerment that focuses on individuals' capacity to exercise control over their lives and related choices as a route to well-being is employed (Nelson, Lord, & Ochocka, 2001; Prilleltensky, Nelson, & Pierson, 2001). Participants in this investigation equated well-being with the capacity to live the lives of their choosing and credited their attainment of well-being to their access to various rights and resources.

Of course, as was noted by key informants, as women in a society where gendered inequality is still a daily reality and as residents of a rural area in a nation where farmers have significantly less access to resources than do residents of urban areas, it is not possible to say that these women were already living within an egalitarian society where their attainment of empowerment was completely supported. This is especially true when these factors are considered in relation to the impact of Structural Adjustment Policies (Cliff, 1991; Marshall, 1990; Sheldon, 2002; Roesch, 1994). Nevertheless, as key informants and participants both discussed, changes to the post-war social system provided these women with increased access to various rights and resources that contributed to their empowerment. This access to rights and resources corresponded with their perceptions of their attainment of post-war well-being, thus

providing support for the theory that individuals' access to rights and resources is important to their attainment of well-being. This is also consistent with findings by other authors who have documented the power of individuals' sense of empowerment, even if this control is perceived rather than actual, to their attainment of well-being (Moane, 2003; Prilleltensky, 1994; Spacpan & Thompson, 1991). Hence, while women's access to rights and resources necessary for empowerment was not complete, this access was greater than before and during the war, increasing their capacity to attain post-war well-being.

Thus, in addition to women's individual characteristics such as their determination to recover from the war, factors at various levels of the social system provided them with access to resources and opportunities to work towards the achievement of their post-war well-being. While this process was not without its obstacles, the majority of women in this investigation did consider themselves to be well. This is significant as it highlights another contradiction in the literature on women and warfare where findings from this investigation provide support for one side rather than the other. Previous investigations conducted in other regions of Mozambique and closer in time to the end of the war revealed that the post-war social context in Mozambique was not always supportive of women's attainment of well-being. Accordingly, women in those regions who experienced the violence of war, especially sexual assault, were not always allowed to return to their communities, thus limiting their access to social and economic resources necessary for their attainment of post-war well-being (Igreja, 2003; Peltzer & Chogo, 1996; Turshen, 2001).

In contrast to these findings, Green and Honwana (1999) found that in both

Mozambique and Angola child soldiers who committed atrocities, often against members of their own communities, were accepted back into their communities after being ritually cleansed. The ritual cleansings were intended to provide a clean break between the soldiers' past actions and their current and future lives. In addition, the soldiers' actions were perceived as an injury to an entire community and not just to the involved individuals. As such, their cleansing provided their communities with a way to recover from these impacts of the war. Ritual cleansings thus provided soldiers and their communities with a way to make sense of their experiences and allowed soldiers to be accepted back by their families and communities in order to begin the process of recovery from their experiences (Green & Honwana, 1999).

Findings from this investigation revealed that women who were kidnapped during the war and potentially raped as part of this experience were similarly reintegrated into their communities. In these cases ritual cleansings also provided communities with a way to make sense of women's experiences and to heal themselves of these experiences, providing women with a way to once again become part of their communities and to derive related psychological and psychosocial benefits. This likely explains participants' in this investigation's reluctance to speak about being raped. These women may have felt that discussing these negative past experiences would potentially render them vulnerable to evil spirits or other negative experiences. In addition, consistent with a cultural belief that a clean break needs to be made with negative past life events in order to restore a person to their pre-trauma self, these women may no longer acknowledge these traumatic experiences. This assertion is further supported by the fact that two participants noted that individuals who returned

from being kidnapped did not speak about what happened to them in the "bush". Participants in this investigation who were raped may thus have put this experience behind them in order to be restored to their previous identities, allowing them to participate in the lives of their communities and to draw upon the psychosocial benefits that come along with such participation. As one participant noted, when she returned form being kidnapped she was a person of the bush, but after being cleansed she became human again.

The gendered impact of war on women was thus mitigated by the ecological contexts within which they were imbedded. The individual and social consequences of sexual violence that women may have experienced after war were relieved by their access to various important resources. In addition, the economic toll of the war on women and the related burden of caring for their families after the war was alleviated by their personal determination to recover from the war and their access to resources at multiple levels of the social system. Women's access to resources such as extension services and schooling also facilitated their ability to attain post-war well-being. Finally, their capacity to attain well-being was supported by changes to the gendered social system that awarded them with greater access to rights and resources.

Findings from this investigation thus provide a framework within which women's post-war attainment of well-being can be understood. The particular significance of these findings lie in their synthesis of factors affecting women's attainment of post-war well-being at all levels of the social system. This allows for a comprehensive understanding of women's post-war attainment of well-being to be developed and ensures that programming aimed at women in developing nations

recovering from warfare can be rendered maximally effective. In this way, women's total recovery from warfare can be encouraged as interactions between factors significant to their recovery at all levels of the social system can be considered and accounted for.

Limitations to the Current Study

The most significant limitations to the current investigation relate to the methodological obstacles inherent in conducting research in rural Mozambique. First, the fact that not only was it necessary to use translators during the course of data collection, but that the investigation was conducted in three languages limits the overall quality of the data collected. While every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of translation, some loss of meaning does occur across multiple translations. Second, the fact that it was not possible to use translators from outside the targeted communities may have impacted the quality of some of the information obtained from participants. It is possible that participants were not comfortable revealing certain information in front of members of their communities with whom they were familiar. However, interviews conducted during the investigator's pre-dissertation visit revealed that taking outsiders along to act as translators may have been a greater obstacle to data collection than the use of individuals familiar to participants. Some key informants indicated that women in rural communities may not have been willing to be interviewed in the presence of someone with whom they were unfamiliar. Hence, the fact that translators who were familiar to participants were used may well have been as much of a facilitator of data collection as it was a limitation to the quality of the data collected.

In addition, methodological decisions made as part of this investigation also

limited its generalizability. First, while participants who remained within their communities were deliberately selected for participation in this inquiry, it is important to note that this did not allow for the inclusion of the voices of those women who left their communities for various reasons both during and after the war. Accordingly, it is possible that women who experienced their communities as less than supportive of their post-war attainment of well-being were not included in this investigation, thus limiting the generalizability of these findings. In addition, given that women volunteered to be interviewed, it is possible that women who did not feel that they had recovered from the war did not volunteer for an interview. The data may thus not accurately represent the experiences of all women in the targeted communities. However, as is noted by Wang and Burris (1997), all methodologies hide while disclosing. Second, the cross-sectional nature of this investigation limited the conclusions that could be drawn from these data. Participants' retrospective accounts of their experiences during and after war were relied upon. Data were thus limited to participants' recollections and the conclusions drawn from these data were limited.

Finally, the significant social, cultural, and racial differences that existed between the investigator and the targeted communities represented another potential limitation to the findings from this investigation. The investigator's status as an outsider was virtually impossible to overcome and may have impacted participants' responses to her. This outsider status also limited the investigator's understanding of cultural norms and nuances present within the targeted communities. As a result, it is possible that participants did not feel comfortable sharing all of the details regarding their wartime experiences with the investigator, thus limiting the quality of the data collected.

However, it is also possible that participants were not willing to discuss their wartime experiences as a result of cultural norms rather than differences between them and the investigator. For example, Igreja, Kleijn, and Richters (2006) note the fact that in Mozambique there is a significant taboo against admitting to rape. In addition, findings by Green and Honwana (1999) indicate that Mozambicans may not be willing to discuss past negative experiences for fear of opening themselves up to evil spirits and because this is in violation of cultural norms that require an individual to put past trauma completely aside once it is over. It is thus possible that what the investigator perceived as a lack of reflexiveness on the part of participants and an unwillingness to discuss some of the negative implications of their wartime experiences for their lives simply reflected participants' cultural norms. Participants may have been unwilling to admit to their own rape as a result of cultural taboos against such admission, and because this would violate the norm against speaking about past negative experiences. In addition, participants may not have been reflexive regarding the impact of the war for their lives today, as they sincerely did not perceive such impacts. The impact of the investigator's outsider status may thus have centered more upon her lack of awareness of cultural norms that governed participants' interpretations of their experiences combined with a desire to impose a Western interpretation of trauma and well-being upon them. It is thus possible that the investigator overlooked potential data relevant to women's post-war recovery as a result of her lack of understanding of these norms. More time in the setting may have been necessary in order to overcome this limitation.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Various implications for policy and practice aimed at civilian women in

developing nations recovering from war emerged from this investigation. Specifically, the importance of supporting civilian women's post-war recovery over time and in multiple ways was highlighted. Implications for practice are examined first.

First, findings from this investigation suggest that it is important to listen to women recovering from war and to design post-war interventions in ways that render these appropriate to women's interpretations of their experiences. For example, participants' in this investigation's interpretations of trauma and recovery are different from those of Western communities. It would thus be inappropriate to design services aimed at these women without taking this into consideration. Rather, it would be important to support their active recovery in a culturally appropriate manner and to contribute to their capacity to work towards attaining well-being. As was noted by both Honwana (1998) and Igreja (2006), Mozambican communities actively worked towards recovering from the impact of the war. It would be important to support this recovery process in an appropriate manner rather than hindering it through the application of potentially inappropriate measures.

Second, it is important to support the reintegration of women who experienced trauma into their communities. These women may derive significant psychosocial benefits from such acceptance. One of the ways in which this can be done is by working within communities in order to strengthen pre-existing support structures that assist women and their communities to make sense of and recover from their experiences during war (e.g., traditional healers). Such interventions should be designed in ways that strengthen these support structures and address gaps in the capacities of these structures to support women's post-war recovery. This allows for interventions to draw upon

indigenous interpretations of women's wartime experiences while not imposing Western interpretations of trauma and healing upon them. Post-war interventions should, therefore, be designed in conjunction with targeted communities in order to ensure that these are maximally appropriate.

Third, it is important to focus post-war interventions upon strengthening women's access to economic resources. Given the significant economic impact of war upon women, it is important to assist them in rebuilding their post-war economic capacities. This not only allows them to recover from the impact of war, but it also allows them to buffer against future economic setbacks, thus improving their capacity to attain well-being. Economic setbacks may have significant implications for women and their families as they may negatively impact their physical health (e.g., malnutrition) and remove their means for survival, increasing the risk that they will have to engage in risky activities such as prostitution in order to survive. In addition, if women are continuously preoccupied with their and their families' survival needs they are not able to pursue activities that may further improve their post-war well-being (e.g., attending school). Supporting women's attainment of post-war economic well-being thus has long-term implications for their continued well-being.

Finally, interventions that capitalize on post-war changes to social systems can support women's increased empowerment after war. Given that various authors consider the empowerment of those victimized by war to be essential to the post-war recovery process and the future prevention of warfare (e.g., Comas-Dia, Lykes, & Alarcon, 1998; Hernández, 2002) such post-war development would almost be essential. Participants in this investigation identified the ways in which post-war

changes to the social system contributed to their empowerment. Such contributions could be strengthened through effective interventions that further allow women to draw upon resources for their empowerment (e.g., education and economic independence).

Policy implications from this investigation center upon the need to not only focus upon women's individual needs after war, but to also consider the impact of the larger social system upon their recovery. Policies aimed at women recovering from war should take into consideration the fact that much of their experiences during war are the result their relative lack of gendered social power (Cockburn, 2001; Colson, 1999; Indira, 1999; Lentin, 1997; Moser, 2001). Hence, within a post-war context it is important to support women's access to rights and resources that improve their capacity for empowerment and their concurrent attainment of well-being. Policies should, therefore, focus on improving women's access to economic resources, educational resources, and human rights. Such policies would also support the implementation of the interventions discussed above, allowing for the development of supportive contexts within which women can recover from war.

Areas of Future Inquiry

Multiple areas of future inquiry were identified as a result of this investigation. First, the significance of the post-war social context to women's attainment of well-being after war highlights the need for a future investigation that combines observational analysis with interview data. Such an investigation would allow for an improved understanding of the post-war context within which women reside and the impact of this context upon their attainment of well-being after war to be obtained. Second, the significance of the contexts within which women reside to their

interpretations of well-being highlights the need to further investigate the differential experiences of post-war recovery of women residing in rural and urban areas. This would allow for interventions to be rendered context-specific and therefore more appropriate to women's post-war experiences. Third, differences in findings between this investigation and a small number of other studies conducted in other regions of Mozambique and closer to the end of the war reveal the need for a future longitudinal investigation of the process through which women attain well-being after war. Factors impacting women's attainment of post-war well-being could be examined over time, thus elucidating variables significant to this process at various time points after the end of a war. Finally, future inquiries should include girls as well as women in order to shed light on the implications of age and developmental factors for girls and women's experiences during and after war.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the significance of this investigation lies in its synthesis of factors impacting civilian women in developing nations' attainment of post-war well-being across different levels of the ecosystem. These findings provide support for the assertion that individuals who experience adverse events do actively seek to recover from these events (Masten, 2001; Sheldon & King, 2001) and provide a framework within which this process can be further supported. In addition, while previous studies have identified discrete variables that may be important to individuals' capacity to recover after war, a comprehensive evaluation of factors at all levels of the ecosystem significant to women's attainment of post-war well-being had not yet been conducted. Thus, in addition to validating previous findings regarding women's attainment of post-war well-

being, this investigation contributed to the literature on gender and warfare. Findings from this investigation can both be used to shore up the efforts already made by many civilian women to assist their communities in recovering from war (e.g., Nordstrom, 2005) while simultaneously mitigating the gendered impact of warfare upon women.

APPENDECIES

APPENDIX A

Key Informant Interview Guide

Thank you for your willingness to speak to me today. Like I mentioned before, our conversation today should last about an hour.

I am interested in understanding your perspective on what its means for someone in Mozambique to be healthy and happy. I would like to know how you think people in Mozambique define well-being and what Mozambican women who have achieved post-war well-being would look like.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Questions are followed by probes. Probes indicate areas for further exploration and are denoted with check marks.

First, what is your definition of well-being?

- ✓ How do you think someone who has achieved well-being would look like – what characteristics would they have? What would they have achieved during their lives?
- ✓ Which of these characteristics do you think are the most important to the achievement of well-being? Why?
- ✓ Do you think that well-being would look different for men than for women? Why? What would well-being look like for women?

What roles, if any, do family and friends, play in someone's ability to achieve well-being?

- ✓ How important are friends?
- ✓ How important are family members?
- ✓ In what ways do family and friends help someone achieve well-being?
- ✓ What kinds of supports do friends and family provide that help contribute to someone's achievement of well-being?
- ✓ Which do you think is most important to someone's achievement of well-being, friends or family? Why?

- ✓ Is this different for men than for women? How?
- ✓ What roles, if any, do you think family and friends have played in helping Mozambican women achieve well-being after war?

What role, if any, does someone's relationship with the spiritual world play in their achievement of well-being?

- ✓ In what ways is someone's relationship with the spiritual world important to their achievement of well-being?
- ✓ Is this different for men than for women? How?
- ✓ Do you think that the spiritual world has been important to Mozambican women's attainment of well-being after the war? In what ways?

What role, if any, do you think access to economic resources plays in someone's achievement of well-being?

- ✓ In what ways are economic resources important to the achievement of well-being?
- ✓ What kinds of economic resources are important for someone to achieve well-being?
- ✓ Is this different for men than for women? How?
- ✓ Do you think that access to economic resources has been important to Mozambican women's attainment of post-war well-being? In what ways?

What impact do you think the war has had on Mozambican women's well-being?

- ✓ What aspects of the war do you think have had the biggest impact upon women's well-being?

Finally, do you think that Mozambican women have managed to reestablish well-being after the war?

- ✓ In what ways?/Why not?
- ✓ Other than what we have talked about already, what do you think has contributed to Mozambican women's ability to reestablish well-being after the war?
- ✓ What role do you think women's access to resources such as counseling and medical care has played in their achievement of post-war well-being?

Thank you for your time!

Demographics:

Sex:

Age:

Type of stakeholder (student, faculty member, or community member):

APPENDIX B

An Examination of the Factors Influencing
Mozambican Women's Attainment of Post-War Well-Being
Final Interview Guide

Thank you very much for your willingness to speak to me today. As I mentioned before, I am interested in talking to you about your experiences during and after the war. I would like to understand what effect the war has had upon your life and how you have managed to recover from this impact.

Our discussion today should take about an hour. Please let me know if there are any questions that you are not comfortable answering or if at any time you want to take a break from our discussion. You should also not hesitate to let me know if you have any questions while we are talking.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Note: Before the start of the formal interview questions, small talk will be engaged in with the participant to make them feel comfortable.

Questions are followed by probes. Probes indicate areas for further exploration and are denoted with check marks.

Can you tell me what day-to-day life was like during the war?

- ✓ Probe around any loss of goods, their house, animals, etc.
- ✓ Probe around their ability to maintain a machamba.
- ✓ Probe around issues of loss of humanity – living like an animal during the war.
- ✓ Probe around members of the community selling others out to the soldiers.
- ✓ Probe around time people spent with families and friends during the war – impact of the war on social relationships.
- ✓ If kidnapped, what happened, what did they do while they were gone, how did they get back home, etc.?
    - If kidnapped, what was it like returning to her family/community?
- ✓ If they lost family members, probe around the impact of this loss. Ask specific

questions based upon the type of family member that was lost (sister, mother, etc.)

- ✓ Probe around specific details of each person's story in order to get details about their lives during the war (fleeing, kidnapped, loss of family members, etc.)
- ✓ What were relationships like during the war? Were people able to spend time with their family and friends?

It's been about 14 years since the end of the war - thinking back over these years, can you tell me what your life has been like since the end of the war up until today?

- ✓ Probe around specific details of each woman's story (e.g., recovery from kidnapping, surviving with additional children to take care of because of the death of a family member, etc.)

Do you think that you have recovered from the war?

- ✓ How have they recovered from the war?
- ✓ What has helped them to recover from the war?
- ✓ If married – did their husband support their recovery from the war? How or how not?
- ✓ Did they receive any support from their family and/or their community in recovering from the war? If yes, what type of support?
- ✓ Did they see a Curandeiro after the war? If yes, did this help them? In what ways did it help? If no, why not?
- ✓ Was it necessary to reestablish connections to their ancestors after the war? If yes, how did they do this?
- ✓ Did the church assist them at all in recovering from the war? If yes, in what ways?
- ✓ What role, if any, did their machambas play in their recovery from the war?
- ✓ Were they part of a women's association after the war? If yes, did this assist them in recovering from the war? In what ways?
- ✓ Did being part of a farmers' association help them in their recovery after the war? If yes, in what ways?
- ✓ Did any organizations help them recover from the war? Which organizations? In what ways?
    - Was there any one organization that they found particularly helpful?
- ✓ Did the government provide them with any support in recovering from the war? If yes, what support?

- ✓ Do they feel like their rights have changed since the war? If yes, what changes have they noticed? Has this made any difference in their lives? If yes, what kind of difference?
- ✓ What healthcare resources did they have access to after the war?
- ✓ Did the community recover from the broken relationships with people who sold one another out to the soldiers? How? If not, what has hindered this process?
- ✓ Did they provide assistance to someone recovering from the war? If yes, what kind of assistance?
- ✓ Do they go to school? If not, why not?
- ✓ If they go to school – why are they going to school? What benefits do they think they will derive from going to school?
- ✓ Do their children go to school? If not, why not?
- ✓ If they are not studying, do they want to go to school? Why or why not?
- ✓ Does the government provide them with any educational supports? If yes, what kinds? If not, what kinds of educational supports do they need?
- ✓ Did they suffer from aches and pains after the war?
- ✓ Did they suffer from insomnia after the war?
- ✓ Did you pray to God to help you recover after the war? If yes, did you find that this helped you recover? If no, did they ask any spiritual being for help to recover after the war?
- ✓ Would you say that violence in relationships between men and women has gotten worse since the war (e.g., domestic violence)? If yes, in what way? Why?
- ✓ After the war, did people work together and help each other recover? How?
- ✓ After the war, did people have a difficult time putting back together their relationships with their friends and community members (i.e., did people trust one another again)?
- ✓ Some people say they went to a Curandeiro, or that they took family members to a Curandeiro to be cleansed, what does this entail? Why would they do this?

Do you know if women were raped during the war? If yes, can you tell me more about this.

- ✓ What impact did being rape have upon women's lives – how did it change their lives, if at all?
- ✓ How, if at all, did it change their relationships with their families?
- ✓ How if at all, did it change their relationships with their husbands?

✓ How, if at all, did it change their relationships with others in their communities?

What, if anything, has made it difficult for you to recover from the war?

✓ If people mention thieves, ask them if social violence has gotten worse since the war.
✓ If people mention the drought, ask them if this hit them harder because they had not yet recovered totally from the devastation of the war.

What were your most significant needs right after the war? Were these met?

✓ What do you think women recovering from war need most?

Do you still think about the war? If yes, in what ways?

Would you say that your life is different today in any way because of the war, either in a positive or a negative way?

✓ If you think about your life today, do you think that there are some things about your life that would not have been that way if it wasn't for the war?
    - In what ways is their life different?
    - How did the war bring about these changes?

Would you say that have achieved well-being since the war?

✓ Why/Why not?
✓ What do you think it means for you to have achieved well-being after the war?

Demographics:

Age (approximate is okay):
Marital status (unmarried, married, separated or divorced, or widowed):
Number of living children:
Widowed as a result of the war (yes or no):
Separated from husband as a result of the war (yes or no):
Lost any children as a result of the war (yes or no):

Appendix C

Summary of Analytic Table Guiding Data Collection

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
Women fled into the bush with their children, and sometimes other family members, each night – they said that they lived like animals rather than like people during that time – some participants talked about sleeping with lions and snakes and how this was abnormal and how people weren't supposed to live like animals in the bush – theme: dehumanizing nature of the war Everyone was unable to perform	Women received help from their family members when they needed it during the war – for example, when the soldiers took their belongings or when they returned from being kidnapped (clothing, food, etc.) – theme: material support received during and after war Machambas were an important resource for for women – both as food and produce to sell – this	Many women did not identify factors that made it difficult for them to recover after the war – theme: no inhibitors of recovery Loss of their sources of income and property during the war made it hard for some women to recover after the war – some women indicated that they were poor as a result of the war – theme: economic impact of the war as an inhibitor of recovery	Women needed machambas in order to be able to grow food – both to eat and to sell – theme: machambas They needed to be able to earn money through the sale of produce or other products – theme: machambas They also needed seeds to grow in their machambas as they often lost these during the war – theme: seeds Women indicated that they needed	Women feel like they are recovering after the war – theme: recovering There are thieves now, this causes some women to still experience fear – theme: post-war crime as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war The extended dry season has made it difficult for women to continue recovering after the war – theme: dry period as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war	Women were able to live normal lives after the war – they were able to return to their normal routines and daily activities – theme: normalcy Women now have the freedom to come and go as they wish and they are able to achieve what they want in life – women have access to post-war

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
normal daily activities (e.g., bathing and eating together) – life was completely disrupted – this seemed to be dehumanizing for participants – theme: war disrupted activities that make life meaningful Women lost their property during the war – their livestock was stolen, their produce was stolen from their machambas as well as from their homes, their seeds were stolen or burnt up in their houses, and their household goods were stolen	facilitated their post-war recovery – theme: resources supporting economic recovery after the war Right after the end of the war women received some food and sometimes farming equipment from the Red Cross – theme: resources supporting economic recovery after the war Women received supports from NGOs such as CARE – these supports tended to be agricultural – women were provided with seeds to plant and often with	Many women talked about the hunger that they were experiencing as a result of a post-war time of drought – they lacked produce to eat as well as to sell – making it difficult for them to buy some of what they needed – theme: dry period as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war Many women indicated that there were more thieves after the war – this caused them to experience fear after the war – theme: crime as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war	household goods and farming implements as they often lost these during the war – theme: household goods/theme: farming implements	Women were split as to whether they are forgetting about the war or still think about it – some women indicated that they have started to forget about the war while others indicated that they still think about the war and that some of them are still scared that it will return or that they may still be killed by soldiers – theme: forgetting war/theme: psychological symptoms as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war Women indicated that, largely, they are able to live	resources, including more freedom, that allow them to achieve more – theme: freedom Women are able to move forward with their lives – theme: ability to move forward

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
(including all of their clothing) – theme: economic loss as a result of the war Participants' houses were routinely burnt down, often with everything in it – this ensured that they lost everything – theme: economic loss as a result of the war Many women lost everything as a result of the war – they are poor as a result of the war – they lack sufficient access to economic resources – theme: economic	agricultural instruction to increase their yield – theme: resources supporting economic recovery after the war Some women received treatment from curandeiros for their wartime experiences – this included both physical and psychological ailments – women who were kidnapped were often taken to curandeiros to be treated for both the physical effects of their kidnapping as well as the trauma they experienced – theme: resources	Some women experienced thoughts and fears associated with the war – they didn't always believe the war was over or they had fear that the war would come back – theme: psychological symptoms as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war Some women did experience some bodily pain after the war that they attributed to their experiences during the war (hearing too many guns, walking over mountains, etc.) – theme: physical symptoms as		normal lives after the war: theme – return to normalcy Changes to the government after the end of the war was credited by some women for their access to increased opportunities – women can do more and have access to more social power after the war (women can speak to men, can speak publicly, can attend school, and can work) – theme: changes to the post-war social system contributing to women's attainment of post-war well-being	

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
loss as a result of the war During the war, participants' lives were defined by fear – for many women the violence and fear of the war escalated over time – often they heard about the war before it came to their communities, and the violence was often first directed only at key community member, later spreading to everyone – theme: fear during the war Some participants discussed how anomalous	supporting social, psychological, and physical recovery after the war Some women indicated that curandeiros were too expensive for them to be able to go see one – theme: barrier to recovery after the war Changes to women's post-war social status meant that they could go to school and work – some women just wanted to be able to learn to write while others wanted to maybe be able to obtain a job – theme: changes to social system supporting women's recovery after	an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war As a general rule, women did not receive much support from churches or other sources after the end of the war – theme: lack of organizational support as an inhibitor of women's recovery after the war Some women indicated that they did not receive much support from their families as the impact of the war rendered everyone poor, making it hard for them to share resources – theme: economic impact of the war as an			

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
life was during the war – even the animals knew that it was the time of war – the snakes didn't even bite them – theme: anomalous wartime experiences Having to live like an animal made people more like animals – this eroded their sense of humanity – theme: dehumanizing nature of warfare In some cases community members appeared to have cooperated with soldiers to tell them who good targets were (e.g., individuals	the war/theme: resources supporting women's economic recovery after the war Women found that after war they saw more women working or they were able to speak publicly in front of men – theme: changes to the social system supporting women's recovery after the war People were determined to recover from the war – they worked hard to recover, often together – theme: individual determination to recover Belonging to a farmers'	inhibitor of women's recovery after the war Some women indicated that it was difficult for them to attend school; factors included a lack of money often resulting from a lack of produce to sell, the schools were too far for them to walk, they were too old too learn, or the hunger they experienced as a result of the drought made it so that they couldn't study – theme: economic impact of the war as an inhibitor of women's recovery after			

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
who were wealthier or were important), however, this did not appear to have a long-term impact on the communities in question – participants indicated that either these individuals had no choice (their lives were threatened) or they have left the community since the war – in three cases participants' indicated that there was some loss of trust of the community for these individuals – theme: betrayal of one another during the war	association helped with women's post-war recovery – these associations provided them with seeds and agricultural assistance – theme: resources supporting economic recovery after the war A return to post-war normality was noted by some women as a key component of their post-war recovery – theme: recovery supported by a return to normalcy Some women indicated that there were more diseases after the war – theme: post-	the war/factors limiting women's access to education as an inhibitor of their recovery after the war Some women indicated that they wished their children had better access to schooling, that there were more schools available in the area, and that they received economic support for their children's schooling theme: inadequate schooling for children			

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
Community members were often routinely kidnapped during the war – them: kidnapping Members of larger communities were also mutilated during the war: theme - violence Many participants reported that members of their extended families were killed, mutilated, or kidnapped: theme - violence Participants in this investigation were sometimes kidnapped – this often took a significant	war disease				

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
toll upon their physical health given the hardships that they had to endure – theme: kidnapping These women worked for the soldiers during their kidnapping (e.g., farming and household chores such as laundry and cooking) – theme: kidnapping Women who were kidnapped were often forced to act as 'wives' for soldiers – theme: rape When kidnap victims returned, their families arranged for them to see a curandeiro or to receive					

Experiences during war (own experiences and that of others)	*Factors supporting recovery after war*	*Factors inhibiting recovery after war*	*Post-war needs*	*Post-war context (i.e., thoughts of the war and life after war)*	*What does well-being mean?*
medical treatment as was appropriate – them: treatment for physical and psychological consequences of war Curandeiros cleansed women who were kidnapped of their experiences – theme: treatment for physical and psychological consequences of war					

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Appendix D

An Examination of the Factors Influencing
Mozambican Women's Attainment of Post-War Well-Being
Coding Framework

1) Traumas experienced during warfare
   a) Lived like an animal
   b) Kidnapped – self
   c) Kidnapped – family member(s)
      i) Child/children
         (1) Returned
         (2) Did not return
      ii) Other family member(s)
         (1) Returned
         (2) Did not return
      iii) Prayed for their return
   d) Loss of property
      i) House burnt down
      ii) Property stolen
   e) Violence – self
      i) Beaten
      ii) Stripped and left naked
   f) Violence – family member
      i) Child
         (1) Beaten
         (2) Injured
         (3) Killed
      ii) Other family member
         (1) Beaten
         (2) Injured
         (3) Killed
   g) Community members cooperated with soldiers

2) Supports received during war
   a) From family
   b) From other community members
   c) None

3) Supports provided to others during war
   a) Family members
   b) Other community members

4) Consequences of wartime experiences

a) for family members
b) for self

5) How "recovery" after war was defined
   a) Whether recovery was attained

6) How "well-being" was defined

7) Facilitators of well-being
   a) at the individual level
   b) at the micro level
   c) at the meso level
   d) at the macro-level

8) Inhibitors of well-being

9) General consequences of war
   a) characteristics of post-war society
   b) needs after war

APPENDIX E

Protection of Rigor During Data Collection and Analysis

Citation	Protection of Rigor	What Was Done?	Action Implemented
Guba & Lincoln, 1989	Credibility	Prolonged engagement	The investigator spent approximately two months in the proposed research setting prior to the start of data collection. In addition, while data collection was underway, the investigator spent time in the community while not interviewing participants.
		Persistent observation	As discussed above, the investigator spent time in the community in question and observed the community in order to identify areas of inquiry most relevant to the investigation.
		Peer debriefing	The investigator discussed with her dissertation chair emergent findings as well as general topics related to the data collection process.
		Progressive	Before the start of

		subjectivity	data collection, and at regular intervals during data collection and analysis, the investigator sent to her dissertation chair copies of both her a priori constructions of the data, as well as her emerging constructions.
		Member checks	After the completion of data collection, the investigator shared her emergent findings with three groups of former participants. Their feedback regarding her construction of the data and her understanding of relevant themes was solicited. Participants confirmed the investigator's interpretations of the data.
	Transferability	Thick description	The investigator provided as much information as is possible about her working hypotheses, as well as the time, place context, etc. of the investigation.
	Dependability	Confirmability	The investigator maintained a complete audit trail of all data collection and

			analysis decisions and processes, including the reasons for these decisions and the ways in which emergent findings related to the raw data.
	Authenticity	Ontological authenticity	The investigator's audit trail represented progressive subjectivity.
Patton, 2002		Triangulation of data sources	Interviews were supplemented with informal ethnographic observations.
		Expert audit review	All data collection and analysis procedures, as well as all results, were reviewed by the investigator's dissertation committee.
			As part of the audit trail, the investigator meticulously recorded her reactions to the data collection process in her field notes. In addition, the investigator recorded her potential biases and factors that may have influenced her interpretations of the data.

Appendix F

Glossary of Terms

Bandito: Combatant, usually member of Renamo.

Capulana: Sarong-like wrap worn by rural women as their primary form of clothing.

Community Animator: Female community leaders responsible for tasks such as organizing women's groups and conducting nutritional education, etc.

Corridor: Road between two major cities in Nampula Province.

Curandeiro: Traditional healer.

Machamba: Plots of land farmed by individuals and/or family groups.

Macua: Primary population group in Northern Mozambique as well as language spoken by members of this group.

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