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The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction:

The Challenges in Development Aid

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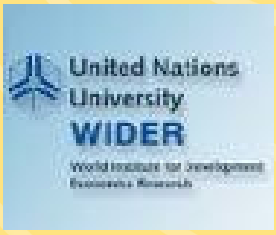

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The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Challenges in Development Aid

Marcia E. Greenberg and Elaine Zuckerman

Our topic and our approach

The purpose of this chapter is to construct a framework for understanding the gender dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction (PCR), in order to strengthen assessments, project design, and policy-formulation – all with the aim of achieving the overarching goals of sustainable peace, participation and prosperity. Based on our experiences working with and reviewing projects in post-conflict settings, this chapter suggests gender dimensions that may strengthen programmes, promote gender equality, and enhance returns on PCR investments. It is predicated on the conviction that building and maintaining peace and prosperity requires attention to gender roles and relations in the post-conflict arena. To illustrate the gender dimensions, we use examples from the World Bank and other donors, including a sample of the Bank's large post-conflict reconstruction development loans and its small post-conflict fund (PCF) grants. While many of these examples confirm our concern that policy-makers have been slow to employ gender analysis and focus, some cases illustrate the kind of gender-sensitive approaches that we advocate.

This chapter addresses the gender dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction in five sections: We begin our discussion by establishing the foundations for our framework: locating post-conflict reconstruction within a process triggered by peace negotiations and ending with peaceful, prosperous and equitable societies, and introducing the women and gender characteristics of the three dimensions. The middle three sections each propose and illustrate one of three *interrelated* gender dimensions: (i) women-focused activities, (ii) gender-aware programming, and (iii) strategic attention to transforming gender relations in order to heal trauma, build social capital and avoid further violence. We conclude our chapter with recommendations of how donors, implementers and governments may create the data and environments in which to recognize gender issues as the basis for formulating practical steps by which to address them.

The starting point for this chapter is a rights-based commitment to gender equality. Yet the message for those whose primary concern is to go beyond simply ending violence to building stable, prosperous societies, is similar to that of Stewart regarding horizontal inequalities: that the failure to recognize and address the gender dimensions is a serious omission, threatening the success of sustainable peace. As each chapter of this book notes, the successes in post-conflict environments have been limited – or as noted previously in chapter two: 'the odds are stacked against peace'. It is therefore imperative that all

committed to PCR employ a full complement of conceptual and practical tools, including the gender dimensions, which may lead to peace, participation and prosperity.

Situating our topic: The continuum of conflict, peace negotiations, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, peacemaking and reconstruction

From the women and armed conflict plank in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) (UN 1996) through government commitments in the June 2000 five-year BPA review, to Security Council Resolution 1325 (SC1325) (UN 2000b), the world has increasingly acknowledged the impacts of conflict on women – and of women on conflict. SC1325 marked a milestone. For the first time in its 55-year history, the UN Security Council focused on women. Through SC1325, the international community recognized that women's involvement is essential for achieving sustainable peace. SC1325 commits to women's participation in peace negotiations, preventing and managing conflict and peacekeeping operations. Although SC1325 could be strengthened by *mandating* the need to address gender relations and gender equality during all phases of conflict and post-conflict, it is a historic achievement raising the stature of gender roles and women's needs in international discourse and planning.

Many excellent papers have addressed advocacy for women during conflict and peace negotiations, peacekeeping and peacemaking – raising awareness and resulting in significant progress.[1] While this chapter builds upon them, it shifts the focus from ending conflict to building anew. Yet while we address women's inclusion and gender issues within post-conflict 'reconstruction', one fundamental import of the gender dimensions is to reject the very idea of *re*-constructing, i.e. putting back what was there before the conflict. Instead, we suggest the gender dimensions as ways to remove injustice, disparities, and exclusion that generate conflict – a concern consistent with Stewart's concern for horizontal inequalities and Hellsten's call to renovate and renew the legitimacy of social political and institutional structures. We propose ways to undertake *development* – social, economic and political – but within a particularized context that is post-conflict: recognizing gender-related challenges, suggesting ways that a 'gender lense' may sharpen understanding, and capitalizing on opportunities presented by new rules, institutions and resources. Appreciating the suggestion that this volume is about the overarching objectives of peace, participation and prosperity, we underscore the dangers of reconstruction by eschewing the 'R' of PCR, adopting instead Addison and Brück's PPP: for 'PC-PPP'.

Framing the gender dimensions: women-focused activities, gender aware programming, gender oriented social transformation

To analyse the gender aspects of post-conflict PPP, we propose three dimensions – which may apply separately but often simultaneously. Each is rights-based, founded on women's rights to: participate *meaningfully* in policymaking and resource allocation; benefit *substantially* from public and private resources and services; and partner *collaboratively* with men in constructing the new peace and prosperity. Some donors fund small women-focused activities, while others like the World Bank espouse a commitment to human rights but rarely incorporate a rights-based approach into their investments.[2] Other donors, such as the US Agency for International Development, have promoted 'gender integration' as a means of strengthening programs and focusing some attention on women – but have

been reluctant to ground the approach in an institutional commitment to women's rights.

With that express concern for women's rights, we orient this paper toward the benefits of a *gender perspective*: for women themselves, but also for families, communities and nations struggling to recover from conflict, to formulate new social contracts, and to re-dress horizontal inequalities. The proposed gender dimensions do not focus only on women: Post-conflict environments require careful attention to boys and men – such as those who fought and have histories of violence and disengagement from society. This requires rigorous recognition of gendered roles, meaning men's as well as women's, including what happens to women's new-found roles generated by the absence of men during the conflicts, and how men and women relate to one another and negotiate new roles and partnerships in the aftermath of conflict. Moreover, the focus often goes beyond women *or* men, to women *with, or in relation to* men: how they share and divide responsibilities. Attention to gender relations recognizes the role of conflict on socially-determined *roles, responsibilities, and access to power and resources*: that they often change both during and after conflict. Lastly, the 'gender dimensions' help to sharpen analyses of winners and losers in post-conflict PPP to the extent that 'women' may be proxies for understanding 'people' who are poor, cynical, disenfranchised, vulnerable, grassroots, etc. The gender dimensions build awareness of who makes decisions, whose input and collaboration is needed, who participates effectively, and who benefits.

Within our gender framework, the first dimension does focus on women: calling attention to what is needed when gender analyses reveal *gender-related disparities* – in basic needs, education, physical security and power. The second dimension focuses on mainstream policies and programs, emphasizing the importance of understanding gender-based roles and relations, and admonishing that failure to understand them may *diminish the effectiveness of economic and governance programmes*. Achieving peace, participation and prosperty requires thoughtful engagement of all talent, and attention to inclusion. Post conflict work needs not only to recognize horizontal inequalities as factors generating conflict and to remedy inequalities where they pose a danger of renewed conflict (Stewart, 7-1), but also to take care not exacerbate it. Post conflict societies urgently needing leadership, labour and talent cannot afford to bypass women's contributions, or to ignore gender-related impediments to men and women working together. The third gender dimension is *strategic and transformative* – addressing the question of priorities and sequencing raised elsewhere in this volume. Where post-conflict interventions differ from 'normal' development work, contending with the need to heal, to rebuild social capital, and to build non-violent institutions, purposeful efforts to build positive, respectful relations between men and women may offer some means of changing from conflict societies of inequality (including Stewart's horizontal inequalities) and violence, to peaceful societies of equality and cooperation.

Dimension one: women-focused activities

The first, women-focused dimension covers three potential situations: (1) where gender analyses reveal disparities of need or opportunity that affect women, their families and post-conflict PPP overall, (2) where building anew after conflict presents opportunities to focus purposefully on pre-conflict inequalities, and (3) where purposeful investment in women's capabilities may contribute to the post-conflict agenda.

Post-conflict situations provide extraordinary opportunities to set new norms, draft new rules, engage new leaders, and build new institutions (McMillan and Greenberg 1998). In such circumstances, it is imperative that women's rights be recognized and supported. et for women to enjoy their rights, they must have resources – capacity, property, capital, and decision-making power. To accomplish this, it is sometimes necessary to support women-focused activities that address deficits or disparities, and ensure that women have resources or capabilities. It invites the full incorporation of women's rights through women-focused activities that contribute to levelling the playing field, or purposeful policies (as suggested by Stewart). Thus, for example, the World Bank supported a project in Peshawar to train Afghan exiled women to teach girls in Afghanistan who, because of previous injunctions preventing female education, lacked schooling. While such activities reflect a 'women-in-development' approach, they target deficits in order to achieve gender equality.

Ensuring respect for women's rights, both within donors' programmes and through government policies, contributes to PC-PPP. To illustrate the importance, this section discusses four areas: women's rights to (i) participate fully and effectively in decisionmaking, particularly political; (ii) own property, including housing, land, and other assets; (iii) work without discrimination in hiring, benefits, promotion or firing; and (iv) live free from violence.

Political rights

As the BPA underlines, women have the right to draft constitutions and elect representatives (UN 1996). Furthermore, post-conflict demographics of greater female than male populations present *opportunities* for females to fill positions previously held by men.

But ensuring that women's political rights are fully exercised requires attention to the number of women in decisionmaking (elected and appointed positions), their capability in such positions, and their commitment to supporting gender equality (Greenberg 1998; Greenberg 2000b). 'Full political participation means that significant groups in the population participate across the board, and that their presence is not just nominal' (Stewart, 7-22).

Many post-conflict countries have taken steps to increase women's political participation. The dominant parties in South Africa (ANC), Mozambique (Frelimo), and Namibia (Swapo) established women's quotas on candidate lists. Though controversial, quotas can increase women's representation (Tinker 2004) – and while some may question women representatives' political qualifications, such arguments are spurious when they ignore unqualified elected men. Others have focused on women's ability to run for office and hold office effectively (Greenberg 1998). When the national council in Timor Leste, where some 45 per cent of adult women are widowed (UNIFEM 2004), rejected quotas, women's networks sought UN funding to train women to compete effectively in elections. Women now comprise 26 per cent of elected constituent assembly members (UNIFEM 2004).

In Rwanda, where women comprise over 60 per cent of the post-genocide population, women captured 49 per cent of parliamentary seats in fall 2003 elections. Rwanda still has the largest female parliamentary representation worldwide. In Afghanistan, despite the predominant fundamentalist religious, warlord-led culture, women officially (if not functionally – see below) occupy 27.7 per cent of lower parliament seats. This resulted

from pressure by Afghan women's groups and the international community, including from countries such as the US where women hold only 16 per cent of congressional seats. Yet women's representation in some post-conflict parliaments remains discouragingly low. An example is Guatemala's lower house where women hold only 8 per cent of the seats. The record of women's political representation is uneven.

In chapter 2 Addison and Brück note that the poor may sometimes constitute a political force, but are 'often politically marginal to how and when big political decisions are made (usually the prerogrative of competing political elites, recruiting the poor as voters or fighters as necessary)' (ch 2-21). Hellsten notes the 'need to build a bridge between bottom-up grassroots social reconstruction and formal top-down institutional reconstruction … in a manner that gives people in post-conflict societies more ownership of the reconstruction of principles of justice and their implementation.' (ch 5-4). Protecting and promoting women's rights to political participation is one way to bring the marginalized and the grassroots into the mainstream – enlisting their support, building legitimacy for the new political system, and empowering agents for peace.

Yet one of the problems limiting the ability of women to participate politically is their disadvantage in education. Addison and Brück note that human capital is a key determinant of distribution of growth's benefits, but that education suffers during war-time – including impediments to sending children to school and negative impacts on girls' education (ch 2-20). On example is Angola, where education data of the late 90's showed uneven trends among women – that older women educated before the widespread impacts of the conflict and girls educated in areas of decreased violence such as Luanda, tended to have more education than adolescent girls and young women whose education was most disturbed by conflict. For future political participation, with or without quotas, women need strengthened leadership capacity to succeed as politicians and gain increased voter support for them (eventually eliminating the need for quotas). As Stewart has noted, equal opportunities often do not suffice because 'the disadvantaged group is likely to be less efficient at using a particular set of assets … Hence for equality of outcomes one may need inequality in access to targetable assets, such as education, land and capital (7-11). Thus women often require special activities building their capacity to run for office, win, effectively serve, and promote gender equality when governing. Similarly, women's organizations need technical assistance for political awareness and capacity. Further, while dependent on context and culture, wherever possible the meaningful and sustainable advancement of women in politics may benefit from removing gender impediments to their effective collaboration with men—as coalition partners and political party leaders.

Property rights

After the chaos, dislocation and destruction of conflict, post-conflict efforts often involve sorting out property ownership, including law-making around property rights and mechanisms for privatizing homes, land and businesses. Beyond the tendency for those who have rights and resources to hold onto them, as noted by Stewart, women are among the poor who are likely to lose out as their rights are overlooked or insufficiently supported. Poverty compounds gender inequalities in gaining access to property. For example, the poorest families, particularly female-headed households, had the greatest difficulty obtaining and holding onto land that Mozambique's government privatized and distributed after the war. Women lacked the capacity to navigate the official bureaucracy

and the resources to purchase inputs and hire labour. More prosperous farmers benefited from donor-supported land privatization schemes (Wuyts 2003).

More often than not, pre-conflict systems were characterized by institutionalized gender inequality. In their Introduction, Addison and Brück note that 'war can overturn the old social order, opening up opportunities for people previously at a disadvantage (1-3).' In fact, post-conflict legal reforms present an historic opportunity to support equal rights to own, inherit and control property. Hellsten challenges the rhetoric: is it rhetoric of 'global justice' or 'global practice of justice' (5-12)? Suggesting four concepts of justice, going beyond order and security, reconciliation and political justice to distributive and social justice, she lays the foundations for ensuring women's property rights.

But more is needed than laws alone, and rule-of-law means more than putting laws on books. There may be two levels of gender bias: whether women have the right to own property, *de jure*, and whether those rights are really enjoyed, *de facto.* Once new gender equal laws are promulgated, as they have been in post-conflict periods in Eritrea, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa and Uganda, gender-biased practices continue to prevail, impeding women's enjoyment of their newly established statutory rights (Greenberg 2001a; Greenberg 1998; Kibreab 2003). (Stewart refers to implicit as well as overt discrimination (7-11).) The consequences can be devastating, not only for women but also for their families. For example, a rural Namibian woman who loses her spouse to HIV/AIDS not only loses her husband and children's father, but is likely to lose access to the land she farmed and become homeless. If she contracts HIV/AIDS herself, she is likely to be subject to violence, abuse, abandonment by her family, and loss of her rights to property and her children (Muhato 2003).

Despite these impediments that the poorest populations, especially female-headed households, face in accessing property, donor-funded projects often neglect gender considerations. For example, a World Bank PCR project for Angola that focused on resettlement and land acquisition did not consider gender issues affecting female-headed households.[3] Another World Bank project, for Colombia, included land titling for the poor but did not consider gender needs.[4] A positive example is a World Bank project in Sri Lanka that while reconstructing houses and regularizing titles for war-displaced people, made efforts to give preference to female-headed households. Both the factors that generated that project's focus on women, and the socio-economic impacts it achieved, warrant further consideration for similar projects.

In post-conflict countries that privatize state assets, the process often engages and benefits a small group of men with international contacts and access to substantial capital. Addison and Brück note that war criminals are apt to re-establish property rights once they control valuable assets and resources, and that 'when conflict subsides … poor people have the fewest assets and least human capital to participate in recovery' and that the chronically poor 'can lose out in the land grab' (2-16, 2-18). In fact, women rarely become owners of privatized economic facilities (Dokmanovic 2002). Various factors, including legal literacy and access to capital may ensure women's ability to exercise their property rights. Despite passage of new laws, women often remain unprotected or unable to enjoy the rights stated by law. Beyond educated elites, most women in developing countries lack information about their legal rights, and the capacity and resources to pursue them (such as literacy, money, and power within their families). To ensure that they do not generate or reinforce

inequality, donors need to consider activities to incorporate attention to women's legal literacy and access to courts and other legal institutions.

Livelihoods opportunities without discrimination

Addison and Brück's prosperity aspect of post-conflict 'PPP' incorporates economic reconstruction, development and poverty reduction, including the shift from humanitarian assistance (2-1). They recognize that economic activities affected by conflict include farming, traditional and service, and that 'households adapted by changing production or storage techniques or by fleeing their villages (1-9)'. Women – poor rural women who remained engaged in agriculture in the villages, rural women who migrated to peri-urban areas, and urban women – all require livelihoods in the post-conflict setting. They, too, must contribute to their own, their families' and their communities' economic well-being.

Women's right to work without discrimination therefore raises both rights issues and efficacy issues for restoring economic activity. While post-conflict countries often pass new laws forbidding discrimination, employers frequently ignore them. Following wars of liberation, the Chinese and Vietnamese governments passed such laws, but compliance was better during their socialist days than within current market economies (Zuckerman 2000a). This pattern virtually pervades all transition economies, as demonstrated by an analysis of World Bank structural adjustment loans in Serbia and Montenegro (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). In the poorest post-conflcit countries, employers discriminate against women partly because of their low school attainment. This underlines the need for girls to complete school cycles (de Sousa 2003). When the risks of discrimination are recognized, institutions like South Africa's Commission for Gender Equality and Office on the Status of Women may generate policies and exercise oversight that is critical for enforcing women's labor rights (Greenberg 1998).

Worse than failing to anticipate post-conflict discrimination is the risk that donors may not only fail to redress discrimination, but inadvertently promote it. While donors' focus on income-generating activitites for demobilized male soldiers is understandable, such programs may institutionalize gender inequality (Greenberg et al. 1997; Greenberg 2001a). De Watteville, in her extraordinary study of gender and demilitarization-demobilization-reintegration (DDR) points out numerous critical factors in PCR preferences for men: In Bosnia, women were glad for employment programmes that targeted their husbands because it relieved both economic and psychological strain on their families. But in Nicaragua, an estimated 16,000 women lost their jobs because men returned from war (de Watteville 2002). Promoting policies that encourage employers to favour men in order to prevent their returning to combat or turning to illicit activities may reinforce gender disparities and stereotyped positions and perpetuate discriminatory employment practices. As Addison and Brück note, 'aid can sometimes make states more fragile rather than less … helping to preserve (and indeed strengthen) patterns of behaviour that ultimately run counter to PPP (2-9).' Donor and NGO projects must take care to hire and promote without gender bias and ensure that women benefit from job training and work experience equally with men (Greenberg 1997).

Right to live and work free from violence

This right is particularly difficult to promote and protect in post-conflict settings – yet is essential for ensuring women's protection, their ability to engage freely and effectively in

their families and communities. Several authors in this volume note the importance of security – from identifying 'order and security' as the first element of justice (1-14) to recalling former Canadian Foreign Minister Axwothy's commitment to a 'human security agenda, focused on the protection of individuals rather than primarily that of state interests (3-3)'. While gender-based violence needs to be addressed in all development settings, a a matter of human rights and for the social and economic good of all affected by it, it must be a priority issue in PC-PPP for several reasons: First, men who return home from the front or the bush come from cultures of violence, accustomed to wielding weapons and using force. Second, returning male combatants suffer from uncertainty about their places and roles in society, exacerbated by the pains of post-conflict economic adjustment and related unemployment. These tensions often lead to increased alcohol consumption or drug abuse that precipitates violence against women and raises HIV/AIDS rates. This tragic cycle has developed in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and many other post-conflict countries. Third, after either sexual apartheid during war-time (with men away and women tending to homes and family) or extremely patriarchal relations 'in the bush' typified by girls in 'forced marriages' and otherwise 'enslaved' to men, many returnees lack the life skills for respectful, equitable gender relations.

Violence also has economic impacts as it may affect women's ability to generate income, either as heads of household or contributing to family income. For example, at the end of a day working in the informal market, Angolan women are vulnerable to attackers stealing their earnings, and South African women are threatened by violent crime as they travel to and from work (Greenberg 1998). Some post-conflict societies have taken this issue very seriously, seeing it not as something ancillary, but requiring attention in building sustainable, peaceful societies. Rwandan genocide survivors, with UNESCO support, developed the Mandela Peace Village (MPV) that houses and provides shelter and literacy programmes to displaced widow- and orphan-headed households.[5] Refugee and IDP camps, both during conflict and before complete repatriation, must now recognize the risks to girls and women who must walk long distances alone fetch fuel and water.

Dimension one challenges

Each of the gender dimensions poses different challenges – sometimes of resources, and sometimes of approach. The major challenge for women-focused activities is to achieve broad understanding among donors and governments that focusing on disparities is *not ancillary or optional* – but should instead be a priority and an integral component within strategies for building peace, participation and prosperity.

Evidence that such understanding remains a challenge is the related challenge for women-focused activities of gaining sufficient funding: women-focused programming is almost always under-resourced. On the positive side, some PC-PPP programmes have included laudable women-focused approaches. In Rwanda, a women's NGO umbrella organization, the Pro-Femmes Twese-Hamwe trains members as leaders. Pressured by women's groups and donors, the Rwandan Parliament passed legislation giving women equal rights to property and inheritance (Zuckerman 2000b). In late 2003, Serbia's first poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) allocated €7 million to develop women's capacity (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004).

But while it is common in development projects that governments and donors fail to

allocate sufficient funding for women's rights-focused activities, it is striking in post-conflict settings where the strategic need is greater and programs often enjoy more generous budgets. For example, in 2004 the World Bank had US$6.6 billion for 95 projects under implementation in Africa alone and an additional 105 projects worth US$7 billion under preparation (World Bank 2004b). Our World Bank PCF grant analysis completed in late 2004 suggests that possibly one-third of these projects target women in post-conflict reconstruction. In terms of the number of grants, only ten or *3.34 per cent* of these projects targeted women as a specific group. In terms of grant amounts, US$3,127,383 or *4.67 per cent* out of the total of US$66,961,254 allocated to all 301 projects, financed the 10 projects targeting women. Given the centrality of women and gender in post-conflict work, the PCF should have been targeting women more systematically – and addressing gender roles in all its projects.

Beyond the challenge of initial funding is the need for it to be sustained. A noteworthy accomplishment in funding women's activities were the Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo Women's Initiatives, when the international community recognized the importance of focusing on women and of enlisting women's energy and determination in rebuilding – consistent with Hellsten's concerns for 'giving voice to the population through development of civil society that includes the generation and exchange of ideas (5-10). Yet despite such achievements, there is a constant danger, as was the case in Kosovo, of a precipitous drop in funding for women's initiatives once the initial urgency passes.[6] As post-conflict institution-building and social-change both take time, the challenge is to ensure ongoing funding.

Another challenge of women-focused programs is to go beyond perfunctory participation and *de jure* legal protections to effective participation and commitment to gender equality. This is consistent with concerns of other authors in this volume regarding political participation that goes beyond voting to a more variegated and broadly supported form of democracy. The quality of women's political participation, along with that of youth or ethnic groups or others who have historically been excluded, must grow from mere presence, to having voice, being heard, and influencing decisions (the 'ladder of participation'). Effective participation requires training for women to negotiate and work effectively with their male colleagues, as well as training in gender equality that ensures that both male and female representatives who are accountable to their constituencies, will recognize and support gender equality in policies and resource allocations. Gender equitable laws and policies require a critical mass of capable women who voice positions and garner collegial support, along with men who also support gender equality.

Where conflicts may have been generated by grievances, efforts to open political space may be furthered by ensuring that women political representatives are advocates for women and gender equality; where conflicts may be perpetuated by greed, programmes would do well to focus on a broad base of women to counter the well-connected, compliant politicians. This was a key reason for controversy in Kosovo when the UN maintained women's representation quotas in the face of a women's lobby demanding 'open lists' to ensure representatives' accountability to constituencies. The challenge is to engage all stakeholders, including elder male leaders and younger men, to accept and work for just policies, including gender equality. Rights-based work cannot be viewed only in terms of women, but also men, who need to know and promote everyone's rights.

Finally, beyond focusing on women, one challenge of the first dimension is the need for

policies that recognize how political processes and legal institutions affect women's lives and may reinforce gender biases. Achieving broader impacts requires purposeful efforts to connect women-focused programmes with policies – not just gender mainstreaming, which we discuss below, but supporting women-focused activities and then linking their participants and lessons with mainstream programs. There is a danger that women-focused efforts stand alone, rather than affecting policies that should take account of issues raised and addressed in women-focused activities.

Dimension two: gender aware programming

Gender-aware programming is about gender mainstreaming—systematically identifying and addressing gender issues that may obstruct or improve efforts to build peaceful and prosperous post-conflict societies. Though predicated on improving women's contributions and participation, or on recognizing how gender roles and relations may affect policy implementation, the analytical dimension of gender mainstreaming may strengthen the whole gamut of macroeconomic and microeconomic development activities. For macroeconomic policies, the most urgent issue is when they may have disparate impacts on women and men (as well as on rural and urban, poor and rich, and different ethnic groups). Failure to analyze, anticipate and monitor may exacerbate tensions and tilt the playing field. Microeconomic activities tend to raise issues regarding the beneficiaries of resources, human capital investment and opportunities – and of how women and men may, or may not, relate effectively with within them.

Macroeconomic issues

Because PC-PPP requires heavy socioeconomic financing that donor-imposed public expenditure management programmes often constrain, there can be tensions between post-conflict objectives and macroeconomic reform agendas. As Addison and Brück suggest, growth is not the sole aim in PC-PPP, and donors must accept lower returns to growth in early years, focusing much of their early assistance on building institutions (2-13). Gender aware analyses of macroeconomic programs are one way to reveal missed opportunities for pro-active, purposeful institution-building and to catch unintended negative consequences.

Too little attention has focused on the intersection of macroeconomic policies and gender impacts that frequently affect development outcomes (Çagatay *et al.* 1995; Grown *et al.* 2000; Zuckerman 2000b). As Addison and Brück suggest, 'among the chronically poor who are ill, disabled, or elderly, their participation in growth can be virtually non-existent. (2-22)'. PC-PPP macroeconomic reforms with gender impacts include spending reallocations, state-owned enterprise (SOE) privatization, price and trade liberalization, civil service streamlining, and governance decentralization (Greenberg and Okani 2001; Greenberg 2001c; Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004; Zuckerman 2000b). Our focus is on the poor whom donors claim to target to meet their poverty reduction objective and the extent to which donor projects undertake gender analyses. As Chapter 9 articulates with regard to funding for health systems, there is a need to'maximize positive incomes with constrained resources' (9-23). Yet macroeconomic programme expenditure cutbacks during post-conflict periods usually deprive new single mothers or widows of public support. For example a World Bank public sector reform project for Rwanda approved in 2004 did not incorporate gender analysis.[7]

It is problematic, for example, that neither a 2004 World Bank poverty reduction support credit for Rwanda approved intended to promote private sector development activities[8], nor a World Bank electricity privatization programme for Cambodia, considered gender-related impacts.[9] Too often, donor-imposed privatization activities seem to bypass and harm poor groups, such as female-headed households, and benefit the better-off (Zuckerman 1989, 1991). During privatization, sometimes class factors outweigh gender differences. Elite females as well as males might benefit while poor women and men are likely to lose.[10]

The processes of post-conflict assessments, programme design and implementation would be more effective if they increased the quantity but also quality of women's participation, and incorporated greater awareness of gender equality as a right and economic motor. Studies demonstrate that women bear the brunt of painful structural adjustment programmes (SAP) integral to many PC-PPP frameworks (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). Serbia and Montenegro's typical SAP requires: the closing of SOEs closing, restructuring and/or privatizing; public expenditure and civil service cutbacks including in social programmes; and financial sector liberalization, commercialization and downsizing. Although these measures affect women and men differently, their design and implementation neglected gendered impacts. The authors of chapter 9 note: 'Incorporating women in the earliest phases of the leath sector rehabilitation is crucial, as they have likely been marginalized from public and civic life, yet are often the eyes and ears of families and communities (9-27)'. Yet in Serbia and Montenegro, health spending cutbacks expanded women's homecare for sick household members, reducing time for paid work. Men caught in persistent unemployment who become drunk and violent require health programmes, as do men and women who suffer ongoing debilitating impacts of conflict-related trauma. (Greenberg 2000c). Policies and practices frequently cause women to lose formal sector jobs first and be rehired last because they are assumed to be secondary breadwinners. Yet in a region where women enjoyed high levels of education and may contribute substantial skills, policies and decision-making processes that fail to engage them effectively are foregoing their contributions.

But post-conflict programmes rarely recognize the gender impacts of resource allocations. Many post-conflict countries face severe resource scarcities that require choices. Removing gender barriers in setting priorities may affect development outcomes significantly, as reflected in women urging reallocations from weapons to social programmes in the Beijing Platform for Action and during the Beijing Plus Five review: 'Many women's non-governmental organizations have called for reductions in military expenditures worldwide … Those affected most negatively by conflict and excessive military spending are people living in poverty, who are deprived because of lack of investment in basic services' (UN 1996). Mainstreaming women's involvement and empowerment into macroeconomic programmes may enhance gender equality, accountability, and transparency. One way to do so is through promoting gender budget analyses to monitor public expenditures. All post-conflict countries should support gender budget analyses and follow up advocacy.

Trade policy is another area that typically neglects gendered impacts (Gammage *et al.* 2002; Zuckerman 2000b). Post-conflict reconstruction, like regular development, promotes trade as an economic growth motor. Post-conflict trading ranges from modern industrial economies recovering from conflict, such as those in the Balkans, to less-developed

countries with raw materials or with informal barter arrangements such as in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire. (And as the Malone and Nitzsche chapter points out, much of the most lucrative trade is illicit, sanctions-busting, and harmful to the establishment of fair and healthy post-war economies.)

Gender analysis of trade in post-conflict settings may include recogizing who the pre-conflict traders were, and ensuring that reconstruction efforst enable them to resume – for example, women traders in West Africa who for generations developed mobility and networks. Conflict undermines or destroys their trade patterns and livelihoods. After conflicts, women must re-build their trade networks, which in many post-conflict environments requires overcoming almost insurmountable hurdles to credit access for the income generation needed to pay for basic needs and contribute to economic growth (see the following subsection on access to credit).

Macroeconomic trade policies may involve decisions about protecting local products from competing imports, or subsidies and technical assistance supporting exports; or donor-supported programmes building capacities within clusters or value-chains.[11] Trade preferences often result in new economic opportunities, and all-too-often on industries that rely on women's labor – from texties to horticulture. In all cases, gender analyses enable policy-makers to recognize who is contributing, or may contribute; as well as designating winners and losers among entrepreneurs. From inadvertent exclusion of women in trade, to failure to engage their experience and perspectives, macroeconomic trade policies may suffer from ignoring dimension two.

Microeconomic issues

Access to credit

Credit, one of the most popular post-conflict programmes, raises several gender issues. Both women and men need access to credit: sometimes micro, sometimes larger. In some countries, such as Eritrea and Mozambique, rural women need access to microcredit to be able generate their first beyond-subsistence livelihoods (de Sousa 2003). Most of the repatriated Eritrean refugees who had fled during the country's liberation war preferred developing micro-enterprises in urban areas to taking government or village allotted land (Kibreab 2003). Yet both men and women who spent years living in the bush lacked skills to start or maintain a business. Many Eritrean and Angolan fighters, along with those who supported them in the bush, lacked any experience with a market economy. Some Eritrean ex-combatant women who lived their entire lives in the bush had never even handled money. Understanding changing gender relations meant recognizing that when the liberation war ended, many 'bush marriages' ended as well – leaving women as single mothers scorned as unmarriageable by their home villages. When post-conflict programmes provided microcredit, most of those women's enterprises failed for lack of training and guidance – and they ended up in *abject* poverty (Greenberg 2001b).

Gender analyses may also identify opportunities to target and invest credit for new entrepreneurship and growth. Gender roles change during conflict and while men are away fighting. Many women stay home and take new responsibilities relating to agriculture or urban enterprises, such as those in Luanda's informal market or formal sector jobs. In many cases, such women develop business experience and become better investment and

credit risks than male combatants (Greenberg *et al.* 1997). Yet many post-conflict credit programmes do not target women at all. An example is the World Bank Sierra Leone Economic Rehabilitation and Recovery Credit Project (III) that theoretically applied to all, but did not ensure that women will be borrowers.[12] Such programmes would often benefit from assessments that take care to identify women's needs, programme designs that include purposeful steps to attract and support women, monitoring with sex-disaggregated data to detect disparities, and attention to gender relations such as between male staff and female borrowers. One positive example is a World Bank agriculture project for Sri Lankan war-affected households that targeted women with village-level revolving fund credit.[13]

In some post-conflict settingss, such as in the Balkans, women are ready for larger loans. However, as in non-conflcit contexts, there are often assumptions linking poor women with microcredit and expecting no need for concern about access by educated women to commercial credit. In fact, the Enterprise Funds of Central and Eastern Europe typically lent to men, even when qualified women borrowers require more than microcredit for SMEs (small- and medium-sized enterprises).[14] Despite women's positive credit repayment record worldwide, gender roles still influence how banks and credit facilities work with women, both in post-conflict and normal situations. Lending officers in many countries are almost all men, as are borrowers. There are also gender-related impediments in pre-conflict legal systems, and women who lack legal ownership of real property lack collateral required for borrowing. Methods to remedy gender inequalities include ensuring equal hiring practices in banks and training opportunities for new bank jobs, using non-property collateral methods like savings groups, targeting credit to women and men equally, and maintaining sex-disaggregated records to identify and remove gender disparities. While Addison and Brück express concern that prosperity goals are undermined when people become reluctant to create new businesses (2-17), putting small amounts of capital in women's hands may be one way to enlist the determination of some committed to rebuilding – if only for their own families, but contributing to a process.

Sensitive gender issues surrounding women's access to credit and business development skills can undermine household relations. Manifestations include threatened and angry returned men, who engage in domestic violence because of the difficulty in coping with changing household gender roles. One solution is to train and require lending officers to speak with husbands and wives. This good practice is illustrated by a lending-incubator north of Boston, USA, that always interviews both spouses to ensure that each understands the time commitment required to build a successful new business.[15] On balance, using thoughtful approaches, both microcredit and larger loans can contribute more effectively.

Agriculture development

Others in this volume have expressed concern about brining agricultural land back into production. In fact, worldwide agriculture has become increasingly feminized as more rural males than females migrate to cities for employment. Conflict accelerates this trend. While men were at war, for example in Angola and Rwanda, women deepened their knowledge, skills and experience as farmers. Female-headed farms multiply while rural men die fighting. Sometimes men return from war lacking farming experience but wanting to farm to generate income for their families. Where women also farm, it makes sense to train both men and women to collaborate effectively and equitably.

Some post-conflict agriculture programmes target mostly ex-combatants. PC-PPP programmes disseminating seeds, tools, technology, and other agricultural inputs often bypass women farmers' strategic roles in subsistence and market agriculture. Yet farms are often family farms, and the re-integration of young male combatants requires the engagement and support of the women in their families and communities. Setting priorities regarding rural economic opportunities, often to prevent mass relocation to already poor and congested urban areas without economic opportunities, means that PC-PPP rural growth strategies should target female farmers as well as demobilized male soldiers (Greenberg *et al.* 1997; Greenberg 2001a). A 2002 World Bank project entitled 'Protection of Patrimonial Assets of Colombia's Internally Displaced Population' that emphasizes stakeholder participation to address the many effects of forced population displacement especially in protecting property, attempted no gender analysis, proposes no gender strategies and makes no effort to mainstream gender at all (World Bank 2004a). In contrast, the World Bank's 2004 agriculture project for Sri Lanka that supported village and community based organizations including rural women development societies.[16]

Demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)

As has been referenced above, substantial PC-PPP donor resources flow to demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), programmes that pose complex challenges.[17] Although DDR programmes follow conflict, they typically involve development activities such as capacity-building, and providing agricultural inputs and access to capital. Like post-conflict agricultural programmes, traditional DDR-projects have defined 'target populations' narrowly—primarily as male ex-combatants. Often this stemmed from a simple definition of those who needed to give up their weapons and be demobilized from fighting forces, as Malone and Nitzschke note, introducing reintegration assistance 'early on to undercut the temptation for continued participation in the war economy (3-24).' Partly such definitions failed to recognize the women also fought, as well as the many women who lived with and served male combatants; partly policymakers regarded it as tactically imperative to demobilize and reintegrate gun-toting males.

Most World Bank and other donor DDR projects have ignored women within the DDR programmes. In Timor Leste, two independent commissions identified ex-combatants and veterans, and elaborated programmes to assist them. More than 10,000 men registered. Yet the programme excluded women ex-combatants who carried arms, occasionally fought battles, and provided supplies to the fighters in the hills - instead classifying them as political cadres (UNIFEM 2004). A World Bank DDR project for Angola approved in 2003 mentions female ex-combatants but does not acknowledge that conflict affects females and males differently, for example through sexual violence, and includes no programmes to assist them.[18] A rare exception was the ACORD 'Barefoot Bankers' credit programme in Eritrea that targeted women ex-combatants who played a substantial role in the war (de Watteville 2002).

DDR focus on men has been problematic in at least three respects: First, it perpetuates unequal gender stereotyping, unfairly bypassing women ex-combatants and others who supported war activities. Considering Hellsten's concepts of justice, it introduces systems that do not appear just to many who want to see new values and fairness for the future. Second, it shortchanges economic growth by missing opportunities to involve productive women in reconstruction. Demobilized soldiers in Eritrea included female ex-fighters

trained as bricklayers, mechanics and electricians during the war who, on returning home, faced discrimination in the job market because their skills were considered to be exclusively men's, a traditional gender bias (Kibreab 2003). DDR programmes, for example in Angola, could have achieved more equitable and sustainable results if they targeted women who followed soldiers into the bush to perform 'non-military' service as carriers, cooks, forced sexual partners and combatants (Greenberg *et al.* 1997).

Third, DDR programmes that focus only on male combatants also shortchange the 'R' component of reintegration. Concerned with the profitability of illicit activities for soldiers and rebels alike, Malone and Nitzschke call for increased attention to 'creating incentives and alternative income-generating activities for entrepreneurs and others engaged in the shadow economy to 'turn legal' (3-25)' Yet often women in the communities to which combatants are returned may be key allies, starting businesses or revising agricultural activities to include demobilized youth, for example – but require assets with which to engage male family members in economic activities. In addition, reintegration is not only economic: when aiming for peaceful post-conflict societies, the 'R' might focus on preparing men (and women) for positive household and community relations, and for non-violent mechanisms for resolving differences. Building more peaceful societies requires addressing such gender issues resulting from war. 'Social integration, in other words, is not simply about coming home, but about defining new guiding social values and establishing corresponding relationships and institutions' (de Watteville 2002). DDR needs to integrate ex-combatants by dispelling gender stereotypes, building respect for all, and breaking destructive cycles (see later section on gender dimension three). DDR also must build the capacity of receiving households and communities to welcome and reintegrate the returnees. Post-conflict reconstruction sometimes provides an opportunity for 'new starts' that develop more equal gender roles and overcome gender barriers to development.

Demography and health

Conflicts cause demographic changes, including men lost in combat, rural to urban and out-migration, and multiplying the number of orphans and elderly survivors. Gender ramifications include increased female-male ratios, female-headed households, and young women alone in cities. Post-conflict female-headed households are typically poorer than male-headed households. This often results both from war and donor-imposed macroeconomic liberalization policies (see section on macroeconomics issues) compounded by cultural biases. This interplay is described well in Clara de Sousa's analysis of post-conflict reconstruction in Mozambique (de Sousa 2003).

In post-conflict societies, as the BPA notes, 'women often become caregivers for injured combatants and find themselves, as a result of conflict, unexpectedly cast as sole manager of a household, sole parent, and caretaker of elderly relatives' (UN 1996). PC-PPP demographic shifts are usually dramatic. As noted above, in post-conflict Timor Leste, some 45 per cent of adult women were widowed (UNIFEM 2004). In Rwanda, females comprised over 60 per cent of the population, and the majority of households were female- or child-headed. This requires Rwandan women to play significant roles in many post-conflict walks of life. After its war of liberation, when when some 45 per cent of Eritrea's post-conflict households were female-headed, conservative village and family members often spurned women returning home from non-traditional sexual relationships in the bush. Abandoned and rejected, many single mothers settled in Asmara needing homes, jobs and

community support. Without jobs, some in desperation turned to prostitution, often linked to peacekeepers (Greenberg 2001b).

As is noted in Chapter 9, conflict is 'particularly devastating to the health of women and girls' (9-4). While donors' reproductive health projects target female needs by definition, many of them might benefit from ensuring that men, too, understand women's health needs. Yet the larger health projects, that ought to cover all members of a post-conflict population, often neglect gendered needs (Zuckerman and Wu 2003). Such was the case in a 2004 World Bank emergency health project for Iraq. While it addressed obstetric care that is a female but also family issue, it neither analysed nor addressed women's health issues or gender issues, such as gender-based violence.[19] The World Bank Health Sector Support Project for post-conflict Cambodia that particularly promoted women's health provides a better example.[20] The authors of chapter 9 underscore the importance of information for decision-making: 'Accurate baseline data will help in prioritizing resource allocation and guiding policy-making (9-16)'. In all cases, post-conflict health projects would benefit from collection sex-disaggregated data, consulting with women and men separately, assessing urgent health needs, and building systems that address the particular needs of women, while ensuring health systems that equitably value and involve male and female health professionals.

HIV/AIDS often increases dramatically in post-conflict environments when infected combatants return home (see ch. 9-5). Additional factors spreading HIV/AIDS in post-war situations include prostitution and destruction of health and information-dissemination infrastructure. According to Stephen Lewis, the UN Special Envoy for HIV/AIDs in Africa, 'Gender inequality is what sustains and nurtures the virus, causing women to be infected in ever greater, disproportionate numbers'. About 60 per cent of HIV/AIDS infections in Africa affect women and the proportion is rising to 75 per cent of females between the ages of 15 and 24 (Lewis 2004). Prevention of HIV/AIDS depends on both men and women receiving information and having power in their relations. Post-conflict programmes must address gender inequality to prevent the escalating toll of AIDS (Greenberg 2001a). This is beginning to happen. For example, a World Bank project focusing on HIV/AIDS in Angola distinctly recognized and addressed the disease's gendered face.[21]

In their discussion of how conflict affect health systems, Waters, Garrett and Burnham raise a number of issues involving gender questions: concerns about data include the need for sex-disaggregated data with which to assess the particular needs of women and men, girls and boys; the lack of human resources raises questions of women as healthcare professionals, and how health systems incorporate them, train them, and ensure their safety in post-conflict environments; decisions about service delivery infrastructure call for consultation, and pose difficult issues when local and accessible clinics are so critical for women of child-bearing age. Gender roles and biases may undermine each part of health-sector rehabilitation: With regard to immediate health needs, gender roles may prevent women from making their needs know or gaining access to facilities; when establishing packages of essential health services, gender biases or lack of effective women's participation may preclude attention to women's health needs; and when rehabilitating health systems, gender inequality may preclude women health professionals from fully contributing.

Human capacity and life skills

It is critically important in the post-conflict environment to address human capacity shortages caused by interrupted schooling, fewer teachers due to HIV/AIDS attrition, and destroyed school infrastructure. Investments in education and human capacity-building are essential for both the political participation and prosperity, for capacity in both state and economic institutions. Addison and Brück suggest that much depends on 'pro-poor spending on healthcare and primary education.' Yet females often have less opportunity for schooling in all phases: pre, during and post-conflict. In Angola, older women had more access to education before decades of conflict or in bush schools than did younger women raised in an environment lacking educational infrastructure (Greenberg 2001a). Education programmes open the possibility to reshape gender-biased into gender-sensitive curricula. Too often donors restore pre-conflict curricula, including their old gender biases. Post-conflict societies can benefit from developing skills without gender stereotypes or inadvertent negative gender impacts. New opportunities, such as information technology training, should be available to women and men alike. Gender analyses are important for detecting disparities of access, and for structuring programmes to account for gender-based differences of time and space.

Many post-conflict programmes launch training quickly without regard to who can participate and why some do not. For example, the World Bank West Bank and Gaza Palestinian NGO II Project identified women as the most marginalized group but allocated no funds to train them.[22] Yet deliberate measures can avoid reinforcing gender biases. Childcare, family responsibilities and conservative traditions may prevent women from travelling. When the family of a Kosovo female lawyer selected for training in Prishtine forbade her to travel and stay alone in a hotel, thoughtful organizers moved the whole training to the woman's town (Balsis *et al.* 2004). The World Bank project in Sri Lanka did target women with ICT (information and communications technology) training and skills to enhance employment opportunities.[23] Thinking about Eritrean adolescent girls' access to computers in public spaces needed to account for the times of day when they could use them; and in other countries needs to ensure times for girls when boys are not present.

Besides developing male and female vocational skills to increase opportunities to earn income, post-conflict education policies must consider the importance of teaching men and women life skills in how to get along, get to work on time and work professionally, and social and civic skills and values that are essential for building a non-violent society. Purposeful attention to gender relations in education is one way to address what Hellsten calls a 'shared concept of justice and/or social harmony, and … shared values held by, and common goals strived for, by the society (5-6).' This may include training women and men to work collaboratively and respectfully together (see later section on gender dimension three) – often through a project requiring collaboration. In Sri Lanka, a recent World Food Programme food-for-work project had men and women working together on rehabilitating tanks – experiencing, therefore, the success of combined skills and efforts.

Livelihoods and Employment

A top priority for constructing a viable, functional and sustainable post-conflict economy, for the prosperity of PPP, is reducing high unemployment. Generating employment can

contribute to preventing a resurgence of conflict. Post-conflict formal sector employment training programmes mainly target male ex-combatants. Donors' concerns about preventing men whose social connections, sense of purpose, and activities are militarily derived from becoming 'loose cannons' is understandable. News from Iraq demonstrates how demobilizing armies and guerrillas without giving them alternatives can be explosive.

But while it is a short-term strategy to focus on employing men, missing the opportunity to engage women in formal economic activities is a long-term strategic oversight. Employed women increase household and national income.[24] Women's entrepreneurship generates jobs as does men's. This is often overlooked, however, as with the World Bank's West Bank and Gaza Industrial Estate Project promoting employment that makes no focused effort to employ women.[25]

In addition, women often fill 'male jobs' when replacing fighting men – and thereby have acquired skills that contribute to productivity and growth. Ending female employment post-conflict is an economic loss. Nevertheless, post-conflict programmes often exclusively focus training and employment on demobilized men, while laying off and disempowering women. These measures restore stereotyped divisions of labour (see earlier section on work opportunities without discrimination).

In post-conflict countries, shifting from old to new industries to construct a modern, global economy, women are usually the first to be laid-off and the last to be rehired because of the traditional view that men are the main breadwinners despite increasing numbers of female-headed households and constitutionally-enshrined equal rights. Many women also face job discrimination during pregnancy and breast feeding. As discussed earlier on the macroeconomics issues, World Bank financed Serbian and Montenegrin enterprise privatization provides such examples (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). In Kosovo, women who were pushed out of the workforce back into their homes by Milosevic's policies lost their skills and regressed to home-based roles.[26] It is critical to analyse who loses jobs by gender and to prevent such discrimination by providing equal opportunities to men and women.

Post-conflict programmes also tent to overlook the value of women's skills and contributions in the 'informal' and 'invisible' sectors where most economic activity takes place in conflict and non-conflict settings. When donor programmes and government policies neglect these sectors, and their contributions to subsistence as well as building economic experience, they overlook many female productive activities that contribute to economic growth but need financial and technical support. Informal sector employment may do best within the context of a healthy macroeconomy and demand for informal sector outputs. If demand is absent, women's and men's informal sector jobs may generate less income or be less sustainable.

Physical infrastructure

Much post-conflict 'reconstruction' rebuilds destroyed infrastructure – but nearly always requires decisions about priorities. Gender perspectives differ in infrastructure selection. Often men – for whom culture and economics allow for more long distance travel and movement between rural and urban centers – prioritize highways. In contrast, women – whose travel may be closer to home and relate to reaching markets, water, fuel, schools,

health facilities, and other essential services – prefer rural roads. In most of Sub-Saharan Africa, men fetch water or firewood only when there is no woman to do it for them, but female time spent fetching water and fuel squeezes time available to earn income and hinders reconstruction of war-torn communities (de Sousa 2003). Moreover, females, particularly young girls, may be tragically killed or injured by land mines when traveling long, unpaved distances to collect water and fuel, or when they farm. This has been a problem in Mozambique where paths to water and fuel sources were mined. Post-conflict decision-making regarding public sector allocations might often do better to prioritize the removal of land mines and construction of rural roads – for the sake of women and children, but also their families and communities.

Infrastructure project design done strategically in consultation with women can result in rehabilitation of basic water, transportation, health and educational infrastructure that helps reduce women's labour time (Greenberg *et al.* 1997). However, billions of dollars of IFI road, water and sanitation investments have not relieved females of their onerous daily water- and fuel-carrying burden that steals time from jobs and schooling. For example, the World Bank West Bank and Gaza Southern Area Water and Sanitation Improvement Project acknowledges but does not allocate funds to relieve women's water burden.[27]

Gender analyses reveal special infrastructure needs. In Afghanistan, women require private road rest-areas for their own and children's needs. Road security is critical for women who are vulnerable to sex-based crimes. In post-conflict environments, security is a major problem amidst armed, unemployed ex-soldiers. In post-conflict countries like Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Sierra Leone where women historically have been traders, insecurity impedes work travel. Security is also essential for girls travelling to schools. A World Bank emergency school construction project in Iraq approved in 2004 does not recognize or address any such gendered needs.[28] Two World Bank transport projects in Colombia fail to recognize gendered safety needs.[29]

Often women face discrimination in obtaining post-conflict food-for-work infrastructure jobs that provide short-term work, income, food, and skills. While such jobs could enable women to develop 'non-traditional skills', projects rarely offer women this opportunity. For example, the World Bank Guatemala Rural and Main Roads Project did not employ women.[30] Similarly, the World Bank Iraq Emergency Infrastructure Reconstruction Project that generates employment does not target women at all.[31] Yet there are some positive examples: In Angola, CARE involved women in making bricks and providing labour to build their own houses in one project, and elsewhere women provided stones and labour to construct a road, a hospital and a school (Greenberg *et al* 1997). A World Bank Cambodia post-conflict infrastructure project targeted unskilled female labourers in its road rehabilitation programme and promoting equal pay for equal work.[32] And through its Gender Policy and 'enhanced commitments to women', the World Food Programme ensures women's participation in its food-for-work programes.

Power is another infrastructure sector that rarely considers gendered impacts. For example, the World Bank Tajikistan Pamir Private Power Project does not identify gender issues although women, the majority of the poor, will be hardest hit by required tariff increases.[33] Similarly, international advice urging governments to remove subsidies and increase electricity rates in Armenia, Kosovo and Montenegro may have devastating impacts on poor and female-headed households (Balsis *et al.* 2004; Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman

2004).

Gender equality, and non-discriminatory participation of women, should be an integral issue in policies for selecting companies for public works contracts. Contracting often involves corruption and generates low-quality infrastructure. Addison and Brück note that states often organize delivery of services through institutions that have typically been degraded and reshaped by civil war towards meeting personal interests rather than the public interest (2-8). Looking at economic agendas, Malone and Nitzschke remind us of the power of those who profit from war and post war distortions. Yet although studies demonstrate that women's involvement reduces the likelihood of corruption, female beneficiaries and entrepreneurs rarely participate in procurement decisions (World Bank 2001). Most contracted companies are owned, managed and staffed by men. Project consultations should incorporate female inputs and integrate gender analysis into feasibility studies. A positive example is gender equality training in the Swedish-supported Kosovo railways management reform. Usually, however, donors push rapid rebuilding, ignoring opportunities for gender equality and with it enhanced sustainability. Women must participate in identifying and designing infrastructure to reflect their gendered needs, such as day-care centres and water systems that would free their time and permit them to work, and their daughters to attend school.

Dimension two challenges

Unlike dimension one, which focused on activities designed especially for women, this dimension considers how overarching policies and mainstream programmes typically fail to include women effectively or to reflect gender dynamics in their design and implementation. In their introductory chapter, Addison and Brück suggest that an objective of this volume is to 'move beyond present and unachievable wish lists that characterize current reconstruction efforts' and to look at the role of aid donors, and the debate around aid effectiveness in post-conflict settings (1-11).' The major challenge of dimension two is to recognize that programmes in post conflict environments often flounder because they fail to recognize unequal gender relations and address power dynamics (Strickland and Duvvury 2003). Financiers like the World Bank may produce excellent gender studies and use powerful gender rhetoric, but failing to incorporate them into investments then undermines their returns (Picciotto 2000; Zuckerman and Wu 2003).

The challenges are three-fold: First, many of these activities—such as DDR and food-for-work—are implemented in haste, and are often based on old models that failed to take account of gender. Yet in many countries, years have passed in which to re-make the models. Initial qualitative studies of gender relations have already been undertaken for most countries, and quick assessment tools like the World Food Programme's Vulnerability Assessment Mapping or Emergency Food Security Assessments offer opportunities for rapid, real-time collection of sex-disaggregated data.

Second, gender mainstreaming requires knowledgeable staff to consult with women, recognize gender impediments and opportunities in project design, and ensure attention to gender throughout implementation. It is increasingly possible and productive to engage skilled local women who understand gender norms within their cultures and can communicate easily with beneficiaries and partners. Gender training has now been developed for every United Nations and bilateral donors, as well as nongovernmental

organizations. Some staff already have the knowledge but lack the authority to use it; others requires some guidance.

Third, gender aware programming requires monitoring systems intended to detect gender-related disparities, challenges and opportunities. All programmes need to collect sex-disaggregated data as a matter of normal practice – and then analyze it during implementation. Evaluations tend to focus on meeting immediate, critical needs, rather than the long-range strategic aims of peace, participation and prosperity that may benefit substantially from achieving a democratic, gender-equal society that respects everyone's human rights and rewards everyone's economic contribution.

Gender dimension three: gender role transformation

The Beijing Platform for Action states that peace is inextricably linked with equality between men and women and development. This is the foundation for Strickland and Duvvury's call for transformative approaches to achieve gender equality in their paper on 'Gender Equity and Peacebuilding' (Strickland and Duvvury 2003). Their vision would replace masculinity that employs violence and domination with cooperation and equality. In suggesting Dimension Three, we respond to Strickland and Duvvury's challenge to recognize the importance of transforming gender roles in order to heal conflict's trauma, build social capital and further the goal of gender equality. This dimension tries to redress a paradox: violent male leaders and a few women who adopt male characteristics in conflict become honoured peace negotiators and 'new' society leaders. Yet as Malone and Nitzscke underscore, 'those benefiting from violence may often have a vested economic interest in the conflict's perpetuation (3-4).' The challenge is how to make peace more profitable than war, and how to counter the spoilers.

Yet there are women, those who suffer from violence and from the 'degeneration in the individual and common values of society' (Addison and Brück), who yearn to break cycles of violence and build cultures of peace. During the preparatory conferences for the five-year review of the BPA, Balkan women urged attention to the small arms trade, having first hand experience of how it fuelled ongoing conflict.[34] Women and men committed to gender equality are among those who want to develop a secular form of social contract, the 'ideal terms of social cooperation for people who (want to) live together in fellowship and regard each other as equal rational and autonomous moral agents' Too often, however, they are marginalized instead of becoming leading contributors to post-conflict PPP.

Dimension Three therefore rests on two hypotheses:

i) Without gender equality, it is impossible to achieve economically and physically secure societies cleansed of structural violence;

ii) Without transforming gendered responsibilities and values, it is impossible to overcome conflict legacies for sustainable reconstruction (Strickland and Duvvury 2003).

This dimension addresses gender factors in conflict's traumas, rebuilding social capital, and preventing violence in order to achieve sustainable peace.

Addressing the trauma

To break violent cycles, post-conflict reconstruction programmes must support measures to heal the trauma. According to a Timor Leste survey of 750,000 people, 40 per cent of respondents experienced psychological torture, 33 per cent beatings or mauling, 26 per cent head injuries, and 22 per cent witnessed a friend killing a family member (UNIFEM 2004). Reports abound from the Balkans to Rwanda of family members watching male relatives get killed or mothers and sisters being raped. Hellson notes that 'justice' may 'stretch to our past and to our future', with the past focusing on righting wrongs (5-16). Gender-focused trauma work may be one way to assist traumatized family members, child soldiers, victims of gender-based violence, and returnees unaccustomed to families or communities, who harbour anger, yearn for vengeance, lack purpose, and/or suffer depression, boredom and frustration.

This includes women and men, young and old; nearly every war-affected demographic group needs healing. Fighting men and boys must learn to function in a non-violent culture, resolve differences without force, and handle their detachment and fears. Female victims of gender-based violence and witnesses of violence must heal and move on. They must not transmit their experiences to their children as hate or urge revenge. Hellson reminds us of the difference between realistic and idealist approaches to human nature – believing in human nature as power-oriented or peaceful. Either way, however, – and recognizing that on the individual level there will be some of each – focusing on gender equality can be regareded either as a way to address power imbalances and strengthen the weak, or to bring forth the positive in human interactions.

Rebuilding social capital

Along with physical destruction, conflict destroys trust throughout society—thereby undermining and breaking the bonds of positive social capital (McMillan and Greenberg 1997/98).[35] To the extent that conflict destroys social capital, and when the 'wish lists' lack priorities, there is a strategic rationale for focusing post-conflict programmes on rebuilding positive social capital. Hellsten criticizes 'abstractions involved in social capital' for tending to lead to top-down political agreements that detach people living in the warring and conflict-ridden societies from the peace outcomes (5-3)'. Shifting focus to people, to the grassroots, calls for a transformative agenda that pragmatic rather than abstract – and a focus on gender equality is one way to contribute to the process.

Social capital, insofar as it involves values and relationships and trust, must begin within the family. Conflict saddles households and individuals with uncertainty and mistrust. Moreover, losing family members through conflict and related HIV/AIDS often redefines roles among survivors. Widows or children may become household heads. Returning combatants are 'newcomers' to their own families and communities. But a gender aware approach to defining new roles and responsibilities has the potential to enhance respect and collaboration, and thereby strengthen new household structures. For example, when women have adopted new roles as farmers or generating income, programmes that ignore or terminate those roles, focusing training and responsibilities to men, unnecessarily reinforces old roles – and generate conflict within the family. At the same time, failing to recognize that returning male combatants need to feel confident and valued, poses risks of regression. If, however, policies address families as economic units, they may build on women's war-time economic experiences, provide men with skills they lack, and model the

sharing of responsibilities.

Comparable needs can be found at the community level. In Croatia and Rwanda, former co-existing, inter-married groups experienced violence by family members and neighbours. Disintegration of groups and networks that previously knit communities resulted in losing social capital that binds societies. The Eritrean diaspora that returned home at liberation created new social networks that transcended old kinship and ethnic affiliations, contributing to building a peaceful society (Kibreab 2003).

Some post-conflict efforts to build social capital are women-focused, our first gender dimension. For example, World Bank grants support the Bosnian 'Knitting Together Nations' project that tries to create employment opportunities for displaced women in the knitwear business and revive and sustain traditional multiethnic cultural ties among designers and producers. Another World Bank project, 'Empowering Women: Socioeconomic Development in Post-Conflict Tajikistan', aims to empower women, nurture social cohesion and reduce potential conflict (World Bank 2004a). Yet only a minority of World Bank PC-PPP projects focus on women. And projects might be enhanced by going beyond women-to-women activities to promoting gender equality and avoiding vertical male-female gender roles.

But if fostering new and respectful gendered relationships was regarded as one mechanism, and bringing women together for their shared values and objectives was another, there would be many opportunities to build social capital within local development institutions, from planning boards and community committees, to new local governments. To achieve post-conflict reconstruction, the World Bank sometimes invests in such programmes, such as in the Fondo Apoio Social in Angola and the Sri Lankan E-Lanka Development Project. Sometimes, as in these countries, there are project leaders committed to gender equality, but in many cases there are not. These are extraordinary opportunities to build social capital—and to model gender equitable relations and non-violent ways of resolving disputes.

Gender inequality and preventing violence

Based on work by Mary Caprioli presented in a World Bank study, this section ends by linking gender inequality to violence (Caprioli 2003). Caprioli examines the impact of gender inequality on the likelihood of intrastate violence through a regression analysis that explored the role of gender inequality and discrimination in intrastate conflicts from 1960-97, a literature survey and an analysis of structural violence. She concludes that gender equality is not merely a social justice issue and that gender inequality does not merely harm women's status and livelihoods. In fact *gender inequality increases the likelihood that a state will experience internal conflict* (Caprioli 2003).

Inevitably, families, communities and societies encounter conflict all the time. Yet, conflicts may end through violent 'winning' or through respectful and peaceful resolution —and the habits, mechanisms and choices learned at the personal level can build a culture of peace at the social level. Integrating gender equality and conflict resolution programmes *or approaches* throughout post-conflict health, education, community development and other programmes may be critical inputs in constructing *sustainable* peace.

Dimension three challenges

Each dimension poses challenges of changing mentalities and building awareness of gender roles and relations. The particular challenge of the transformative dimension is, to change values and behaviours. It requires attention to the psycho-social difficulties of reintegrating demobilized soldiers into families and broader society; defusing fears, reestablishing social capital and rebuilding trust among family members and neighbours who inflicted violence on each other.

While policies and programes in post-conflict environments may resemble development programmes in peaceful and democratic contexts in some respects, we concur with other authors in this volume that it takes more to 'win the peace'. They must think beyond immediate fixes to the need for equitable prosperity and long-term stability. DDR programmes may in the short run prevent combatants from engaging in violent behaviour in their households and communities, but also enlist the support of women to re-build homes and economic activities to support the returnees. For the longer term, however, when the cultural and political circumstances are amenable, they may train and educate women to contribute to social and economic development for future generations and society at large, while also building new practices of equal opportunity and respectful cooperation. Similarly, as Chapter 9 reminds us, health-related policies must address immediate needs, including psychosocial trauma and basic health needs, but build long-range equitable systems: thus addressing women's and girl's particular post-conflict health needs, but also establishing health systems that effectively engage women and men working effectively together.

The second challenge is to change the mentality of policy-makers and implementers so that they purposefully design implementation, through programmes or otherwise, to change ways in which people relate to one another. As a number of other authors have suggested, it is difficult to forego now accepted donor demand of measureable short-term impacts in order to invest in longer term objectives. This dimension requires a 'leap of faith' – in the face of debates around aid effectiveness in the post-conflict settings. Various authors in this volume refer to 'people' growing cynical, lacking ownership of principles of justice and their implementation, and needing a stake in success. Yet in fact, approaches that have ignored women have failed to consider their cynicism and the need to engage them; approaches that have been gender blind may include women but fail to understand and use the roles and relations between men and women to strengthen resilience and determination for building a new society; and approaches that work with those who profit from conflict and with spoilers do not invest in the broader majority of men *and women*, to build the norms and values for the first 'P' of PPP, peace. Those women who have the determination to break cycles of violence and ensure the peace necessary for reconstruction, need to partner with men to achieve sustainable post-conflict peace and prosperity (King 2001; Caprioli 2003). The challenge is for donors and governments to formulate policies adopting a strategic focus on gender equal roles as a means of transforming violent societies into sustainably peaceful ones.

Recommendations and concluding thoughts

The objectives of this paper have been two-fold: to elaborate an analytical framework for understanding the gender dimensions of post-conflict PPP, and to provide examples of

policy issues and opportunities where gender issues have played, or ought to have played, a role. Our conceptual framework proposes three gender dimensions, each of which is necessary and each of which relates or contributes to the others: women's programmes, gender mainstreaming and addressing gender roles to transform societies steeped in violence into the promise of peaceful prosperity. Suggesting that many post conflict programmes involve typical development activities in atypical contexts, we argue that recognizing and addressing gender roles and promoting women's rights and gender equality are critical for success in the post-conflict context (Zuckerman and Wu 2003; King 2001). Recognizing the particulars of conflict-ridden societies, and the extent that gender inequality increases the likelihood of conflict (Caprioli 2003) and gender analyses often strengthen programmatic results, this chapter urges donors and policy-makers to recognize how policies aimed at achieving gender equality may be instrumental for achieving sustainable peace. The gap between the rhetoric of policies and impacts of implementation can be vast – often resulting in the policies' failures. As gender policies are among those repeatedly struggling for effective implementation, the following specific recommendations emerge from our analysis:

For all policy-makers and donors:

View attention to gender as strategic: not just an add-on or goosing up the budget a bit for a small women-focused initiative.

Incorporate gender analysis into every post-conflict analysis, and policy or project design: giving thought to what the issues and the opportunities are, incorporating gender-derived benefits and costs into analyses, and determining how woman may more effectively contribute to results and objectives.

Ensure that collected data is always sex-disaggregated data – to see what works for whom, monitoring in the course of implementation and supporting a broader learning process. All M&E plans must track gender-related factors and gender disparate impacts.

Donors must dedicate real resources to understand gender within different cultures and societies, and for building solid foundations for gender equality.

For National Policy-Makers

Following Sec Res 1325: Whenever women and gender advocates are part of the peace-making process, their input and contributions must continue into post-conflict decision-making. There must be critical numbers of women plus gender advocates (male or female) for all decision-making.

When sector-based aid, and coordination of external assistance involves SWAps or performance-based partnership agreements, incorporate gender-mainstreaming criteria.

Post-conflict learning opportunities should be for women and men alike, and training courses should include related gender issues (such as gender analysis for training on economic forecasting or benefit-cost analyses, and understanding sex-discrimination within human resource training).

Efforts to promote gender equality must engage men as well as women

Within the post-conflict environment, there must be open and purposeful debate about how men and women, boys and girls relate to one another – engaging politicians, traditional leaders, schools, media, religious groups, etc.

For the international community, e.g. donors and international financial institutions

'For peacebuilding operations to sustain such transformation of gender and social relations, it is imperative that peacebuilders themselves and the organizations they represent understand the role of gender, identify, and power and transform their *own operation accordingly*.' ICRW, p. 25

All post-conflict assessment should include gender analyses, including the World Bank's

Transitional Support Strategies, and then in CAPS, – and they must be real, not perfunctory.
Each program and each project proposal should explicitly address where there are gender opportunities or barriers, and where there are components in the proposed program to promote gender equality by focusing on women, working with men, or taking other steps for gender equality.
Donors should use gender budgets to track where resources are going, who is benefiting, and actual expenditures against gender equality promises.

While one motivation for this paper was to ensure that post-conflict policies and programmes respect and support the rights of half of the populations seeking to recover and build their lives anew – girls and women – the other was to underscore the importance of gender equality as a factor contributing to the elusive goal of achieving sustainable peace, participation and prosperity. The authors in this volume share a concern that post-conflict efforts have not been as successful as either conflict's victims or peace's proponents have wished. A number of us are concerned about justice and inequalities – both as a matter of right and because injustice is likely to feed the return to violence.

We have suggested ways to think about gender within post-conflict work in an effort to improve it. Given the disappointments, opportunities to improve should be welcome: to reach more of the poor, those who do not profit from war but may still join the fighting when prosperity does not reach them; to analyze and understand why programmes fall short of their goals; and to transform societies characterized by greed or grievances that generate violence, into equitable properity.

Through a range of examples, by no means exhaustive, we have sought to demonstrate that while some projects may include small actitivities for women, it is not clear that they stem from post-conflict gender assessments, or reflect some purposeful thought about gender disparities that require attention in order to achieve post-conflict goals. At the same time, very few major projects identify or address gender needs at all. It remains our hope that the obstacles to recognizing gender issues and working for gender equality arise more from lack of understanding than opposition – and that this chapter will contribute to better policy formulation and project implementation, by donors like the World Bank and by governments. Post-conflict projects must overcome women-in-development approaches that fail to contextualize. Instead, they would be strengthened by including men in the picture who may also have gender-related needs, may need to be incorporated into programming to build their understanding of women's needs and contributions, and may be critical allies for gender equality.

Donor countries and institutions pump huge amounts of financial and technical resources into post-conflict reconstruction – with the potential to redefine the physical, human, government and economic infrastructure. Insofar as they lack experience with the gender dimensions of post-conflict PPP, donors and governments should seek technical assistance to ensure that they incorporate attention to women, to women along with men, and to women in relation to men. To achieve post-conflict objectives, investments must more systematically reflect research that recognizes the centrality of gender equality for successful development (King 2001).

We close with a final but critical caveat – for all post-conflict and development work, but

particularly from a gender perspective: success depends on political commitment at all levels and on *indigenous country solutions*. Leaders must ensure that the entire population, men and women alike, poor as well as rich, are full participants in building their new social and economic institutions, and that women and men find culturally appropriate and effective ways to work together for respectful gender relations that will benefit all.

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