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Mainstreaming Gender in Conflict Analysis:

Issues and Recommendations

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CPR

Summary Findings

This report was commissioned by the CPR Unit in an effort to improve the gender sensitivity of the Bank's Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF). It raises a number of issues and offers specific recommendations on ways to adapt the existing conflict framework and its indicators to better reflect the fact that conflict affects women and men differently. The report also includes a number of links where additional information and resources on gender can be found and should be consulted as part of a conflict analysis process.

Although the goal of conflict analysis is to enhance the sensitivity to conflict in the operations of development agencies such as the World Bank, existing frameworks across agencies that use them focus too much attention on the causes of conflict at the expense of the drivers of peace—i.e., those factors or social dynamics that may be acting to strengthen a community's resilience to conflict.

Most conflict assessment frameworks either neglect or include only cursory treatment of gender issues. Perhaps more importantly, while conflict analysis frameworks tend to provide a macro-level strategic assessment of the drivers of conflict, the inclusion of gendered perspectives provides a more 'people-centered' approach, and stands a better chance of allowing analysts to explore the drivers of peace. Without a gender lens, the analysis can lead to a skewed understanding of the situation under study, and lead to overlooking critical elements in society that are withstanding or resisting conflict. At the same time, there is still very limited understanding of the impact of conflict on men and their capacities to adapt to changes in socio-economic and political conditions.

Gender variables are missing in most frameworks. This is partly the result of (i) a general tendency to conflate gender with women, (ii) insufficient data and information on the 'gendered' impact of the development, conflict and poverty nexus, and (iii) the fact that when and if gender is addressed, it is typically covered under social issues or indicators, rather than mainstreaming gender throughout the analysis.

A desk review of eight conflict analysis frameworks and a secondary review of three additional frameworks show that the majority makes some

mention of women and/or gender-related issues, but none devote sufficient space to the issues. Users are generally advised to take note of particular gender issues but there is rarely any guidance on how this could be done or potential impacts, both on conflict and on peace. In some agencies, there is recognition of the importance of gender in this type of analysis, but there are constraints in terms of either the availability of gender specialists, or gender groups within agencies tend to be marginalized, making gender mainstreaming difficult.

The CAF itself can benefit from more systematic integration of gender variables into its current structure. Certainly the collation of more gender disaggregated data and analysis of this information would have enormous benefit. The greater challenge, however, is ensuring that analysts using the tool are themselves aware of and recognize the significance of gender issues to conflict and programming for poverty reduction across all issues. This can be done through, first, a combination of short term training or workshop sessions as they prepare to use the framework, as well as through exposure to sample studies or examples of where and how gender matters to governance, security, economic development and social issues.

Second, awareness needs to be matched with the ability to reflect on, analyze and link gender indicators into the broader picture being developed. Too often, there is *ad hoc* mention of violence against women, or youth unemployment, but insufficient attention is given to understanding the impacts or the gendered nature of the issues and variables. Third, beyond awareness and analysis, teams need exposure to possible opportunities for alleviating the situation, in part by identifying existing efforts at mitigating conflict and poverty in their specific case, or perhaps by drawing on experiences elsewhere.

The report includes a number of recommendations on ways to gender sensitize the CAF, including: methodology, framework, variables, staff training, ToRs for consultants and partners, contacts with counterpart governments, stakeholders and consultations, report structure, documentation, and piloting of a gender sensitized CAF.

Appendices include a discussion of armed conflict and the feminization of poverty, details of the desk review of conflict analysis frameworks utilized by other agencies, and suggestions of additional indicators to consider for the different categories of variables included in the CAF.

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Sanam Naraghi Anderlini

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Table of Contents

I. Background.....	1
II. Conflict, Gender and Development.....	1
III. The Experience of Others—Gender in Conflict Analyses.....	3
IV. Gender and the CAF.....	5
V. Methodological Changes and Entry Points on Gender.....	6
VI. Conclusions.....	9
Appendix A: Armed Conflict and the “Feminization of Poverty”.....	10
Appendix B: Desk review of Conflict Analysis Frameworks for Components Addressing Gender and/or Women.....	16
Appendix C: Additional Indicators to Consider for Categories of Variables.....	19
References.....	23

MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN CONFLICT ANALYSIS

ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Background

In the last decade there has been growing awareness within the development community of the complex and inextricable relations between conflict, peace and development. By definition, development programs aim to alleviate poverty, and improve livelihoods. However, there can be unintentional and negative consequences, as development initiatives can at times exacerbate existing societal or political tensions that ultimately lead to conflict. Clearly, conflict, particularly violent conflict, is extremely detrimental to development efforts. As a result, over the years, the principle of 'do no harm' has been widely embraced by the international community. More recently, however, attention is also being paid to ensuring that development efforts not only 'do no harm', but in fact play a positive role in helping to alleviate tensions, address structural sources of conflict and promote sustainable peace.

Most major agencies committed to mainstreaming conflict-sensitivity in their operational procedures, have developed an array of conflict analysis and early warning tools to meet this objective. For the World Bank, conflict-sensitivity is mandated by Operational Policy on Conflict and Development (OP 2.30). In 2003 the Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit (CPR) developed its initial Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF) which has been used in a variety of ways, including:

- For stand-alone analyses;
- As part of upstream country social analyses; and
- As a tool through which to analyze poverty reduction strategies from a conflict standpoint.

II. Conflict, Gender and Development

Nonetheless, integrating conflict analysis into development and poverty reduction efforts remains challenging for many development agencies. For some agencies, the process became so cumbersome, and expensive with the use of consultants, that in the latest round of strategic planning, conflict analysis is no longer a mandatory aspect of their work. Others are also struggling to sensitize field staff to issues of conflict in the context of development work. It is clear that the process of undertaking the analysis is itself a critical means of increasing staff and donor sensitivity to the factors that fuel conflict, their impact on development, and perhaps most significantly, revealing to practitioners the 'what not to do' aspect of their policy and programming efforts.

Yet, ironically, while the end goal of the conflict analysis process is to 'enhance sensitivity to conflicts...and [reinforce] a country's resilience to violent conflict', in reality the existing frameworks for analysis (across many of the agencies that use such frameworks) focus too much attention on the causes of conflict and not enough on the existing or possible sources of peace or resilience to conflict. In other words the CAF (and its counterparts) may point to developmental practices that exacerbate conflict, but do not necessarily provide sufficient guidance on good practices that can help resolve or address them. To use an apt metaphor, a user can end up seeing that he/she is faced with a minefield, but given no indication of how that field is already being cleared, and what he/she could do to support such efforts.

The CPR Unit has also deepened its analysis on the gender dimensions of conflict, and its inter-relations with poverty and development. Recent research indicates that women and men experience conflict and cope in very different ways. This poses important challenges to actors involved in poverty reduction and

development-related work in conflict-affected societies. Gender roles need to be understood throughout the phases of conflict, to respond adequately through programming and policy. Perhaps most significantly, while conflict analysis frameworks tend to provide a macro-level strategic assessment of a situation, the inclusion of gendered perspectives provides a more ‘people-centered’ approach.

The inclusion of gender perspectives into conflict analyses can be beneficial not only to ensure better understanding of conflict dynamics, but also to highlight the linkages with development and poverty issues. For example, it can:

1. *Identify the gendered nature of causes of conflict.* The promotion of hyper masculinity together with violence (weapons) as the image of ‘manhood’ can be indicative of social forces influencing men. For example in retrospect, experts in the Balkans note that the ‘football teams’ that were hyper nationalistic and recruited young men, were the precursors to the violent militias that emerged. One indicator of potential for violence is high male youth unemployment, which can be easily manipulated politically if linked to unfulfilled expectations.
2. *Identify the gendered impact of conflict.* For example, an increase in violence against women, which affects their ability to engage in development related activities, reduces productivity and impacts their employment. The sale of jewelry or other items representing personal wealth and economic security by women can provide an early indication of increased tensions, and the increased vulnerability of women. In the aftermath of war, women-headed households can be particularly vulnerable in situations where women have no rights to inherit land or property. Restrictions of movement, random arrests of men, forced recruitment into militias or state armies (all of which can have long-term mental health consequences and affect employment, education and skills acquisition), are other examples of impacts from conflict.
3. *Identify the gendered dimensions of peace building.* As conflict escalates, spreads and continues over an extended period of time, the gender dimensions are further exacerbated. Women often become the sole care-providers for the young, the sick and the elderly. Crises force them into new roles (economic, social, and political) that they may not be equipped for and are additional to their normal domestic burdens. Despite these new demands and responsibilities, in most instances women manage to ‘cope’, developing new skills, taking a lead in peace-building, economic recovery and reconciliation activities. In contrast, men’s involvement in warfare has a negative impact on their ability to engage in civilian life or productive economic activities. Many are often too traumatized and unskilled, and at times unwilling to revert to traditional lifestyles in rural areas, and thus can become potential sources of instability. Given their experiences in fighting, they are also prone to recruitment by criminal elements (drug and human trafficking rings) that offer more lucrative pay than is available in economies devastated by conflict.

Point 3 above is of particular importance as often analytical frameworks are imbalanced in their exploration of the sources and activities relating to peace versus conflict. This can result in a skewed understanding of the situation under study, and it can lead to oversight of critical elements in societies that are withstanding conflict, promoting peace and sustaining development efforts. For example, despite the wealth of activity in conflict areas worldwide, the potential role of women in resisting violence and building peace is still overlooked in many conflict analysis methodologies. At the same time, there is still limited understanding of the impact of conflict on men and their capacities to adapt to changed socio-economic and political conditions.

Despite the significance of gender analysis to conflict and development, there is still little understanding of the issue among conflict analysts. As a result, gender variables are missing in most frameworks. The following factors contribute to the lack of understanding and confusion that arises when ‘gender’ is mentioned:

1. There is a widespread tendency to **conflate gender with women**. As the focus in conflict analysis is on the causes of conflict, women (therefore gender) are not seen as agitators or general protagonists in promoting conflict and violence. As a result, gender as a variable for analysis is ignored, discarded or considered to be of secondary importance. Yet there are clear indications across conflict-affected societies worldwide, that men's social (gender) identities can be used and manipulated to promote violent action. There is also much talk of the significance of 'youth bulges' and 'youth unemployment'. Implicit in such phrases is first, that youth equals men, and that young men can be readily mobilized or forced to engage in violence. While there is general acceptance of these linkages, it is rarely (if ever) presented as a 'gender' issue.
2. There is insufficient data and information on the 'gendered' impact of the development, conflict and poverty nexus. For example, while assertions are made about the 'feminisation of poverty' in conflict situations, there is insufficient quantitative data to confirm this fully. There are countless qualitative examples and anecdotes, and significant information about the factors that link poverty, conflict and women, but much of this information is not used by mainstream multilateral development actors (see Appendix A on the feminization of poverty and conflict link).
3. If and when gender is addressed (again with heavy emphasis on women), it is typically addressed under social issues or indicators. There is virtually nothing done on the gendered dimensions of security, governance, justice or even economic recovery in the context of conflict-affected societies.

While development agencies are working extensively on conflict issues as well as on mainstreaming gender in their activities, the two fields have not been properly integrated. There is an obvious need to view gender based discrimination and notions of gender roles and identities in relation to broader relations of power, violence and conflict (as exemplified by studies on the interrelationship between militarization, gender roles and identities, and conflict).

III. The Experience of Others – Gender in Conflict Analyses

Similar to the CAF, the analytical frameworks developed and used by other agencies are designed to be used flexibly and in different contexts. Working on the assumption that the frameworks are designed to be stand alone tools (i.e. can be picked up and used without significant technical or personnel support), it is useful to assess the extent to which gender is noted and/or highlighted as a factor for analysis.

A preliminary desk review of 8 conflict analysis frameworks and a secondary review of 3 additional frameworks, show that the majority make some mention of women and/or gender issues (see Appendix B for examples of specific references). None, however, have devoted significant space to the issues. Common factors include:

- Explicit references to the need for the inclusion of women in consultative processes and as stakeholders.
- Exclusion based on gender is noted in reference to social issues. In cases where rights are mentioned, gender equality is included.
- Users are typically advised to take note of, or to be aware of a range of issues, including the gender dimension of the particular theme (social, political, etc.), but there is little notion of how this could be done, and what impact it could have.
- There is an implicit sense that gender and women are one and the same. In other words, there is no mention of undertaking a gender analysis with reference to men *and* women.

USAID makes specific reference to ‘gender-specific atrocities’ in its introduction, and mentions women in the context of security issues (as combatants). It also makes specific reference to young men, noting that ‘large youth cohorts are a major factor in ethnic conflict’. But women are mentioned in the context of civil society, and referenced as ‘women’s groups’.

A separate review of the UNDP Conflict Development Assessment (CDA) also shows that while reference to women’s roles in peacebuilding is noted in the introduction, the framework itself provides no guidance and no reference to the gender dimension of conflict and development. UNDP is currently reviewing the framework from a gender perspective.

Discussions with the UK’s recently-formed Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU), indicate that there is interest in the full integration of gender and cultural issues into their policy and programmatic frameworks, but thus far little has been done. A key challenge noted by one former staff member was the lack of gender expertise within the unit and, more broadly, a lack of conflict expertise among the department’s traditional gender/development specialists.

In addition to explicit mentions of women and/or gender issues, broader categories such as civil society or the treatment of minorities, should in principle address gender issues. But most likely, only someone with background and/or training would know to seek out gender issues within these larger topics.

The desk review indicates that any user of these frameworks, would need to have knowledge of gender and conflict, or “put on a ‘gender’ hat” to ensure that the analysis provides a sufficiently nuanced result. For example, gender issues are not mentioned in discussions on security sector reform such as police training, and rarely mentioned in economic or governance issues, or other activities. Without the relevant knowledge and background, the full gender dimension would certainly be rendered invisible.

Discussions with development practitioners reveal a set of challenges emerging from the actual tool as well as institutional factors. Many resonate with the Bank as well. They include:

The Tool:

- Lack of balance between focus on causes and problems versus opportunities for peacebuilding. This has significant impact on how gender issues are addressed, particularly in terms of women. Often they engage in peacebuilding activities, but without support cannot grow stronger, and thus remain largely unrecognized. In effect it is a catch-22 situation.
- Focus on problem or cause detracts attention from full understanding of range of effects resulting from those causes, and thus programming fails to consider potential mitigating effects.
- The existing frameworks tend to focus more on macro-level trends, rather than enabling meso- or micro-level analysis. This tends to have an impact on gender issues as well as a range of other factors.
- Addressing gender in terms of ‘women’, or in terms of gender relations (between men and women) loses sight of the relevance of gender identities as conflict causes or drivers (e.g., traditional male leaders withholding resources or young unemployed men).

Institutional Issues:

- Making institutional headway remains a challenge. In some instances, conflict analysis has become an optional aspect of strategic planning. Gender dimensions of conflict analysis remain even more limited. Among those agencies currently reviewing existing practices, it is not clear

the extent to which gender issues will be fully integrated into their existing frameworks, or remain an add-on document.

- Ensuring that technical specialists integrate gender dimensions into their work also remains a challenge.
- There is also a lack of gender perspectives in training, as well as the optional nature of training in some instances. In 2005, a number of agencies were considering the development of gender-related training material.
- Relying on specific or separate offices within the institution (e.g., Women in Development office at USAID), or external consultants to undertake the gender work can undermine efforts to fully mainstream gender within the institution. In terms of broader donor coordination, the OECD/DAC Gendernet was mentioned, and the assumption that Gendernet ‘will handle everything’. Yet, from the gender/conflict standpoint, there are still gaps.

IV. Gender and the CAF

Gender does not feature strongly in the current version of the Bank’s CAF. It is not mentioned explicitly in the introductory sections and does not arise in the methodology or the analytical framework. As in other cases, there is perhaps an underlying assumption (although often false), that if gender is an issue it will be captured in the analysis, for example around ‘social cleavages’ or security of civilians. In the screening variables a reference is made to ‘young men’ in the context of unemployment and recruitment into militias (p.7). The only other gendered references emerge in the guide to variables in the following areas:

- A “social and ethnic relations” indicator of de-escalation includes “encouraging associations across groups and cross-cutting cleavages (supporting **women’s** groups across ethnic lines)” (p.25).
- In the guide to variables, an “economic and structural performance” warning indicator includes “increases in **female**-headed households, **men** at war” and an indicator of increasing intensity includes the “increasing number of **female**-headed households (man at war, widows, **gender** exploitation),” and an indicator of de-escalation includes an “increasing number of programs to assist victims of war, especially **female**-headed households” (p.30).
- A “human rights and security” indicator of increasing intensity includes “increasing cases of systematic violence (forced expulsion, **gender** exploitation)” (p.28). An “external factor” indicating increased intensity includes “increasing issues of **gender** exploitation emerge (prostitution, rape)” (p.32).

Similar to other frameworks, if the analyst using the tool is sufficiently aware of gender issues in the context of conflict, the framework provides ample opportunity for raising gender-related issues. Similarly the indicators provided, if examined closely, would reveal significant information.

A review of selected documents and reports developed using the CAF, indicate that the focus is still on trying to integrate ‘conflict’ into social (poverty and development analyses) and the linkages with gender, particularly from the standpoint of conflict are still not well understood. As one analyst notes:

At the moment the gender dimensions arise in the social context, but the conflict analysis framework is gender blind. Youth unemployment is mentioned—but could be more explicit about male youth. The framework as it stands is not explicit and the [gender] issues would not arise unless the users had prior experience. There is no mention of peace actors either.

In the cases of Somalia, however, women do emerge as actors in peacebuilding, but this factor is not developed or addressed in terms of programming. In Sierra Leone, the report makes references to women on numerous occasions. It was, says the analyst ‘in your face’. Again, however, there is acknowledgement that gender issues are not seen in the context of the impact of conflict on men. In effect, gender dimensions are noted, but not systematically across studies, and not developed within studies.

Another clear challenge for the analysis is showing the relevance of gender to conflict and poverty, and identifying the priorities in terms of the analysis and programming implications. Yet, the lack of quantitative data, as well as even qualitative data in some instances, makes this very difficult. Moreover, the tool is designed to guide analysts, it cannot (or should not) push particular perspectives.

One analytical approach to address these challenges, could be to look at the issues from the ground up. In other words focus on who is affected by conflict and poverty, who is vulnerable, how and why, and consider who should/could be beneficiaries of programs. In this context, the interrelations between men and women, as well as the dynamics of conflict will be more apparent. From a methodological standpoint, it calls for greater consultation at community levels, with a cross section of society.

The assumption that gender issues will emerge naturally is also questionable, as it depends on the awareness and understanding among Bank staff and analysts. For example, in a review of the Cambodian Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) using conflict analysis, the Bank study notes that the original PRSP addresses women’s involvement in the economy and highlights women’s perceptions of the links between poverty and conflict. Yet, this point only emerges under ‘social and ethnic relations’ in the Bank study. The gender dimensions are not noted in any other aspect of the Bank’s analysis of the PRSP. In other words, a lack of gender analysis is not due to a lack of gender sensitivity at the national level, but could be due to misunderstanding of the issues within the Bank.

The notion of how conflict is defined arose in the case of Angola and Guinea Bissau in a separate process relating to civil society, where discussions focused on the nature and definition of conflict. According to Bank staff, in focus groups including women-only groups, conflict at the domestic and community levels emerged as a factor affecting economic activity and poverty.

“We were asking about conflict, on the assumption that it was about violent national level conflict, and realized that the effects of violence at different levels (e.g., domestic) on production and poverty can be as important.”

In effect, notions of violence, peace, security, and conflict should be revisited from the stand point of those affected.

“People say conflict is everywhere, but what kind of conflict is really important to look at? But a focus on conflict at national level can detract from other forms of conflict that a) disrupt production and foment poverty, and b) are early signs of possible escalation into the national sphere.”

V. Methodological Changes and Entry Points on Gender

The issues emerging from this process, together with a review of the CAF methodology and analytical framework do point to a number of steps that can and should be taken to integrate gender issues more fully in the framework. The review of other frameworks indicates that changes made to the CAF could also be useful to other interested agencies. The recommendations presented below follow the existing structure of the CAF.

Why Conflict Analysis?

- Reference should be made to the differential impact of conflict on men and women, and their roles and capacities in society.
- When discussing resilience to conflict, mention of civil society groups and sectors of society often marginalized by critical to sustaining development such as women, should be noted.
- CAF objectives. In addition to social and ethnic relations, gender roles and identities should be noted. More emphasis should be placed on the need to highlight the effects of conflict on sectors of society, and the need to highlight and explore the peace variables.

The Screening Process

- High *male* youth unemployment. The existence of ‘macho’ leadership models, and/or cultural structures that provide limited space for social mobility to young men.
- Reference to women’s status in society including their political, economic and social participation and rights, and particularly trends regarding increased restrictions, violence against women, or broader security issues relating to their presence in public space. Another dimension to highlight could be the extent to which women are mobilizing around peace and security issues, for example anti-militarization groups (e.g., Israel, Argentina during the dictatorship).

Recommendations for Next Steps:

Although the framework mentions conflict and peace factors, the simple diagram in the CAF only points to the impact of conflict, with no mention of whether it is an exacerbating or a mitigating factor. This difference should be highlighted, and the diagram should encourage analysts to seek out the opportunities and home-grown solutions to conflict and poverty issues.

1. Methodology: The five-step process underlying the methodology can be made more gender sensitive in the following ways:

- i. Desk review: ensure that a wide variety of sources are drawn on, and that every effort is made to identify information sources that provide a gendered assessment of the situation. National level documentation and reports can be a useful source of information (e.g., MDG-related reports). This is stated with the caveat that where gender is mentioned (and the sources are still limited), it is largely in reference to women. This is nonetheless a critical first step, even if it only refers to women. Simple web-based searches on specific countries with women/conflict/peace as keywords also yield significant information. In addition, the following are particularly useful:
 - a. www.womenwarpeace.org: UNIFEM’s portal on women, peace and conflict.
 - b. www.peacewomen.org: offers links to a range of specialized NGOs providing critical analysis and documentation of gender and conflict issues by country and theme. The Peacewomen site also provides a list of national NGOs—while the organizations are not vetted in any way, they are useful resources.
 - c. www.womenwagingpeace.net: the Initiative for Inclusive Security (formerly known as Women Waging Peace) has a network of women peace activists worldwide who have been selected based on their expertise and activities relating to peacemaking. They can be contacted through the organization’s Washington DC office (on the site). The organization produced some 10 field based case studies on women’s contributions to peace building across the world in 2005-05. The toolkit, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace*, produced by Waging and International Alert is a one-stop guide to women’s experiences and activism in

- all aspects of conflict. The organization also produces regular reports based on meetings and conferences with women in conflict zones (e.g., Colombia, Iraq, and Sudan).
- d. Other organizations offering information on women and conflict include Women for Women International, Womenkind, and Equality Now.
 - ii. Workshops: who participates in the workshops? Are gender specialists involved? Is it possible to use the workshop venue to sensitize staff to the gender dimensions of conflict and development? What format do the workshops have? Can discussions on gender and conflict be integrated into the agendas and/or TORs?
 - iii. Follow-up studies: given the paucity of information on gender and conflict in most circumstances, follow-up studies could provide an effective entry point to conduct research on specific issues and develop gendered baseline data.
 - iv. Country consultations with different stakeholders: who are the stakeholders? How are they identified? What efforts could and should be made to ensure the participation of actors with understanding of the gender dimensions of conflict? Identification of such groups could be made through contact with existing Bank partners (e.g., Somalia), and/or through engagement with UNIFEM, Waging or others noted above (the peacewomen web ring members), with networks and contacts across different regions.
 - v. Concluding workshops: who are the participants? Is it possible to provide a checklist or guidance on addressing the gender dimensions, as opposed to perhaps letting them slip through?

2. The framework. As it stands, the current framework does not allow a thorough analysis of the factors exacerbating conflict and those that act to mitigate it, resist it, or proactively promote peace. Instead of simply having ‘impact on conflict’, there could be two columns—conflict exacerbators, and conflict mitigators or resisters.

3. The variables. Gender should be added under description and analysis for each variable, adding examples of indicators accordingly (see Appendix C for sample indicators).

Additional entry points include:

4. Staff development. The sessions developed to sensitize teams and analysts to the CAF offer another critical entry point for the inclusion of gender perspectives. By integrating examples that highlight the variables noted but that also have a gender dimension, staff can be made aware of the integral nature of gender analysis to the process.

5. TORs for consultants/Bank partners. There should be explicit mention of the need for gender expertise among the team and, to the extent possible, for a balance of men and women in the research teams.

6. Contact with government ministries. There should be explicit and systematic mention of the need to include governmental entities (either ministries or women’s commissions) that deal with gender equality and women’s rights in the consultative processes and discussions regarding poverty, development and conflict.

7. Focus groups/stakeholder consultations. Women-only focus groups are an effective means of gathering their views and perspectives, but to elicit the gender/conflict/poverty link, it would be important to structure meetings and questions, so that participants (i) feel confident enough to speak about their perspectives and experiences, and (ii) that there is sufficient leeway to enable participants to define the

issues based on their experiences—e.g., conflict and violence at the domestic or community level, and its impact on production.

8. Report structures. Are there guidelines on how reports should be structured? Is it possible to offer samples or examples that have gender mainstreamed under each theme or section. For example:

- Heading: Economic Decline and Poverty
General overview
- *Subheads*: Factors Affecting Men
Factors Affecting Women

9. Documentation of conflict mitigation/reduction programs. With the focus of the framework still largely on causes of conflict, the opportunities and potential solutions for conflict mitigation are being lost. It would be useful to develop a database or handbook of positive examples, based on the experiences of Bank teams or other agencies (e.g., Norwegian organizations supporting women-only de-mining teams in Kosovo).

10. Pilot Run of a ‘model gendered conflict analysis framework’. It would be helpful to do a pilot testing of a ‘gendered’ version of the CAF to determine the added value, the constraints and the most effective means of ensuring gender issues are addressed, without losing the existing qualities of the framework.

VI. Conclusions

The CAF itself can benefit from more systematic integration of gender variables into its current structure. Certainly the collation of more gender disaggregated data and analysis of this information would have enormous benefit. The greater challenge, however, is ensuring that analysts using the tool are themselves aware of and recognize the significance of gender issues to conflict and programming for poverty reduction across all issues. This can be done through, first, a combination of short term training/workshop sessions as they prepare to use the framework, as well as through exposure to sample studies/examples of where/how gender matters to governance, security, economic development and social issues.

Second, awareness needs to be matched with the ability to reflect on, analyze and link gender indicators into the broader picture being developed. Too often, there is *ad hoc* mention of violence against women, or youth unemployment, but insufficient attention is given to understanding the impacts. Third, beyond awareness and analysis, teams need exposure to possible opportunities for alleviating the situation, in part by identifying existing efforts at mitigating conflict and poverty in their specific case, or perhaps by drawing on experiences elsewhere.

Appendix A: Armed Conflict and the “Feminization of Poverty”¹

Overview

Despite a wealth of anecdotal information on the “feminization of poverty” in developing countries, there is very little material on the link between armed conflict and this phenomenon. There are also few statistics or quantitative data to back up the argument that, in fact, the feminization of poverty is even occurring—and that conflict exacerbates it.

When there is discussion of this issue, it nearly always revolves around female-headed households and the fact that most are the poorest of the poor. Very few other forms of measurement—to document the feminization of poverty with numbers—seem to exist. Moreover, even less is known about single male headed households, which in many instances are perhaps worse off, as women tend to have better coping mechanisms.

Major development agencies do not regularly gather data on the number of female-headed households in a given country as part of their standard reporting or basic gender indices. Even in PRSPs, female-headed households or gender-disaggregated data on poverty is not systematically reported. The opportunity to collect such data is also not fully harnessed in the Millennium Development Goals process. In 2003 UNDP issued a report, analyzing national submissions for gender components, noting that of 13 studies, only one contained gender-disaggregated statistics on poverty: “It therefore appears that the opportunity provided by the MDGRs [Millennium Development Goal Reports] to bring gendered perspectives definitively into the larger poverty debate has not been sufficiently or effectively used. More than half of the reports studied reflect a clear and welcome recognition that women are disproportionately affected by poverty. Empirical evidence, however, has not been presented to support this statement.” (UNDP 2003)

The Asian Development Bank does address this issue, as their country assessments on gender often discuss female-headed households, including those countries in conflict or post-conflict. The International Labour Organization (ILO) also offered an in-depth report on the feminization of poverty that studied four countries and gathered quantitative data. In 2003, the ILO also produced a study on the poverty in crisis situations from a gendered dimension. The International Centre for Research on Women carried out some preliminary research on this issue (especially with regard to refugee female-headed households) in the mid-1990s. The challenge is to gather and maintain up to date information.

A preliminary review of major sources suggests there is a tacit link between conflict and the feminization of poverty, but it is by no means uncontroversial. The relationship between conflict and the feminization of poverty will vary, depending on the context, the country and the nature of the conflict. In sum, there seems to be significant space to explore and document these issues further, especially with regard to gathering quantitative data on a country-by-country basis.

Qualitative Evidence of a Link

“The majority of the 1.5 billion people living on 1 dollar a day or less are women. In addition, the gap between women and men caught in the cycle of poverty has continued to widen in the past decade, a phenomenon commonly referred to as the feminization of poverty. Worldwide, women earn on average slightly more than 50 per cent of what men earn.” (UN Division for the Advancement of Women 2000)

¹ The author thanks Camille Pampell Conaway for assistance in compiling the information in Appendices A and B.

The evidence that conflict exacerbates poverty in general is fairly easy to find. For example, in 46 countries, people are poorer in 2004 than in 1990. Of those that experienced a drop, many were engaged in armed conflict (Colombia, DRC, Rwanda, Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa, and Zimbabwe) (UNDP 2005).

“Civilians, mostly women and children, bear the brunt of war, accounting for over 80 percent of war victims. Conflicts contribute to the ‘feminization of poverty:’ women are not as mobile as men, do not have the same access to credit and resources, and must assume men’s responsibilities in addition to their own.”(Creative Associates nd)

“With respect to demographic changes, the evidence presented illustrates that the number of women who become the sole providers for their families increases as a consequence of conflict. Therefore, this increases their need for independent income. At the same time, the burden of women within the home also often intensifies.”(Date-Bah et al. 2001)

“In both developed and developing countries, there has been an increase in the number of female-headed households. Female-headed households that do not have access to remittances from male earners are generally assumed to be poorer than male-headed households. Female-headed households are more vulnerable to increased unemployment and reductions in social and welfare spending.” (UN Division for the Advancement of Women 2000)

Causes of the “Feminization of Poverty” During Conflict

- General economic difficulties associated with conflict:
 - Destruction of capital, stock, and infrastructure
 - Flight of capital and human resources
 - Soaring inflation
 - Disruption of trade
 - Interruption of education
 - General economic collapse, unemployment, and widespread poverty
- Men are absent during and following war, leading to an increase in female-headed households (in Mozambique, they were 22.5 percent). (Date-Bah et al. 2001)
 - Men are primarily those that are killed during war.
 - Men are away from home to fight.
 - Men are disabled, migrate, go into hiding, or are separated from their families during war.
- An absence of men:
 - Reduces the number of available marriage partners, leaving women without a partner for the long-term, as single, widowed, divorced, or separated.
 - May lead to obstacles in property ownership and inheritance for women, as land and labor agreements are often traditionally negotiated by men.
 - May lead to social stigmatization of women—as widows or separated women living alone—and they may not receive community or family support.
 - May lead to economic, as well as physical security, if he was the primary breadwinner.
- Due to discrimination or oversight, women may not receive adequate targeted reintegration support:
 - As demobilizing combatants
 - As refugees and returnees

- Following conflict, households often increase in size (due to the absorption of additional family members, including abandoned, displaced, or orphaned children), and the dependency ratio goes up, as the majority of survivors are young.
 - In an ILO survey, 39.5 percent of the population was under 15 in Bosnia, Guatemala, Lebanon, and Mozambique. (Date-Bah et al. 2001)
 - In Rwanda, 500,000 orphans were taken in by “substitute families.”
- Women’s entry into labor force and the assumption of traditionally male tasks may lead to some positive change, but also to increased risk of backlash.
- Out of necessity, women may also enter the sex trade, leading to social stigmatization, physical endangerment, and exposure to STDs and AIDS.
- A case not often documented—women combatants lose their jobs following war, too. As noted by the World Bank, “The needs of female soldiers in Sierra Leone and Eritrea were largely overlooked during reintegration. They remained without a job and lived in situations of extreme poverty after conflict.”(Bouta et al. 2005) This was despite their skills gained as medics, mechanics, and teachers during the war—social stigma prevents them from using them.

Quantitative Evidence of a Link: Country Examples

Afghanistan (Povey 2003)

- It is estimated that 35,000 women head households in Afghanistan, “mainly because their male kin were killed in the war years and the Taliban era. These women are called *Zanane bee Sarparast* (unprotected women), itself a derogatory term. In the post-Taliban era, they have become outcast by the family and the community. They constitute the poorest of the poor and intra-familial violence against them has increased (9).”

Albania (IMF 2004)

- “Unemployment is more frequent among women and the young.” 19.1 percent of women are unemployed compared to 13.6 percent of men.
- “74 percent of poor households have four members or more. Households with a female parent are likely to be worse off than households with a male breadwinner, standing at a ratio of 35 to 1.”

Colombia (Global IDP Project 2003)

- 86 percent of displaced households headed by women are below the poverty line (compared with 79 percent headed by couples).
- 50 percent of female heads of displaced households earn no wages, and 23 percent earn less than the minimum wage.
- Anecdotal evidence suggests that female-headed households are better at meeting basic needs despite lower economic power. The World Bank’s new publication notes: “Women heads represent more than one-third of displaced households in Colombia, many of them widows fleeing with their children after their husband’s murder. They appear better able than men to develop support and survival networks after displacement and can often rely on domestic skills to find work as maids or small traders. In contrast, rural men often face higher unemployment rates after displacement because their agricultural skills are of little use in urban environments.” (Bouta et al. 2005: 93)

Cote D'Ivoire (IRIN 2005)

- In response to the recent crisis, 120,000 are internally displaced in Abidjan. Most are in slums, unemployed, and without access to food or schooling. 20 percent of these households are headed by women.

East Timor (ADB 2004)

- Female-headed households make up 14 percent of the population due to the legacy of conflict and the large number of widows, according to the Asian Development Bank.

El Salvador (Gammage and Fernandez 1999)

- In 1988, during the war, 90.8 percent of the repatriated population was poor and 70.1 percent was extremely poor. In 1992, during the peace accords, 73.9 percent of the repatriated population was poor and 50.1 percent were extremely poor.
- In 1988, during the war, 38.2 percent of repatriated households were headed by women and 36.9 percent were "female-maintained." In 1992, during the peace accords, 35.6 percent of repatriated households were headed by women and 32.5 percent were "female-maintained."
- In 1988, during the war, 29.3 percent of urban households were headed by women and 36.8 percent were "female-maintained." In 1992, during the peace accords, 28.2 percent of urban households were headed by women and 31.3 percent were "female-maintained."

The Palestinian Territories (Kuttab and Bargouti 2002)

- In 1997, female-headed households constituted 8 percent of all households within the Palestinian territories. 30 percent of them fell below the poverty line (compared to 22 percent of male-headed households).
- The gap between male and female-headed households widened between 1996 and 1997, as male poverty fell, while women's increased by 4 percent.
- Female heads of household constituted ½ of the beneficiaries of the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1998 and were poorer than male-headed beneficiary households.
- 60 percent of female recipients of social assistance were widows.
- According to Amnesty International, before the *intifada*, women's participation in the labor force "had risen to 15.8 percent of women aged over 25 years. This trend has since been reversed and women's participation has declined to around 10.5 percent." (Amnesty International 2005)
- According to UNIFEM, of 4 million refugees registered with UNRWA in 2003, 43-52 percent are families headed by women. (UNIFEM 2005)
- According to UNRWA, in 2003, women headed 13.6 percent of refugee households among all registered with UNRWA, but they made up 44.7 percent of the "special hardship" families, illustrating the feminization of poverty. 35.51 per cent of special hardship cases were families whose breadwinner was incapacitated and incapable of earning a sustainable income for medical reasons, illustrating the impact of conflict on poverty. UN General Assembly 2003)

Rwanda (Levitsky 1998)

- "Whilst the 1993 poverty assessment noted no discernable difference in income levels between male and female-headed households, wealth-ranking exercises undertaken by the PPA (participatory poverty assessment) show that after the genocide female-headed households are more likely to be poor than male. This is primarily due to labor constraints: in all areas covered by the PPA, the female-headed households in the 'poor' category are those without husband, adult children, or other family labor.(6)"

- Following the genocide, 34 percent of households were headed by women, an increase of over 50 percent from 1991. Of these, 60.8 percent are widows, mostly as a result of the war.

Sri Lanka (Government of Sri Lanka 2002)

- At the national level, the incidence of poverty among male and female-headed households is the same (39 and 38 percent). Of all households, 17 percent are female headed. Only in urban areas are there more poor female-headed household than male (30 and 23 percent).
- “There are 780,000 persons residing in urban slums in 2,160 sites in Colombo. In the Colombo slums... 85 percent of families earn less than Rs. 2,000 per month and 35 percent are households headed by women.”
- “The conflict has raised the proportion of female-headed households, not only in the North and East [the conflict-affected areas], but also in many of the poorer rural areas and low-income communities of the South.”
- The Asian Development Bank notes that the war in Sri Lanka has left 30,000 war widows and 22,727 women single-headed households (and 6204 men single-headed households) (Lankaneson 2004).
- One expert estimates that among the Tamil female-headed households, 64.1 percent are a result of male deaths directly caused by the war (Ruwanpura 2003).

Tajikistan (ADB 2000)

- 50,000 died during the civil war. It is estimated that the war created 25,000 widows.
- 18 percent of all households are headed by a woman (approx. 155,000 households).
- About 35 percent of lone mother households live in areas where the fighting was most intense.
- 38 percent of female-headed households care for at least three adults and at least three children.
- 67 percent of female-headed households are led by a woman between 16 and 64 (while only 33 percent are older than 65).
- Female-headed households make up 29 percent (while men make up 21 percent) of the poorest category (the lowest 20 percent in the country).
- “Individuals living in FHH are over a third more likely to be in extreme poverty than those living in male-headed households. Individuals in lone mother households are most at risk of extreme poverty, being over twice as likely to be poor than male-headed households. (88)”

Uganda (UNDP 2000)

- Across Uganda, 29 percent of households are headed by women. Yet in the conflict-ridden northern districts of Gulu and Kitgum, women head 44 percent of households and 53 percent in Kotido and Moroto. 1/3 of all women in these four areas are widows, most due to the conflict.
- The Human Development Index in Uganda is 136 percent higher for men than for women.

Evidence that there is No Link

“While there does appear to be a rise in female headship in some countries, systematic data to verify this trend are not yet available and evidence of its association with poverty is inconsistent. Causes of female headship are political, economic, social, and demographic—including conflict, migration, divorce, teenage pregnancy, and widowhood—and the relative importance of different factors varies with the context. This shows that female-headed households are a very mixed category and underlines the danger of making a simple association between female headship and poverty.”(Lockwood 1995)

“It is generally believed by the international community that CEs [Complex Emergencies] and conflict give rise to an increase in female-headed households as men are often involved in war, killed, or separated from their families, or migrate in search of employment in the aftermath of war. However, the DHS [Demographic and Health Survey] data suggest that female-headed households may not be more prevalent in conflict areas, on average, than regional averages. Great variability does exist in the distribution of female-headed households among and between conflict-affected countries. A unique pattern is seen in Eritrea, where 45 percent of the urban sample is composed of female-headed households, while only a quarter of the rural households are headed by women. On the other hand, in Mozambique, female-headed households are somewhat more prevalent in rural than in urban areas. Among the Sahelian countries, Chad has particularly high levels of female-headed households, but other Sahelian countries have low percentages of households headed by women (Figure 6). This is consistent with the fact that Chad has been the most significantly affected by war in the past few decades. Thus, the effect of conflict on household structure appears to vary among conflict affected countries.”—US Agency for International Development (Drapcho and Mock 2000)

One in-depth study on the “feminization of poverty” in conflict settings, provides interesting findings. It is a 2003 quantitative study of female-headed households in Bosnia—the causes and the implications. It finds that the war, in fact, did not cause more female-headed households, even though 78 percent of Bosnian female heads of household are widows. Most of them, however, are very old. “The available evidence strongly suggests that widows in this age [30 to 60—the ages of most men killed during the war] have not gone on to become household heads. It is possible that they were absorbed into the households of other relatives, or that they have permanently emigrated.” (Kukanesen 2003) While it is likely that the absorption of female headed households into the families of other relatives may be common across countries, it does not give any indication of the physical, social or economic wellbeing of the women and children themselves.

Appendix B: Desk review of Conflict Analysis Frameworks for Components Addressing Gender and/or Women

N.B. *This is a rapidly evolving field and a number of institutions are in the process of reviewing and adjusting their frameworks. The summary provided below was compiled in 2005.*

1. **Conflict-Sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance, and Peace Building: Tools for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (2004) by International Alert, FEWER, and SaferWorld** (http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/resource_pack.html)

- The resource pack notes that conflict analyses can be complemented by **gender** analyses and vice versa (sec. 2, p.7).
- **“Women”** are listed as a “main actor” during actor analyses (sec. 2, p.4).
- An example from Sri Lanka outlines how one organization undertakes surveys with **women** in target communities; to gain their trust and confidence, field staff visit the families and spend time with the women in their kitchens, collecting information while helping them with tasks (sec. 2, p.9).
- When discussing stakeholder consultations, it is noted that **“women** and other marginalized groups usually lack equal representation” (sec. 2, p.9).
- When describing the intervention process, the resource pack notes: “The identity of the persons or groups (i.e., their political affiliation, **gender**, caste, socio-economic profile, etc.) can have an important impact on the conflict” (sec. 3.1, p.3).
- An example of “draft principles of operation for agencies providing humanitarian assistance in Sri Lanka” noted: “The rights of beneficiaries, in particular **women**, to fully participate in the design of projects planned for implementation in their communities must be respected” (sec. 3.2, p.8.).
- The resource pack notes that “Organizations have attempted to mainstream other issues—**gender**, environment, rights-based approaches—and to develop institutional capacity accordingly. Lessons from this mainstreaming experience can be useful in developing institutional capacity for mainstreaming conflict sensitivity” (sec. 5, p.8).

2. **The Strategic Conflict Assessment (2002) of the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development, Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Office** (<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/conflict-assess-guidance.pdf>)

- The introduction notes that conflict analysis frameworks should be complemented by other analytical lenses, “in particular social, anthropological, and **gender** analysis” (p.8).
- One example of a “source of tension and conflict” is an “unrepresentative political system.” Another is “lack of popular participation, and **gender** imbalance, in political and governance processes” (p.12).
- A recommendation for development agencies to better sensitize their approach in areas of latent or open conflict includes “better addressing the needs of particularly disadvantaged groups” (p.27). Sector-specific recommendations include political, justice, economic, and social assistance to “marginalized” or “excluded” groups (p.28). One social recommendation specifically advises: “supporting the role of **women** in conflict prevention, resolution, and peace building: supporting **women’s** organizations; promoting participation of **women** in peace processes; ensuring **gender** issues are integrated in peace agreements” (p.29).
- An example of a social issue to be addressed is “social exclusion based on ethnicity, caste, **gender**, and religion,” and a micro-level social intervention includes “support for community-based **women’s** groups” (p.33).

- In the conflict analysis example of Kyrgystan, it is noted that due to out-migration by men, “the social and economic responsibilities of **women** have increased” (p.39).
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3. **The Stability Assessment Framework: Designing Integrated Responses for Security, Governance, and Development (SAF, 2005) of the Clingendael Institute** (*most likely replaces the Conflict and Policy Assessment Framework (CPAF, 2000) discussed by International Alert*) (http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001141/P1260-Finale_Brochure_SAF_Jan2005.pdf#search='Conflict%20and%20Policy%20Assessment%20Framework%20Clingendael%20Institute')

- Among the 12 indicators of the framework is “leadership.” A guidance question is: “Is the authority of the state challenged on the basis of religion, ethnic identity, **gender**, or customary, traditional or indigenous practices or groups?” (p.69).
 - Another indicator is “group-based hostilities.” A guidance question is: “Is there institutionalized political exclusion, e.g. low representation of **women** in parliament?” (p.73).
 - In an example overview of policy activities of major international actors in security, “limited attention for child soldiers and **female** combatants” is noted as a comment within DDR (p.50).
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4. **The Conflict Assessment Framework (2004) of the US Agency for International Development** (http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/conflict/publications/docs/CMM_ConfAssessFrmwrk_8-17-04.pdf)

- In the introduction to the manual, it is noted: “Child soldiers, **gender-specific** atrocities, and the targeting of aid workers are all part of ‘new war’ scenarios” (p.3.).
 - In a section on the availability of recruits as a trend likely to increase the probability of conflict, it is noted that women and youth may join due to lack of other opportunities and support. “For example, some of the most ardent supporters of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal are young **women** who have been given a level of authority and respect that traditional political and social structures simply do not allow...Another example is in Sri Lanka, where the LTTE has been successful in recruiting young **women** who have no means of supporting themselves once their husbands have been killed or conscripted into the military” (p.16).
 - In a section on “strategies and options,” the framework notes that “civil society initiatives” to manage conflict and build peace must be strengthened (p.25). It is then specifically noted that “Donors should give particular consideration to locating and supporting organizations that cross ethnic, economic, or political fault lines such as **women’s** groups or community development associations that explicitly engage members of different communities in order to address common problems” (p.25).
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5. **Conflict Analysis for Project Planning and Implementation (2002) of GTZ** (<http://www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/en-conflictanalysis.pdf>)

- At several points, it is noted that “target groups” and/or “actors” should be differentiated by gender, as well as ethnicity and income, etc. (p.35, 38, and 44).
- “Women” are listed as a “primary stakeholder...particularly significant from the development-policy standpoint” as their lives are directly affected by the conflict. A guideline question asks what impact does the conflict have on women’s living conditions (p.30).

- When preparing a project, GTZ asks a series of questions for the appraisal of risk in conflict situations. One is: Would the project “impede the work of civil society groups or of associations and movements promoting peace, women’s rights, democracy and human rights?” (p.27).
- When designing an aid project, GTZ notes it is important “to identify and define target groups for the project’s work (‘the poorest of the poor’, female heads of household, etc.)” (p.31).
- When discussing the method of participatory conflict analysis, semi-structured interviews with men and women are recommended, as are questions regarding men and women’s status in the household (p.32).
- In a diagram of the conflict pyramid, women’s groups are listed at the grassroots level or Level 3 (p.63).
- One of the tools described in detail is the “capacities and vulnerabilities analysis,” which, it is noted, demonstrates the different degrees of vulnerability of various segments of the population as well as their strategies and capacities for dealing with their situation. It specifically notes that men and women are affected differently and devise different coping strategies (p.75).
- Another tool—“capacity analysis”—offers a series of central questions to gauge organizational capacity, including: “Does [the organization] cooperate with different ethnic, religious, gender, age, social, or clan-based groups?” and “Is there a strategy for the advancement of women?” and “Does [the project] respond to needs that are clearly formulated by the target groups (particularly women)?” (p.79, 80).

Appendix C: Additional Indicators to Consider for Categories of Variables

N.B. Most of the indicators below are included in the current CAF framework. The list below is a preliminary attempt at integrating a gender dimension into these indicators. Many are about women. More research is needed to identify gendered indicators relating to men.

1. Social and Ethnic Relations

Social and Ethnic Cleavages

- Role of women/men in widening or sustaining the cleavages or attempting to close them (e.g., often women use social networks, cross-tribal marriage links, informal spaces as a means of maintaining contact and building bridges.)
- Conversely role of women in encouraging ethnic/social divisions and mistrust?

Regional Imbalances

- Are there regional differences in the status of women/men—e.g., Afghanistan in Pashtu-speaking areas, women's status is very different in Dari-speaking areas, and under the Taliban rule, women were treated differently across the regions.

Differential Social Opportunities

- What opportunities/constraints exist for men v. women in education, employment, legally, socio-culturally?
- What child care provisions and related policies (maternity leave, etc.) exist? Do they enable women to participate in education or skills-building programs.
- What pressures or constraints do women/girls v. men/boys face in seeking education.

Group Identity Building/Myth Making

- What are the stories (including heroes, heroines) that are told to sustain the identity of groups? How do they portray those outside of the group. How are women portrayed? What role and identity do they have? How are men portrayed?

Culture/Tradition of Violence

- What are the forces promoting violence and/or culture of weapons/arms? To what extent do they draw on male/female identities?
- What are the levels of violence against women? Is it widely tolerated? What are men's attitudes? What is the legal framework?
- What are the forms of violence in society? Who are the main victims of violence (gangs, young men)?

2. Governance and Political Institutions:

Equity of governance and political institutions

- Percentage and participation of men v. women in political structures, in the electorate. What positions do women hold v. men? Where are the most absent?
- What are the agendas and priorities that women tend to have v. men? Are there women's cross-party caucuses (often women find common agendas despite political differences, and this can be an entry point to build consensus and promote collaboration).

- Extent of men/women participation in governance at different levels of society including traditional and local structures?

Equity of law/judicial institutions

- Do men and women have equal rights under the law in all aspects of life? In inheritance laws, property ownership, citizenship, family law?—e.g., in parts of Africa where women have no rights to inherit property, tensions are emerging between AIDS widows and their children, and their in-laws who wish to reclaim land and evict them.
- Are the laws implemented fairly and effectively?
- What is the percentage of women/men in judicial roles and as lawyers. How are men and women treated under the law—e.g., women are often treated more harshly than men for the same crimes.

Links between government and citizens

- In many conflict affected societies, women's civil society groups work more closely with women in government/parliament than men. Often there are women's NGOs that promote good governance and cooperation between civil society and formal structures, and can be effective in collaborative development of policies and the implementation of programs.

3. Human Rights and Security

Role of media and freedom of expression

- Are women and men stereotyped, what are the expected identities/roles? Are gender issues addressed in the press/news? What are the images of men being portrayed? How are leaders described or criticized? How are women depicted? In some societies where extremist forces use women's identity as a political tool, the treatment of women in the media can be a key indicator of political trends and a precursor for specific acts of violence against women.

Human rights status

- Rights of women v. men? In terms of women, is the country a signatory to CEDAW, is it being implemented, how? What provisions have been made to implement the Beijing Platform?
- Are there customary and traditional forces working against human rights and women's rights?

Militarization of society

- What factors are promoting/influencing recruitment into armies/militias? What dangers do men/women face in terms of abduction/forced conscription? What elements are active to resist militarization.

Security of civilians

- What threats do civilians face in terms of movement? Are men/women walking alone or in groups at night/during the day? Is there sufficient lighting?
- What crimes are being committed? Who are the perpetrators? Who are the victims? Are there community-based policing structures in place.
- Do men and women have equal freedom of movement; often women can move more easily than men.
- How do men react/treat women if they are abused by "power structures" and/or sexually attacked by militias or men of other ethnic origin? Can it generate inter-communal conflict?

4. Economic Structure and Performance

Income growth

- Are trends in growth affecting/benefiting men and women equally? Are women taking on additional non-paid work—e.g., care of the sick, elderly, children? Are changes in economic structures/priorities affecting men and women differently?

Income disparities

- What are the disparities between men and women in each sector, and across sectors?

Employment and access to productive resources

- Are there credit organizations in the region? Are they accessible to men and women?—e.g., in many instance women are unable to travel as far as men, thus may not have physical access.
- If so, do they have gender oriented micro-credit programs?
- Do credit amounts vary based on gender? What activities are funded?
- What are conditions for credit eligibility (assets, guarantees)?
- Are there organizations or programs teaching women how to apply for credit and manage it?
- Are there means of monitoring programs to ensure that women are not being exploited by men?
- Is there community pressure to exclude women (particularly women heading households) from credit schemes?
- Are there credit unions headed by women?

Conflict induced poverty

- Increases in female headed households? Widowers and children v. widows and children? Loss of property/land/possessions? Forced migration? How do men and women cope with changes in income and livelihood as a result of conflict?
- To what extent are women forced into prostitution due to economic necessity?
- Who is migrating for work purposes? What effect does it have on family structures and poverty?
- What pressures are men facing regarding supporting families? What dilemmas regarding migration for work v. remaining to protect family?

5. Environment and Natural Resources

Access to natural resources

- Laws and customs governing inheritance of land and property for men and women.
- Does resource competition between the two communities across the border affect men and women differently?
- How are women and men involved in incidents related to resource disputes?
- What roles do women's organizations/women in communities play in solving the disputes over access to resource?
- Are women being allocated the same land (size, quality) as men?

6. External Forces

Regional conflicts

- The extent to which regional disputes and elements of conflict (weapon flows, criminality) impact society and social structures—are criminal elements (e.g., trafficking groups) entering the area? Who are they targeting?

Role of kindred groups

- What kinds of social networks exist regionally that can support actors internally involved in prevention of conflict/peace promotion/ poverty reduction?

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