

GENDER, CONFLICT, AND PEACE

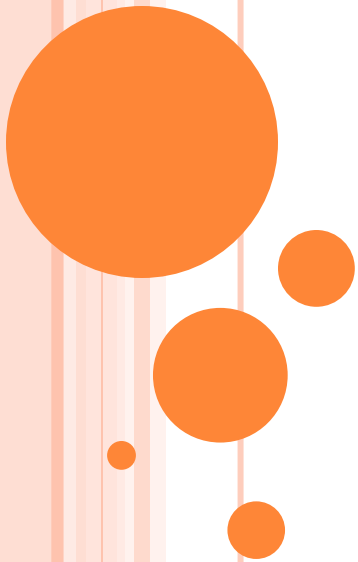
Kendra Dupuy

University of Oslo


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WHAT DO YOU THINK?

- Define the term *gender*
 - Does gender play a role in the onset of conflict?
 - What are the gendered dynamics of conflict?
 - How does conflict impact gender? Are men and women affected similarly, or differently by conflict, and why or why not? What types of impacts does conflict have on men versus women, and why?
 - Does gender play a role in resolving conflict and building peace?
 - Do you have any particular examples of the above?
 - Is it important to discuss gender, conflict, and peace? Does gender matter? Why or why not?
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OVERVIEW OF THE LECTURE

- Goals of the lecture
- Define *gender*
- Role of gender in the onset of conflict
- Gender and the dynamics of conflict
 - Combatants and fighting groups
 - Gender norms and how conflicts are fought
- The gendered impact of conflict
 - How war impacts men & women differently
- Gender and conflict resolution
 - What is the aftermath for women and men?
 - What role can and does gender play in peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding?



GOALS OF THE LECTURE

- Understanding of how gender and conflict intersect in conflict onset, dynamics, and resolution
- Understanding of the impact of conflict on gender
- Explode 4 myths related to gender & war:
 - Men are combatants and women are victims.
 - Women and children constitute 80% of refugees and IDPs —a skewed demographic composition.
 - Rape and sexual violence are inevitable, are committed by all fighting groups, and women are always the victims.
 - War does not change gender relations and roles.



DEFINING GENDER

- What does gender mean?
- Does gender = only women?
- Your definitions?
- Gender: the socially constructed roles of women and men, and the relationships between them
- Gendered perspective takes into account both men and women's perspectives



WHY DISCUSS GENDER, CONFLICT & PEACE?

- Both women & men are involved in conflict as fighters and supporters: neglected, understudied
- Gender is an important part of the dynamics of conflict
 - War impacts men and women differently: types of violence used (rape, killing), causes of death, roles during war
 - Need to improve understanding of gendered impact of war
- Gender as a dimension of conflict resolution
 - Women's efforts in peacemaking, keeping & building
 - Gendered dimensions of resolution & aftermath of war
- Increased focus within international community on gender, war, and peace (i.e. the UN)




GENDER & CONFLICT ONSET

- Can gender play a role in conflict onset? Is it a “cause” of conflict?
- What mechanisms might be at work to explain why gender might play a role in the outbreak of conflict?
- Several studies by Mary Caprioli (2000, 2003, 2005) point to a positive relationship between a state’s level of domestic gender inequality and the probability of experiencing both inter-state and intra-state war



CAPRIOLI (2000): INTERSTATE WAR & GENDER

- Does domestic gender equality impact the international behavior of states (interstate conflict)?
 - Data and methods: 1960-1992
 - IVs: measure gender equality (social, political, econ dimensions)
 - DV: Militarized Interstate Dispute (hostility level)
 - Key finding: domestic gender equality correlates with fewer and less violent military solutions to resolve international disputes
 - Causal mechanisms
 - States externalize domestic political culture to int'l behavior
 - Societies with high levels of family violence more likely to rely on violent conflict resolution and more likely to be involved in wars compared to societies with lower levels of family violence
 - A worldview based on prejudice against women and other minorities translates into a level of global intolerance resulting in higher levels of bellicosity against those states not perceived as equal (i.e. dem states perceive other dem states as equal)
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CAPRIOLI (2003, 2005): CIVIL WAR/GENDER

- Relationship between gender inequality and civil war
- Data and methods: 1960-2001
 - IVs: variables that measure gender equality (soc, pol, econ)
 - DV: PRIO/Uppsala conflict data
- Finding: States with more gender inequality more likely to experience civil war
- Causal mechanisms:
 - Norms of violence legitimize use of violence as conflict resolution tool, inure people to violence, facilitate call to arms
 - States apply same domestic norms and behaviors in both domestic and international settings
 - Gender inequality facilitates a violent nationalist call to arms: relying on gendered language and gendered stereotypes to mobilize the masses: masculine heroes, traditional women

GENDER AND CONFLICT DYNAMICS

- Role of gender in how conflicts are fought?
- Gender in armed groups: women also fight
 - Females historically involved in war: Joan of Arc (16 years old), Dahomey kingdom of Benin
 - In some armed groups, girls & women = 40% of the group
 - U.S. military = 20% female; 5% of soldiers worldwide are female
 - Since 1990, girls and women have participated in conflicts on all continents, more often in rebel than state forces
 - Roles in the group:
 - Combat roles: active fighters, intelligence gathering (spies) b/c they are often assumed to be less suspicious than a man, may have advantages (cultural prohibitions against patting down women)
 - Domestic roles: cooking, cleaning, caring for children
 - Sexual labor: wives and sexual partners for male soldiers → but they are not always sexually abused (LTTE)



LIBERIA: WOMEN'S ARTILLERY COMMANDOES, HEADED BY 17-YEAR OLD BLACK DIAMOND



GENDER & JOINING: WHY FEMALES FIGHT

- Girls and women often voluntarily join armed groups for similar reasons to men and boys
 - Protection and security, avoid or escape sexual violence/family abuse, escape bad marriage
 - Earn an income, looting, learn skills, military career
 - Sense of belonging, duty to kin, revenge
 - Assert power and independence, gender equality
 - Group's ideology may emphasize gender equality
 - Eritrea: Women in placed fairly high positions in rebel forces as women's rights is an important part of the struggle for independence
 - Follow boyfriends into the group: relationship with a commander essential to survival of self, family
 - Forced recruitment for sexual and domestic labor, forced wives and sexual partners, sex slaves
 - Little knowledge about how gender identities are mobilized for recruitment



GENDER & JOINING: SIERRA LEONE

- Sierra Leone: civil war 1991 - 2002
- Gendered motivations to join armed groups
- Survey of ex-combatants by Humphreys & Weinstein (2004)
 - Combatants joined the fighting groups voluntarily and by force
 - Recruits joined to fight government, root out corruption, defend communities; most were men
 - Material incentives: promises of jobs, money, ed, partners for marriage
 - Estimated 10,000 women with RUF, mostly abducted to be wives
- Why incentives were important:
 - Most of those who joined RUF rebels were men who lacked access to land and income and thus could not marry → permanent youths
 - 25% of respondents said they had been given a spouse
 - Also lacked access to education, parents had died, poor, displaced
 - Many were male diamond miners who had been chased away from villages due to fines and forced labor, easily convinced to take up arms to fight social exclusion

GENDERED IMPACT OF WAR

- How does war impact on gender (as defined)—men, women, and the relationship between them, roles?
- We'll discuss 4 interlinked gendered impacts of war:
 - Physical health: fatalities and disease
 - Gender based violence, such as sexual violence
 - Displacement: refugees, IDPs
 - Livelihoods: access to and use of education, income generation, assets, land



HEALTH: MORTALITY & DISEASE

- Mortality: How do women and men die during conflict?
 - Direct death: direct result of conflict (i.e. shooting)
 - Indirect death: due to war-exacerbated malnutrition and/or disease
- It is likely that more people (civilians) overall die from indirect deaths related to conflict
 - It is also likely that more women die from war-related indirect deaths while more men die from direct deaths
 - But these rates vary from conflict to conflict
- Maternal mortality, reproductive health
 - Fertility rates rise/decline: replace children, or delay
 - Higher risk of death during pregnancy/child delivery
 - Again, context specific: improved health in displacement camps, but rise in MMR for non-displaced/host



PLÜMPER AND NEUMEYER: MORTALITY

- What is the impact of militarized conflict on the gender gap in life expectancy?
 - On average, armed conflict decreases the ratio of female to male life expectancy at birth → higher female mortality during war
 - War = decrease in food, clean water, sanitation, medical care
 - Women on average suffer much more from the indirect and long-term consequences of armed conflict, while men suffer from the direct effects/causes of conflict since men are predominantly the combatant → but females suffer more
 - Three indirect effects account for the fact that militarized conflicts unevenly affect men and women: the economic damage effect (infrastructure, agriculture, income damage), the displacement effect, and the sexual violence effect. These effects are the result of gendered social structures, not biology.
 - Type of war matters: ethnic conflict bigger impact b/c women are direct targets of sexual and other violence, also wars in failed states matter (all services/order collapsed, more displaced, long)



MORTALITY

- Other cross-national studies and case studies don't confirm Plümper and Neumayer's findings
 - These other studies find that men (esp. young) are more adversely affected than women due to direct deaths (female mortality doesn't outweigh male mortality)
- Case studies also don't confirm this finding
 - Cambodia: more targeting of adult men; 2:1 ratio of male to female deaths under Khmer Rouge
 - Iraq: 77% of violent deaths male, esp. ages 15-59
 - Bosnia: 92% of all casualties male; 1/3 civilian (78% male)
 - In nearly every conflict, men are killed at higher rates than women of any age, both military & civilian



DISEASE

- Disease rates rise in conflict, esp. in displacement camps: cholera, TB, STDs; populations bring diseases with them
 - Poor sanitation, collapse of health system, starvation/weakness
- Sexually transmitted diseases can rise, but little evidence that conflict contributes to increase in spread of HIV/AIDS
 - Varies from conflict to conflict: sexual violence, prostitution
 - Conflicts in which AIDS rate declined: Sierra Leone, Southern Sudan, Angola; increased = DRC (rape)
 - Militaries often have high STD rates: HIV rates in Cameroonian troops returning from ECOMOG operation in Sierra Leone = 6.2%, civilian rate = 2.0%
- Little evidence of increased HIV/AIDS rate in displacement camps (refugee, IDP)
- Conflicts often affect only portions of a country, localized effects that don't affect national populations
 - Reduced sexual activity (stress; delay childbirth)




CARPENTER: GENDER NORMS & WAR

- Why is there higher male mortality in war?
- Carpenter: non-combatant men are singled out for sex-selective massacres and targeted for killing, mostly likely to be killed
 - Gendered assumptions about wartime roles rather than facts on ground → female combatants are also responsible for fighting, and targeting of men for killing
- Bosnia: adult civilian men of fighting age most likely noncombatants to be massacred by enemy forces in Yugoslavia
 - Why did international agencies mandate evacuate women and children but not military-aged men from besieged areas in Bosnia?
 - Due to gendered beliefs on which civilian protection advocacy based
 - Men assumed to be potential combatants, singled out as legitimate targets; women, children, elderly seen as most vulnerable, should be prioritized for humanitarian assistance,
 - Yet no evidence that all or even majority of military-aged men are engaged in direct military activities, and women not only vulnerable
 - Evacuation of women legitimized targeting of men since not civilian
- Should the rule be “women and children first”?



GENDER BASED VIOLENCE (GBV)

- Gender based violence: carried out against men, women because of their gender → includes sexual violence (rape)
 - Sexual violence is a feature of many wars; mass rape
 - DRC, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Bosnia, East Timor, Tajikistan
 - State actors often commit most war-related sexual violence
 - Strategy of war to communicate weakness of enemy, reward and socialize combatants, destroy social cohesion, promote exodus of whole populations, shame and terrorize whole groups and bring them into submission (not a private act)
 - But sexual violence doesn't occur in all conflicts
 - Elizabeth Wood: Sri Lankan LTTE, Palestine-Israel = absent
 - Depends on group leadership, discipline, ideology, dep on civ's
 - Men are also victims of sexual violence; lack of research
 - Reported for 25 conflicts, but hidden phenomenon
 - Yugoslavia: thousands of male prisoners suffered rape in detention camps by guards, often in Serbian camps
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DISPLACEMENT


- Women, children = 80% of displaced?
 - Both men and women are displaced
 - Men are more likely to migrate to find work, go to urban areas, to fight, to stay / protect home, or die → less visible
 - Between 45% and 55% of population in UNHCR camps = women age 18 and up, depending on context
- Displacement: health effects (disease, mental), livelihoods effects (education, jobs), GBV (rape, domestic violence)
- Women rarely consulted in design of displacement camps, not decision-makers
 - Sexual violence: location of toilets, schools; firewood collection
 - Food distribution dom'd by men, increases vulnerability (exploit)
- Displacement can challenge men's identities as primary breadwinners, authority
 - UNHCR is a "better husband": men unable to provide, idle
 - Change in roles, responsibilities, impact on livelihoods



LIVELIHOODS: HOW TO COPE WITH WAR?

- Livelihoods: capabilities, assets, and strategies that people use to make a living
 - More than employment, though employment rates ↓ in war
 - Access to resources (natural and physical resources i.e. land & livestock, financial resources i.e. credit, human resources, human resources i.e. education and health)
 - Livelihoods entail gendered roles, relations
- Conflict causes gender roles and relationships to change, and thus livelihoods strategies
- Livelihoods are intertwined with the other impacts we've talked about
 - Reduced health, disability, sexual violence, displacement impact on income-earning ability, educational opportunities, access to land, access to credit, and on health

GENDER & LIVELIHOODS


- Men more likely to migrate during conflict
 - Increased domestic responsibilities for women such as farm work, shift in adult labor in the household
 - New authority, independence, access to new assets, also new vulnerability: access to land, increased poverty
 - Increase in widows and female headed households (FHH) can change demographic composition of population, decrease women's worth in marriage market
 - More male survivors (Banda Aceh post-tsunami) also increases surviving women's responsibilities
 - Loss of men's employment = poverty, increased domestic violence
 - Joining armed group, displacement force women into new roles
 - Women may turn to negative strategies: prostitution
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CASE STUDY: RWANDAN GENOCIDE

- High number of male casualties due to sex-selective killing
 - Men also absent due to imprisonment, displacement
 - Systematic rape of women and girls
- Up to 80% of population in some areas after the genocide = female
 - many female headed households, widows with many people to support (esp. children, orphans)
- Land laws excluded women from inheriting & owning land → had to be returned to husband's family, or given to son
 - restrictions loosened after the genocide, but discrimination still prevails
- Political gains for women: 30% quota for female MP's, women now = 56% of MP's



GENDER & THE AFTERMATH


- What is the aftermath of conflict for men, women?
 - Changes in gender roles brought about by conflict don't always endure after conflict, translate into political gains
 - Expected to give up jobs and land for returned male combats, men
 - Sexual violence can destroy opportunities for marriage, mental and physical health implications
 - Lost livelihoods: education, jobs/income, land, ↑ poverty
 - Female ex-combatants also face stigma, especially if they had children in the rebel group
 - Assumption that girl soldiers have been sexually active = rejection, ruins marriage prospects
 - DDR programs have not addressed the support roles of women: adult, male, armed fighters the priority; no facilities for girls; assumption that benefits will trickle down to dependent girls
 - Female combatants not able to retain same power (Eritrea)
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GENDER & PEACE


- What is, or should be, the role of gender in peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding?
 - What is the risk of not paying attention to gender in these areas?
- Increased attention to this question in the international community, esp. by the UN
- Increased academic attention to the issue of gender, war, peace
 - PRIO's gender team
 - Focused around particular issues, such as sexual violence, livelihoods, health, displacement, studies of peacekeeping operations and armed groups
 - But still many research gaps in terms of war's impact on gender, and gendered roles during/after conflict



GENDER ON THE UNITED NATIONS AGENDA

- Women on the UN Agenda Since 1945 (preamble)
 - Legal framework:
 - 1946: Commission on the Status of Women
 - 1948: The Human Rights Declaration
 - 1966: The Human Rights Conventions
 - 1975-1985: The UN Decade for Women/Women's Conferences
 - 1979: Mexico City 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985, Beijing 1995 World Conferences on Women
 - 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
 - 1995: The Beijing Platform of Action: eliminate all forms of violence against women
 - Increased involvement, recognition of women at the UN:
 - Women's Day, 8 March 2000 (UNSC): Recognised women as actors in peace processes
 - The Windhoek Declaration and The Namibia Plan of Action (June, 2000): led to UN SC Resolution 1325
 - New Office on Gender Issues/Advancement of Women
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UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

- Unanimously adopted in October 2000
 - Groundbreaking resolution
 - “Women, peace and security”: first time on the agenda
 - Covers a broad set of issues (18 provisions)
 - Calls for women’s inclusion in all aspects/activities of peace and security
 - Within the UN system, in member states, in other organisations, on the ground
 - Key provisions:
 - Recognises women’s roles and contributions (not only victims)
 - Calls for women’s representation in conflict resolution and peace building
 - Support local women’s peace initiatives
 - Apply gender perspectives on peace operations
 - Increase women’s participation as special representatives, envoys, field-based postings, etc.
 - Protect women from gender based violence & fight impunity for such crimes
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GENDER & CONFLICT RESOLUTION

- UN SG reports on women, peace and security
 - Monitor implementation of 1325, document how war impacts women
- 2000: Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court recognized systematic rape as a crime against humanity and war crime for 1st time (Rwanda, former Yugoslavia cases)
- Increased gender mainstreaming in UN PKO's
 - All-female police force sent from India to Liberia in 2006; emphasis on deploying more female police and military personnel to PKOs
 - Gender advisors in ten PKOs



GENDER & PEACEMAKING

- 2008 UNIFEM report shows lack of women involved in peace negotiations: review of a sample (13 out of 34) major peace negotiation processes since 2000 shows that women's participation in peace negotiations remains low
 - 2.7% of signatories to this sample of peace agreements were female
 - No female peace mediators in 12 cases; mostly informal, observers
 - Women's participation in negotiating delegations averaged 7% of the 5 cases for which such information was available;
 - Within peace agreements, where there are gender-specific provisions, the priority issues are women's physical security and human rights guarantees



EXAMPLES OF WOMEN IN PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION EFFORTS

- *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*: Liberian women pressured fighting groups to reach a peace agreement in 2003
- Northern Ireland Women's Coalition: political movement to enhance women's power and influence in peace agreement/process (representatives in peace talks → influence on the text of the agreement)
- Colombia: grass roots, civil society organizations led by women to protest the war; indigenous women speaking out against damage to their communities
- Somalia: women's NGOs, meetings to address issues surrounding conflict (migration, displacement), restore schools, clean water, establish dialogue on peace
- Jerusalem Link: connects women's organizations from Israel and Palestine to provide gender perspective on peacemaking



WHY WOMEN & PEACEBUILDING?

- Positive, sustainable peace without attention to structural, cultural and direct violence, which targets women?
- Promotion of human rights and gender equality
 - Women (and women's concerns) are generally marginalised
 - Make women's voices heard
 - Make women's experiences more visible and valued
- Improved analytical capacity
 - The gendered nature of conflict
 - Different impact and consequences for men, women
- Increased operational effectiveness
 - Demographic reality post-conflict: women and children in majority in many societies, often large number among displaced
 - Sexualised violence: large number of traumatised women and children, health problems – both physical and mental
 - Intra-state conflicts – many armed groups have female fighters, some as high as 30 to 40 % of combatants



RESOURCES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

- Portal on Women, Peace and Security: www.womenwarpeace.org
- Peace Women Portal: www.peacewomen.org
- OSAGI: www.un.org/womenwatch
- UNIFEM: www.unifem.org

