Conflict and Fragility

Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict-affected States

The Development Assistance Committee: Enabling effective development

OECD

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Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict-affected States

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Foreword

When I visited Camp Corail, Haiti, in 2011 as Norway's Development Minister, a young woman welcomed me into her house. I listened to her story: her surroundings had descended into chaos following the earthquake and sexual assault had become a constant threat. One day the young woman was raped. After surviving the ordeal, she found out that she was pregnant.

She showed her baby son to me with immense pride and there was little resignation in her voice. She had many plans and expectations for the coming years. And she seemed determined to do all in her power to help create a better future – for herself and for her little boy.

Listening to this woman's story was a stark reminder that in Haiti and elsewhere women often experience fragility, conflict and transition very differently than men. Women frequently bear disproportionate burdens including the brunt of widespread sexual violence and sole responsibility to care for children and the sick, while they tend to be excluded from the decisions that determine their future.

Yet the young woman's strength, energy and concern for the future well-being of her son also add one more testimony to the well-documented fact that women are a powerful force for peace and development. Ensuring space for the role of women as leaders in building a better future for their states and societies is the real state-building challenge. This is essential for achieving better futures for their families and communities. It is also their right.

What does this mean for donors aiming to support statebuilding in these situations? It means that to be effective they must base all of their interventions on an understanding of the distinct experiences of men and women and help seize opportunities to promote gender equality. But donors have tended to overlook these concerns. While they are increasingly aware of the need to redress this omission, there is limited knowledge and guidance on how this can and should be done.

Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States addresses this gap and significantly advances our understanding of how to integrate a gender perspective into statebuilding. Based on an examination of key

challenges involved, it calls for a more politically-informed approach: We need to be more realistic about how long change takes and more aware of the links between women's ability to participate in statebuilding and the wider distribution of power between different groups, institutions and individuals.

On the basis of this analysis, this new paper makes a series of concrete recommendations to help donors effectively integrate a gender perspective into their work on statebuilding – and thereby strengthen gender equality, peace and development in some of the situations where they are most needed. The challenge now lies in translating these recommendations into action. And to do so in time for achieving real, positive change in the lives of the more than 1.5 billion women, men, boys and girls living in fragile states today.

Erik Solheim
Chair
OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC)

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Table of contents

Executive summary 9

Introduction 13

***Chapter 1.* Why integrate a gender perspective into statebuilding?** 15

Key concepts 16
The rationale for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding 20
References 24

***Chapter 2.* Addressing the challenges and limitations of current international approaches to integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding** . . 27

Challenges linked to the wider context of peacebuilding and statebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states 28
Challenges linked to the operational and organisational limitations of donor agencies. 32
References 35

***Chapter 3.* Strategies for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding** 37

Adopting multiple strategies for gender-sensitive statebuilding 38
Supporting gender-sensitive statebuilding: What works? Evidence and emerging lessons from existing programmes and activities 40
References 52

***Chapter 4.* Key ingredients for success in integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding**. 55

References 60

***Chapter 5.* Recommendations for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding**. 61

Annex A. **Practical examples of what donors have done to integrate gender issues across the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals** 65

A.1. Legitimate politics 65
A.2. Security 70
A.3. Justice 73
A.4. Economic Foundations 77
A.5. Revenues and Services 80
References 84

Tables

Table 3.1 An example of a multi-pronged approach: Complementary interventions to support women's political empowerment. 39
Table 3.2 Summary of what donors can do to integrate gender issues across the PSGs 41
Table 5.1 Recommendations: Strategic entry points and examples of actions donors could take 63

Boxes

Box 1.1 Key concepts: Gender and gender equality 16
Box 1.2 The three dimensions of the OECD's statebuilding framework. 18
Box 1.3 Masculinities, conflict and post-conflict statebuilding 19
Box 2.1 Resistance to women's rights in Burundi and Sierra Leone 30
Box 2.2 Diversity among the women's movement in Nepal 31
Box 3.1 Applying a gender dimension to conflict and political analysis in South Sudan 40
Box 3.2 Female Soldiers and DDR in Sierra Leone. 45
Box 3.3 Gender analysis and "do no harm": Women's economic empowerment programmes 49

Executive summary

Integrating a gender perspective into international support to statebuilding is key to improving the quality of international engagement in fragile states. This means basing all interventions on an understanding of the distinct experiences of men and women and acting on opportunities to promote gender equality in these contexts. It is essential because gender equality is important in its own right and statebuilding processes offer opportunities to advance it. At the same time, promoting gender equality and adopting gender-sensitive statebuilding approaches can strengthen peace and development.

However, statebuilding theory and practice currently neglect the importance of gender relations. The OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) policy guidance on *Supporting Statebuilding in Situations of Conflict and Fragility* (2011) recognises the political nature of statebuilding and the importance of paying attention to the power dynamics at play in these situations. Yet it does not offer guidance on how to integrate a gender perspective and help seize opportunities to promote gender equality in the context of statebuilding. Evidence also suggests that traditional approaches to programming on gender equality in fragile states often achieve limited success because they insufficiently take into account the political nature of statebuilding.

Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States aims to fill this gap by providing an overview of the challenges, opportunities and prospects for more systematic consideration of gender relations in the context of statebuilding. It is primarily directed at those within the donor community who are specifically involved in designing and implementing support to statebuilding activities. Its conclusions will also be of interest to a wider audience, including gender equality advocates seeking to engage more explicitly with statebuilding.

Challenges and limitations of current international approaches

Many of the challenges donors face in integrating a gender perspective into their work on statebuilding are common to wider programmes of support to peacebuilding and statebuilding initiatives. They include the need

to manage tensions between the endogenous process of statebuilding and normative international commitments to gender equality, and between the short-term goal of stability and longer-term goals of promoting inclusion and gender equality. Donors must also effectively engage with the full diversity of women's interests and drivers of resistance to reform, both of which tend to reflect broader political issues. Moreover, translating formal gains in women's rights into real change in women's lives requires navigating informal institutions, including customary institutions, which can be difficult for donors to grasp and access.

Limitations within donor agencies further constrain their ability to manage these contextual challenges. Staff working on statebuilding often have limited skills in gender analysis, and existing conflict analysis tools are generally gender-blind. Limited evidence is available on which approaches are most effective in integrating a gender perspective into donor support to statebuilding. The lack of such evidence intensifies the challenge of mobilising the resources and the high-level political will that are needed to implement commitments on gender equality in fragile states. Moreover, responsibility for integrating a gender perspective can be assigned to gender advisors with junior status and limited access to key decision makers. That is one reason why policies on the need to prioritise gender equality in statebuilding work tend to be weakly integrated in broader peace and security policy.

Key ingredients and recommendations for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

A more politically informed approach to integrating a gender perspective into international support to statebuilding can help tackle these challenges. This involves greater awareness of the links between women's ability to participate in statebuilding and the wider distribution of power. It also calls for greater realism about how long change takes, particularly in situations where state institutions are weak. Key ingredients of a more effective approach include:

Developing a highly nuanced understanding of the local context, including the ways in which gender inequalities are tied up with wider issues of how resources are distributed. This can be crucial, for example, in addressing drivers of resistance to reform, which often reflect wider political issues such as the balance of power between formal and customary institutions.

Making use of a variety of different strategies that will allow donors to seize whatever opportunities exist to help advance women's rights in the short term while also pursuing longer-term and more indirect approaches.

In the area of political empowerment, for example, effective interventions could combine training for women candidates, local advocacy for quotas, campaigns against electoral violence and sensitising male community leaders.

Supporting women's agency and mobilisation at different levels and for different purposes – including for the pursuit of grassroots initiatives and engagement in national and local peacebuilding or political processes – while taking into account the diverse views and interests among women.

Engaging with a wider range of actors and institutions and facilitating identification of common interests and partnerships to promote gender equality. Donors can help achieve this, for example, by drawing on South-South contacts with relevant experience or framing gender equality issues so they appeal to the interests of a diversity of key power holders.

Using political influence and senior-level commitment to advance the gender and statebuilding agenda, and **seizing opportunities particularly in the early stages of statebuilding**. Supporting women's participation in constitution-making processes is a prime example.

Based on its fresh and focused analysis, this publication makes a series of concrete recommendations to help donors address obstacles to integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding and achieve more effective, more politically-informed approaches. Key entry points include action to:

Strengthen analytical tools, including by revising existing conflict analysis and statebuilding frameworks to incorporate gender analysis and ensuring that all staff have adequate training and knowledge to apply gender analysis.

Enhance the accountability mechanisms and funding available to support gender-sensitive statebuilding, including by strengthening co-ordination of in-country funding allocations to support gender-related statebuilding activities.

Contribute to building an evidence base on gender-sensitive statebuilding, including by ensuring that all programmes incorporate detailed monitoring and evaluation components that encompass indicators relating to gender issues.

Use international forums and networks to support change at the national and local levels, for example by exchanging lessons learned on integrating gender into statebuilding within the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding.

Identify skills and capacity gaps within donor agencies and take measures to address them, including by ensuring that gender advisors have access to high-level policy discussions relating to statebuilding.

Build on entry points to integrate a gender and statebuilding lens into the piloting of the New Deal and the development of the post-2015 framework, including by using the New Deal piloting as an opportunity to strengthen implementation of UN Security Council resolutions on Women, Peace and Security.

Foster linkages with local women's organisations and grassroots networks and ensure that they are able to access funding and programming opportunities, including by establishing quick-disbursing, smaller-scale funding streams that are accessible to community-based and grassroots organisations.

Introduction

Statebuilding and the specific challenges facing fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS) are moving up the international agenda with the signing of the New Deal on International Engagement in Fragile States in Busan in December 2011 and publication of the World Bank's 2011 World Development Report, *Conflict, Security and Development*. The OECD-DAC International Network on Conflict and Fragility (OECD-INCAF) has produced extensive policy guidance, the 2011 *Supporting Statebuilding in Situations of Conflict and Fragility*, that has been adopted by most donors and reflects the current international thinking on statebuilding. This guidance recognises the political nature of statebuilding, and in particular the importance of paying greater attention to the complex power dynamics in these settings. However, the guidance did not address how to integrate a gender perspective across these issues and the role that gender inequalities and identities play in shaping the statebuilding process.

This policy paper aims to fill this gap by providing an overview of the key issues, challenges and opportunities for integrating a gender perspective into donor support to statebuilding. This means basing all interventions on an understanding of the distinct experiences of men and women and acting on opportunities to promote gender equality in the context of statebuilding. Doing so is important for several reasons: gender equality is an important goal in its own right; pursuing gender equality objectives can also improve development outcomes and make institutions more representative; and gender-sensitive approaches to statebuilding can support the achievement of broader peacebuilding and statebuilding goals.

The policy paper targets the donor community. But it is also relevant to a wider audience of stakeholders across government and civil society in donor countries and FCAS. The main audience is those actors who design and implement support to statebuilding policies and programmes. The conclusions and recommendations will also be of interest to advocates of gender equality who are seeking to engage more explicitly in statebuilding. The Annex of this paper is of particular relevance to donors that seek to strengthen their programming on gender equality and statebuilding, as it

provides concrete examples of what has been done in the areas of political reform, security, justice, jobs and livelihoods, and revenues and services.

This publication is also intended to feed into several current opportunities at the global level that offer entry points for increasing the gender sensitivity of donor operations in FCAS. First, fragility and gender equality are both emerging as priority issues in the post-Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) discussions currently underway. Good examples of donors integrating gender into their work on statebuilding should inform post-MDG framework negotiations in the run up to 2015. Second, the New Deal on Engagement in Fragile States adopted in Busan presents an opportunity to put into practice some of the recommendations in the policy paper, in particular by integrating gender-sensitive approaches into support of the New Deal's five Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs). There is also significant scope for integrating gender issues into the fragility assessment and fragility spectrum tools under development and which are intended to enable dialogue, facilitate national planning and help set realistic priorities in FCAS. Finally, the findings of this paper should reinforce and accelerate the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and supporting resolutions on Women, Peace and Security that affirm the importance of women's full participation in peace and security, recognise the disproportionate impact of conflict on women, and call for measures to protect women from sexual violence in conflict.

With these objectives in mind, this policy paper draws on existing research and experience to explore how a gender perspective can strengthen statebuilding processes, as well as how a statebuilding perspective can contribute to the achievement of gender equality objectives. The first chapter explains key concepts and sets out in more detail the case for integrating a gender perspective and gender equality objectives into statebuilding programmes. Chapter 2 outlines contextual and operational challenges encountered in doing so, and Chapter 3 highlights successful approaches to gender-sensitive statebuilding support. Chapter 4 identifies key ingredients for success. Chapter 5 concludes with a series of recommendations specifically targeting donor agencies. The Annex of this report provides additional detail on the types of programming that can support gender-sensitive statebuilding by highlighting specific examples of what donors have done to integrate gender issues across the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals.

Chapter 1

Why integrate a gender perspective into statebuilding?

This chapter sets the scene by defining key concepts that are used in this publication and by reviewing the rationale for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding programmes. It explains how a more gender-sensitive approach can enhance statebuilding outcomes. It also shows how a more politically informed approach to gender equality can improve the effectiveness of interventions.

Key concepts

Gender and gender equality

Gender inequality is reflected in gaps between men and women in terms of outcomes, opportunities, resources or entitlements. While many donor countries display higher levels of gender equality than FCAS, no society has yet reached full gender equality. Even developed countries continue to be plagued by violence against women, wage gaps and inequalities in domestic responsibilities. Pursuing gender equality is a long-term undertaking because it involves fundamental social transformation over generations.

In most poor countries, the inequalities between different groups at different levels of society are huge. Research has also highlighted the significance of

Box 1.1. **Key concepts: Gender and gender equality**

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles associated with being male and female and the relations between men and women and boys and girls. Unlike sex, which is biologically determined, gender roles are learned and change over time and across cultures.

Gender analysis is the systematic analysis of the impact of a programme or policy on men/boys and on women/girls. A gender analysis enables donors to address gaps or opportunities that impact the ability of men/boys and women/girls to benefit equitably from the programme or policy. When broader political economy and conflict analyses incorporate gender, they can provide valuable insights into the interplay between gender relations and statebuilding processes in a given context and can highlight opportunities to develop more equitable, targeted and effective programming.

Gender equality refers to a goal, objective or approach aimed at closing gaps between men and women in the social, political and economic spheres. Gender equality approaches should and often do use gender analysis as a way to formulate strategies that benefit men and women. Promoting gender equality requires a range of actions over a long period of time, such as integrating a meaningful gender analysis into a range of programmes and policies and directly supporting the political, social and economic empowerment of women.

Gender-sensitive approaches integrate the findings of a gender analysis of the gender-related differences between men/boys and women/girls into all aspects of programme planning, design and delivery, and monitoring and evaluation.

Sources: El-Bushra, J., M. Lyytikäinen and S. Schoofs (2012), "Gender Equality and Statebuilding", Framing paper for the OECD DAC International Network on Conflict and Fragility; UN Women (n.d.), "Concepts and Definitions" web page, www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsandefinitions.htm (accessed 1 June 2013).

horizontal inequalities between different groups in contributing to conflict and insecurity (Stewart, 2010). Much development assistance, especially in FCAS, is therefore geared to reducing social, economic and political inequalities for both men and women.

Statebuilding

State-of-the-art analysis reflected in the OECD Statebuilding Guidance and the 2011 World Development Report understands statebuilding as processes involving political bargaining between key power holders to identify common interests and to agree on the institutional arrangements through which to pursue those interests. At the heart of statebuilding is some form of ongoing agreement between elite groups about the underlying "rules of the game". These may be embodied in one-off formal peace agreements or constitutions but will also be reflected in less formal and continually contested arrangements that govern access to political power, economic resources, jobs and status. Statebuilding is thus a largely endogenous and highly political process. It will play out differently in different contexts but some concept of sequencing is helpful: in a post-conflict environment the priority is likely to be re-establishment of territorial control and political order based on institutions that command a degree of legitimacy and consent.

The central goal of statebuilding should be to create effective, legitimate and accountable public institutions capable of providing security from external threats and peaceful resolution of internal conflicts; upholding rights; and facilitating or delivering core public goods and services. Historically this has proved hugely challenging, and it is much easier to define the goal than to know how to achieve it. Statebuilding processes remain imperfectly understood and contested (see for example North, 2009; Bates, 2001).

The Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) that were agreed as part of the New Deal for International Engagement in Fragile States identify five priority areas to facilitate progress towards achieving the MDGs in FCAS. Along with the new ways of engaging that are enshrined in the New Deal commitments, the PSGs encapsulate many of the priorities and principles that are key to effective statebuilding.[1] The five PSG priorities are:

- **Legitimate politics**: foster inclusive political settlements and conflict resolution
- **Security**: establish and strengthen people's security
- **Justice**: address injustices and increase people's access to justice
- **Economic foundations**: generate employment and improve livelihoods
- **Revenues and services**: manage revenue and build capacity for accountable and fair service delivery.

The PSGs and the OECD's statebuilding framework are mutually reinforcing, and address many of the same priority issues for statebuilding. The issues outlined in the PSGs are similar to those addressed in the context of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. It is worth noting, however, that they are lacking in that they do not adequately reflect a gender perspective (Cordaid, 2012). Applying a gender perspective to these two key statebuilding frameworks is therefore a critical first step towards supporting states that are responsive, and accountable, to both women and men. The Annex provides concrete examples of integrating gender issues across the PSGs.

Box 1.2. **The three dimensions of the OECD's statebuilding framework**

1. *The political settlement,* which reflects the implicit or explicit agreement (among elites principally) on the "rules of the game", power distribution and the *political processes* through which state and society are connected
2. *The capability and responsiveness of the state* to effectively fulfil its principal functions and provide key services
3. *Broad social expectations and perceptions* about what the state should do, what the terms of the state-society relationship should be and the *ability of society to articulate demands* that are "heard"

Source: OECD (2011), *Supporting Statebuilding in Situations of Conflict and Fragility: Policy Guidance*, DAC Guidelines and Reference Series, OECD Publishing, Paris, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264074989-en.

What does it mean to integrate a gender perspective into statebuilding?

Integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding implies that donor agencies and local policy makers recognise that conflict, peacebuilding and statebuilding are all "gendered" processes. This means that policy makers pay attention to the different ways in which men and women are affected by and engage with conflict, peacebuilding and statebuilding processes, and to differences in terms of their access to and control over resources and decision-making. It also calls for an understanding of how gender roles, identities and relations shape the possible outcomes of statebuilding itself. This includes recognising the role of social expectations associated with being male (see Box 1.3). Gender analysis helps uncover the ways in which these processes and institutions are "gendered" and is the starting point for identifying and addressing gender disparities.

Beyond an understanding of how donor policies and programmes affect men and women differently, integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

also implies promoting gender equality in the context of statebuilding. This translates into donors and local policy makers identifying strategies and programmes that seek to level the playing field between men and women in FCAS and that provide direct support for the empowerment of women in key areas of statebuilding. However, it is important that those pursuing gender equality goals recognise that gender is a fundamentally political issue requiring an in-depth understanding of local political and institutional contexts and dynamics. Promoting gender equality calls for particular attention to the interests of women and girls within any social group because prevailing formal and informal institutions (or "rules of the game") will otherwise tend to disadvantage them.

Box 1.3. **Masculinities, conflict and post-conflict statebuilding**

Integrating a gender perspective also means recognising the ways in which conflict, peacebuilding and statebuilding shape and are shaped by men and masculinities (the set of characteristics or roles that men are expected to live up to in a particular historical and cultural context). These constructs affect everyone: both men and women stand to benefit or suffer from the norms to which men are supposed to conform in society.

Men tend to come under stress when they are unable to meet these social expectations of masculinity – for example, by failing to assume the roles of breadwinners, heads of households and leaders that societies often prescribe as ideals of masculine success. Such frustration can translate into alcohol and drug abuse and socially-condoned violence. In particular, failure to live up to social norms of masculine leadership and domination can generate increased violence against those individuals over whom men do have power: women and children within households.

The characteristics of conflict and post-conflict environments often fuel such stress and tensions around masculinities. Conflict reduces access to desirable jobs, which are often a strong basis for masculine status and sense of identity. In some situations post-war interventions to empower women risk further aggravating these anxieties. Armed violence tends to intensify the association of masculinity with physical strength and aggressiveness, which may increase the chances of frustrations spilling over into violence.

Sources: Bouta, T., G. Frerks and I. Bannon (2005), *Gender, Conflict and Development,* World Bank, Washington, DC.; Cahn, N. and F. Ní Aoláin (2010), "Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflicted Societies", Hirsch Lecture, *New England Law Review*, Vol. 44, Issue 1, George Washington University Law School, Washington, DC; Sweetman, C. (2013), "Introduction: Working with Men on Gender Equality", *Gender & Development,* Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 1-13.

The rationale for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

Donors have tended to support statebuilding in FCAS in a gender-blind way, focusing on re-establishing traditional political and social order as the priority at early stages. They see this as a precondition for pursuing other development goals, but fail to recognise that men and women may experience these processes differently. More recently statebuilding guidance has recognised the need for a better understanding of the political relationships and processes at work within a given context, the way these are influenced by social and economic structures and institutions, and the interplay between security, institutional legitimacy and development. This paper argues that a gender perspective is an essential dimension of this wider approach. It can help policy makers see opportunities to pursue gender equality alongside statebuilding objectives, while avoiding unintended harm and ensuring that structural obstacles to women's engagement in these processes in particular are addressed. It can also help them frame more effective approaches to promoting gender equality by recognising the ways in which wider political dynamics influence these approaches.

There are four key arguments for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding:

i) Gender equality and women's rights are important goals in their own right, and statebuilding processes offer opportunities to pursue them. The international community has adopted a number of key commitments that reflect the intrinsic value of gender equality and women's rights as human rights. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979) and the Beijing Platform for Action (1995). In relation to statebuilding more specifically, in 2000 UNSCR 1325 affirmed the right of women to be involved in these processes and the importance of their equal participation in all aspects of conflict prevention and resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. Since setting the agenda with the core principles of resolution 1325, the UN Security Council has also adopted a series of supporting resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960 and 2106). The international community has a vital role to play in championing and upholding these and other universal human rights, even in contexts such as FCAS where the challenges are often particularly stark.

The early stages of statebuilding may offer opportunities to advance women's rights and reshape gender relations. Following the end of violent conflict and in the early stages of statebuilding, power relationships are often in flux, providing space for debate and negotiation about fundamental issues relating to power, authority and resource distribution. There may also be opportunities then to advance women's rights and interests, and to accelerate the reshaping of institutions and practices in a way that supports greater gender equality. Such openings may appear in the course of negotiating

peace settlements or formal constitutions, for example, or arise through support for women's political demands and mobilisation for peace. Just as the Second World War ushered in a shift in the gendered division of labour, peace processes in countries such as Rwanda and Nepal have created space for a levelling of the playing field for women in political life.

ii) Gender-sensitive approaches can enhance the achievement of internationally agreed peacebuilding and statebuilding goals. The fundamental aim of statebuilding should be a state that is legitimate, responsive and accountable to all its citizens, and tackling the exclusion and marginalisation of women and girls is a key requirement for realising this overall goal. At the same time, applying a gender perspective can enhance the achievement of peacebuilding and statebuilding goals. For example, in the area of security, one of the five PSGs, it is rarely acknowledged that there are multiple dimensions of security beyond the narrow definition of "public security" that require nuanced responses. Women and men have different experiences of insecurity as well as different needs and priorities in relation to the provision of and access to security. Women and girls face specific security threats linked to sexual and domestic violence, and particular obstacles in accessing security services. To develop effective programme responses that can capture the full range and nature of security threats in fragile and conflict-affected contexts it is critical to understand the complex relationship between gender inequality and insecurity.

While women and children make up the vast majority of survivors of gender-based violence, linked to their unequal status in society, it is also important to acknowledge and address gender-based violence against men, including sexual violence such as rape, sexual mutilation, being forced to commit rape, forced conscription and sex-selective massacre. Men have a right to protection against these abuses. Addressing them and associated trauma can also help reduce gender-based violence against women and girls (Carpenter, 2006).

Gender inequalities can also be a driver of conflict. Understanding these links is central to designing effective interventions that benefit both men and women and reduce conflict. For example, in South Sudan, the dowry economy and the associated prevalence of cattle raiding have a negative impact on women and girls; they also drive conflict and violence within and between communities (see Chapter 3, Box 3.1).

iii) A good understanding of gender dynamics in statebuilding processes is essential in order to avoid negative impacts on women and girls. Statebuilding interventions can have a negative impact on women and girls if they fail to incorporate a gender perspective. Gender analysis is essential for "do no harm"[2] approaches, helping donors understand the possible direct and indirect impact of their interventions on the lives of men

and women. To protect or uphold the rights and interests of women, it is particularly important to understand the nature of women's interactions and relationships with the state, and how they are mediated through religious, customary or other informal institutions (Castillejo, 2011; Cornwall et al., 2011). Donors for example risk unintentionally doing harm if their failure to advocate for and support rights for women in peace negotiations or constitutional reforms contributes to the curtailment of women's rights as compared to the pre-conflict period. Egypt and Libya in the post-Arab Spring are recent examples where new governments took prompt measures to curtail women's rights.

Donors may risk further embedding discriminatory practices by advocating for "grounded legitimacy" approaches without a detailed investigation of the impact of customary institutions on women in a specific context. Failure to take a gender-sensitive approach can exacerbate tensions. One aspect that has been repeatedly highlighted is the risk of backlash against women and girls in situations where women's rights and gender equality programmes are implemented without taking into account their impact on male community members and careful measures to bring them on board. For example, increased domestic violence has been associated with women's economic empowerment programmes that fail to analyse the impact of interventions on gender relations in households and communities at the design stage (see Box 3.3.).

iv) There are complex interactions between statebuilding and development, and gender equality matters for both processes. Better development outcomes are both a goal and part of the process of statebuilding. A solid body of evidence exists to demonstrate that gender equality can lead to better development outcomes (World Bank, 2011). Addressing maternal mortality, eliminating gender disadvantages in education and closing differences in access to economic opportunities are especially important. For example, targeting women for agricultural inputs and extension services, safeguarding their land rights, and providing them with skills training or access to employment-generation schemes would support post-conflict economies and overall growth as well as ensuring better health and welfare of households. In short, "gender equality is smart economics" (World Bank, 2011: 3), offering the potential to raise productivity, improve other development outcomes and contribute to more representative decision making within societies. It is important that policy makers engaged in statebuilding processes in FCAS do not lose sight of the potential to address gender equality objectives through a broad range of public policy interventions including macroeconomic policy and natural resource management.

Despite these compelling arguments, and the extensive and growing body of literature on the many ways in which conflict and its aftermath impact

women and girls, there is currently limited evidence about what works and why in terms of integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding, including guidance on the ideal sequencing or prioritisation of activities to promote gender equality.[3] There is therefore a need to build the evidence base in order to strengthen local policy making and donor practice, and avoid overloading the agenda in FCAS.

However, policy makers also need to be strategic about the challenges involved in pursuing gender equality and women's rights in FCAS, where few institutions are effective at managing violent conflict, delivering public goods and services, or upholding citizenship rights. Statebuilding is an internal political process that requires buy-in from powerful groups. Formal institutions need to be aligned with informal social norms and political realities if they are to gain traction. The ability of external actors to understand and influence these local processes is often very limited. Moreover, gender roles and relations are ingrained within the cultural fabric of society and can be resistant to change, particularly when change is imposed by external actors. The next chapter will explore some of these challenges in more detail.

Notes

1. For more information on the New Deal and its main components, see New Deal (2013).
2. Conflict-sensitivity and "do no harm" are key underlying principles that govern donor action in fragile and conflict-affected states. See OECD (2007).
3. For example, see El-Jack (2003), Naraghi Anderlini (2010), Bouta et al. (2005), Rehn and Sirleaf (2002).

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Chapter 2

Addressing the challenges and limitations of current international approaches to integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

Chapter 2 outlines challenges donors face in integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding programmes. It finds that many of these are linked to the wider context of peacebuilding and statebuilding in fragile situations and therefore reflect tensions and trade-offs donors encounter in most programmes of support to these processes. The chapter also highlights a series of constraints within donor agencies that restrain donors' ability to manage these contextual challenges.

Challenges linked to the wider context of peacebuilding and statebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states

Many of the challenges of addressing gender relations and inequalities in these contexts are common to wider programmes of support to peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. Pursuing gender equality in fragile and conflict-affected situations can be particularly problematic, as it requires fundamental social, political, economic and institutional changes that can be difficult for donors to understand and influence. What is more, these environments are often marked by deeply entrenched barriers and opposition to women's engagement in statebuilding, as well as structural inequalities. As a result, men and women do not benefit from these processes in the same way or to the same extent. Donors frequently confront a number of contextual challenges in attempting to integrate gender issues into their statebuilding programmes, and several of these are highlighted below.

Reconciling tensions between normative international commitments and local political realities and priorities: As noted above, there is a clear normative agenda that drives international donors' commitments on gender equality. Pursuing it in contexts where few citizens enjoy formal rights is particularly challenging. Moreover, this agenda is often in conflict with the interests and values of those who possess social, political, economic or military power, and who are key actors in negotiating peace agreements and constitutional settlements. In addition, gender equality can be seen as, or characterised to be, a Western import that does not fit the local culture or society. Pursuing gender equality objectives by pushing for the alignment of formal legal systems with international norms can be ineffective or counter-productive if reforms are not also aligned with the interests and values of powerful local stakeholders. However, local women's rights organisations may very well have experience advocating for women's inclusion in political decision making. They might argue that their advocacy of human rights is not a Western import but a grassroots movement that has a rightful place in a peace process or constitutional debate. Donors must create space for these civil society organisations to lobby for their agendas as they see fit.

Even if there is a gap between enshrining women's rights in formal constitutional and legal arrangements and their actual implementation, formal provisions can provide an important focus around which local women's groups and other stakeholders can then organise. These can be an important entry point for the pursuit of future demands and can advance efforts towards longer-term shifts in power dynamics.

Managing the perceived trade-offs between short-term stability and the longer-term goal of promoting inclusion and gender equality: In the immediate post-conflict context, the most urgent priority is to secure

the peace. This process is likely to involve bargaining to resolve differences between competing elites, and may come at the expense, at least in the short term, of other objectives. The reality is that local and international decision makers make trade-offs between political stability and other development goals. Managing these is an inherent challenge of statebuilding processes. One strategy for donors is to use gender and political economy analysis to identify opportunities to advance the interests and rights of women and ensure their security in the short term, while recognising that promoting gender equality entails a longer-term societal transformation. For example, there may be opportunities for international actors to advocate for the inclusion of formal rights in constitutions, or for the participation of women in peacebuilding processes. In addition to the challenge of finding a balance between stability and inclusion, legitimate concerns about overloading an already demanding agenda can also lead to donors adopting gender-blind approaches. Both men and women will usually value stability in post-conflict situations. Still, donors should consider how the interventions they support affect and engage women differently or may exacerbate or entrench existing gender inequalities.

Understanding and navigating the informal institutions[1] that shape and regulate men's and women's roles, responsibilities and opportunities: While statebuilding processes have tended to focus on reform of formal state structures and institutions, donors are increasingly aware of the need to understand and engage with informal "rules of the game". In FCAS, informal power relationships and personalised patronage arrangements have great influence over how formal institutions work. In addition, informal and customary governance structures are often those closest to people's daily lives. A growing body of research makes the case for grounding state structures in locally embedded, informal values or institutions as the best way to support effective collective action to create public goods and services.[2] These structures, however, can often marginalise women, particularly in relation to family law and violence against women.

Understanding and navigating these informal institutions is critical to providing support that not only facilitates formal gains in women's rights, such as quotas or new laws that support gender equality, but also helps translate these gains into meaningful change in women's daily lives. For example, formal laws against sexual and domestic violence against women will not translate into corresponding benefits for women's security as long as men and women perceive violence against women as appropriate behaviour and/or a "natural" expression of masculine identity. To make a real difference in women's lives, formal changes should therefore be accompanied by sustained efforts to understand, help navigate and challenge socially prescribed and informal rules.

Another dimension of this challenge is to navigate the informal and customary governance structures that tend to greatly impact the lives of men and women in FCAS (see also Chapter 3). For women's constitutional rights to become a reality, there must be some expansion of state jurisdiction into areas currently covered by customary law over the medium to longer term. At the same time, donors should not assume that customary arrangements are always inimical to women's needs and interests. Informal institutions are often more accessible and familiar to women because they tend to be entrenched in community life (El-Bushra, Lyytikäinen and Schoofs, 2012). Informal institutions can offer an important sense of belonging, and being part of these systems can provide security and support that may not be available through more formal channels. They may also provide more expeditious justice than slow-moving formal legal systems. Policy makers therefore need to make very context-specific judgements based on analysis of the impact that any reform of formal and informal institutions may have on both women and men, and assess the best available option in the circumstances.

Understanding drivers of resistance to gender equality reforms: In the case of informal institutions, there may be a variety of reasons for resistance to reform, not all of which are related to women's rights as such. Indeed, women's rights may be caught up in broader political issues, such as land allocation or inter-community relations (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1. **Resistance to women's rights in Burundi and Sierra Leone**

Research in Burundi has found that government opposition to a draft bill on women's inheritance rights was not primarily based on the desire to preserve patriarchal tradition. Rather, elites were mainly concerned that the division of patrimonial land between sons and daughters would intensify the existing pressures on scarce land resources. This, in turn, would threaten elite practices of land distribution for patronage and would risk causing insecurity. Similarly, local chiefs in Sierra Leone resisted when the government gave women formal rights regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance and domestic violence, and many chiefdom courts continued to use customary law, which had previously regulating these issues. However, again, their attachment to "tradition" was not the primary motivation. Rather, it was the reduction in their abilities to raise revenue through fines and other payments relating to such issues, which had historically been adjudicated informally and through the customary courts.

Sources: Castillejo, C. (2011), *Building a State that Works for Women: Integrating Gender into Post-conflict Statebuilding,* FRIDE, Madrid.

It is also important to recognise that both men and women perpetuate gender inequalities. For example, some women access resources, power or protection through their male relatives and seek to preserve these benefits by maintaining rigid gender roles. Women can also sanction other women for acting outside the bounds of what is perceived as acceptable female behaviour – for example, by supporting punishment for women who run for public office or who are outspoken about experiencing violence in the home. This points to the need for donors to be more aware of the underlying drivers of resistance to gender equality so they can identify the most appropriate entry points and key change agents. Addressing gender inequalities in statebuilding requires confronting the relationships between and within groups of men and women, rather than only prioritising or targeting the needs of women.

Recognising and effectively engaging with the range and diversity of women's voices and movements: Working with women's organisations and networks is an important strategy to ensure that gender issues and women's rights are integrated into statebuilding processes. Local women's organisations tend to understand the political terrain and effectively navigate the formal and informal institutions they encounter. However, there is always a heterogeneity of voices in any society (see Box 2.2.). There may not always be one common agenda with which external actors can align. The most visible groups tend to be capital-based and include elite women who may not have strong links to grassroots communities. Nor may they be accountable to or representative of the constituencies they purport to represent. Donors therefore need to consider issues of representation when deciding which organisations to support. Donors may also need to make the difficult decision of whether to take an often controversial political stance in favour of liberal,

Box 2.2. **Diversity among the women's movement in Nepal**

In Nepal a varied and diverse women's movement has been in the making since the 1990s. *Dalit* women were organising around caste discriminations; *Madhesi* women around exclusion along the lines of class, language and specific customary practices such as dowry and *ghumto* (the veil); and *Janajati* women, who are less affected by discriminatory religious and cultural practices, prioritised access to education, health and employment. The different women's agendas can, thus, overlap with other political agendas and group identities, and donors need to take into account the full diversity of these voices when deciding which organisations and priorities to support.

Source: IDEA (2012), *Women Members of the Constituent Assembly: A study on contribution of women in constitution making in Nepal.* Kathmandu: Women's Caucus, Constituent Assembly Secretariat, Nepal Law Society.

secular groups to facilitate peaceful internal debate among groups or only offer support in those areas where there is clear agreement among groups. Donors need to be alert to the reality of competing women's rights agendas, and to take care not to unintentionally undermine or privilege one group or set of voices over others.

Challenges linked to the operational and organisational limitations of donor agencies

In addition to the contextual challenges discussed above, a number of factors linked to the operational and organisational structures of donor agencies can also impede efforts to integrate a gender perspective into their work on statebuilding processes. While important progress has been made in mainstreaming gender issues into development work over the past years, the difficulties have been well documented.[3] In FCAS, many of these operational challenges are amplified. These unique contexts often suffer from limited institutional capacity, overburdened programme staff who are balancing competing agendas, and short programming cycles with rapidly changing priorities. This chapter outlines some of these challenges in more detail.

Analytical tools lack gender and staff lack gender analysis skills: Staff working on statebuilding are rarely trained in gender analysis, and most political conflict or economic analytic frameworks analysis are "gender blind". Often donors assume that a gender approach is one that promotes women's participation. A gender approach, though, provides an analytical lens on men's and women's different access to power, resources and opportunities. This lens helps identify how the playing field can be levelled. International actors tend to add some women-specific activities to their programmes but without necessarily understanding men's roles or how gender inequalities are rooted in the wider political context. As a consequence the dynamics of insecurity and vulnerability among men and boys, and their impact, can be overlooked. Conducting a gender analysis alone will not make up for these gaps. Political economy analyses and conflict analyses should include gender as well.

Lack of a robust evidence base: Despite the increased attention to gender issues in the context of peacebuilding and statebuilding, not enough investment has been made in developing a solid evidence base in which to root policy and programming in this area. Without robust evidence on what strategies have been most effective in supporting gender-sensitive statebuilding and on the cumulative impact of these interventions on overall statebuilding processes, it can be difficult to convince policy makers to prioritise and invest the needed resources. Reasons for this gap include the complexity and long-term nature of transformations in gender roles and relations and the fact that many initiatives occur at the grassroots level and

so remain undocumented. Moreover, given the push towards evidence-based policy making and the demands of the public for greater accountability in development spending, this limitation can result in gender-related programming being seen as ineffective and undesirable. To address this challenge, greater resources need to be invested in undertaking systemic comparative research as well as incorporating rigorous gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation frameworks into all statebuilding programming.

Marginalisation of gender-related programming: Many donor countries have a range of policies and directives, including National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325, that outline in detail the need to prioritise women's rights and gender equality in their peacebuilding and statebuilding work. However, in many cases they tend to be weakly integrated into broader peace and security policy and are often seen as stand-alone commitments or remain marginalised in under-resourced women or gender ministries. As a result, gender issues rarely make it on to the shortlist of strategic priorities. Where they are addressed, it tends to be in the context of separate programmes focusing on sexual violence or health issues rather than in the context of governance or security-related interventions. Gender-sensitive indicators do sometimes feature in log-frames or monitoring frameworks that are used to evaluate the success of statebuilding programmes. Yet they are often focused on the number of women participating in a project and not on any deeper changes in gender roles and relations, whose measurement is more complex and challenging.

Limited resources and accountability for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding: There is little accountability at the national and international levels for implementation of any normative commitments relating to gender equality, and the resources allocated by governments and international organisations are generally not commensurate with the tasks. Although there are some efforts to monitor implementation of UNSCR 1325 and most countries report on a rolling basis on the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the lack of accountability mechanisms has been repeatedly highlighted as a gap in UN and donor efforts.[4] A recent UN Women study (Cueva et al., 2012) demonstrates a striking lack of both gender analysis and provision for women's needs in certain sector budgets – notably in economic recovery, infrastructure, security and the rule of law – despite the UN system's commitment in the seven-point action plan for gender-responsive peacebuilding to put 15% of peacebuilding funds towards gender equality and women's empowerment. In reviewing DAC members' funding that was targeted to gender equality in fragile and conflict-affected states, the OECD-DAC found that overall, a gender-equality dimension is integrated into only 20% of the aid allocated for peace and security in fragile states. The figure falls to 10% in the case of security system management and reform initiatives (OECD, 2010).

Donors' high-level political will is lacking: Donor agencies and other global institutions have gendered institutional cultures. Their biases can influence the extent to which they are open to supporting women's rights and gender equality and can shape the way they operate in FCAS (El-Bushra, Lyytikäinen and Schoofs, 2012). They also struggle to lead by example. The fact that donor countries tend to send primarily male international staff to peace negotiations and that men hold the vast majority of international senior positions can also reduce the credibility of international demands for gender equality in the host country. Responsibility for integrating gender issues tends to rest on the shoulders of gender advisors. They can find it difficult to influence those who are key agents of change in senior positions within organisations, institutions and governments because of their generally junior status and limited access and lack of contact with these individuals. The responsibility and capacity to integrate a gender perspective should rest with all staff, with gender experts playing a key support and technical resource role. Leadership from the highest levels within an organisation is critical to raising the profile of gender issues. Accountability mechanisms for senior-level management also encourage greater responsiveness to these challenges.

There can be a disconnect between donors and actors at the grassroots level: Donors can have trouble reaching or engaging with non-state actors, including women's organisations working at the grassroots. Donors tend to focus on reform at the state and national level, in part due to normative assumptions about appropriate forms of political order; a limited understanding of the role of non-state actors in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes; and established tools, capacities and operational procedures that are tailored to supporting the central state (Demney, 2012; Derks, 2012). As a result, it is possible to overlook entry points for addressing gender equality and ensuring participation and inclusion in statebuilding processes through local and community-level structures. In particular, the informal institutions that shape gender roles and relations are often beyond the reach or scope of donor programmes. These programmes tend instead to focus on the formal sphere such as parliamentary reform; support for national women's ministries, departments and commissions; or gender training for political representatives. Donors need to access grassroots initiatives to empower women and transform gender roles if they are to support these endogenous change processes. Even where engagement happens it may not always be with the right groups. Or it may not be sufficiently sustained to enable scaling up so that real transformation can occur. This challenge is also common to other peacebuilding and statebuilding programmes at the local level.

Taken together, these limitations discourage the prioritising of gender-related issues in statebuilding processes, and so contribute to a widespread perception that gender concerns can be addressed after dealing with other issues that are deemed more pressing. Donors also lack incentives and

accountability to adopt organisational changes that would enable them to operate with a more locally-led and political approach. The operational challenges can make it even more difficult for donors to confront and resolve the contextual challenges that were highlighted in Chapter 2.

Despite these limitations, and without precluding the need for substantial reform in the way that donors approach gender and statebuilding, there is scope for enhancing donor responses and for getting maximum leverage from the types of programmes that are being implemented. The following chapter will highlight some of these strategic entry points, using the framework of the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals.

Notes

1. Informal institutions are here defined as socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated and enforced outside officially sanctioned channels. See for example Helmke and Levitsky (2004).
2. See for example Booth (2012).
3. For recent assessments of progress and challenges in gender mainstreaming since the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, see for example Sweetman (2012).
4. For example, see the work of organisations such as PeaceWomen (2013) the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (2013) and WO=MEN, the Dutch Gender Platform (2013).

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Chapter 3

Strategies for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

This chapter highlights successful approaches to supporting gender-sensitive statebuilding. It points to the need for donors to adopt a multi-pronged approach and outlines what donors can do to integrate a gender perspective in each of the areas prioritised in the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals.

Adopting multiple strategies for gender-sensitive statebuilding

In the long term, gender equality will be advanced through processes of social and economic transformation that drive political and institutional change. However, donors have an important role to play in supporting a range of interventions that can create leverage, support and space for the integration of a gender perspective across statebuilding programmes, as well as for specific activities that have gender equality or women's empowerment objectives. The parameters of donor activities will be largely dictated by the political reality and priorities of any given context. The kind of entry points that exist can vary significantly.

Depending on the context, donors should seek to adopt a range of different strategies that include direct and indirect as well as short-term and longer-term approaches. They should also ensure they are working at international, national, local and grassroots levels (see Table 3.1.). Direct strategies, such as providing specific groups of women with skills training or establishing a mobile health clinic to provide sexual and reproductive health rights services to a targeted community, can be the most effective way of addressing a specific need. However, less direct strategies may be required to address broader issues such as discriminatory attitudes, an endemic culture of violence or institutional or structural obstacles such as a lack of funding for women's health needs. These indirect strategies can involve stakeholders less immediately affected or a focus on the less visible roots of the problem. For example, given that one explanatory factor for violence against women is men's inability to meet social ideals of masculine success, long-term solutions will need to combine support to victims with activities that are aimed at promoting a sense of masculine dignity based on more gender-equitable norms (Lwambo, 2013; Sonke Gender Justice Network, 2012).

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 and the associated body of commitments on women, peace and security issues has played an important role in influencing the types of activities that donors have supported over the past decade. The focus on participation and protection has resulted in a plethora of programmes to increase women's engagement in politics, community life and security and justice institutions. Conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence has also garnered increased attention. However, other areas for engagement such as natural resource management, infrastructure, agricultural reform and service delivery are also important priorities in relation to gender equality and statebuilding. These areas may require different strategies than have typically been adopted by donors, and in particular will require an increased capacity to mainstream a gender approach across less traditional sectors and to engage a broader spectrum of stakeholders outside of women's groups and gender equality advocates.

While it is important for policy makers to explore a range of approaches and to adapt them to the specific context, there is little guidance about what works best under what conditions and therefore what to prioritise. This is particularly critical in FCAS where capacity to design and implement public policy is often very weak. The dearth of guidance underscores the need for more systematic research as well as evaluation of existing programmes so as to develop evidence about the most strategic and effective types of interventions.

Table 3.1. **An example of a multi-pronged approach: Complementary interventions to support women's political empowerment**

	Short-term impact	Long-term impact
Direct strategies	Provide training (campaign fundraising, mobilising voters, public speaking, etc.) for female candidates in the run-up to elections	Advocate for the adoption of a quota system for local and national political representation in transitional or new constitutions
Indirect strategies	Support an advocacy campaign for non-violence during elections, with the support of women's organisations	Support sensitisation of male community leaders to adopt more inclusive decision-making processes, including through enhancing the participation/ engagement of women in informal governance structures

In addition to a multi-pronged strategy, donors should explicitly recognise how the different areas covered by the PSGs are interlinked. For example, the ongoing insecurity of women and girls impacts their ability to engage politically, remain economically active and assert their rights. Similarly barriers that exclude women from participating in the labour market may also mean that they lack the financial resources required to access services or become politically active. In very unequal societies where many poor and marginalised people have little access to political processes, economic assets, justice or basic services, it is often most effective to address gender inequalities as an integral part of broader strategies aimed at reducing the social, political and economic marginalisation of both women and men. This strengthens the argument for ensuring that donor efforts to address gender inequalities cut across all sectors, and that programmes are viewed as holistically as possible. Again, a solid gender-sensitive conflict analysis is one of the best mechanisms to gain an understanding of how the different aspects of statebuilding influence each other and the ways in which men and women stand to be affected by them.

Supporting gender-sensitive statebuilding: What works? Evidence and emerging lessons from existing programmes and activities

There is no one approach to integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding support that will work across all contexts. As argued above, donors need to adopt multiple strategies at any one time. However, in all cases the starting point must be to incorporate a solid gender analysis with broader political economy and conflict analysis tools before making programming decisions. In that way, all activities are informed by a deep understanding of the power dynamics and inequalities in any given context (see Box 3.1). The purpose

Box 3.1. **Applying a gender dimension to conflict and political analysis in South Sudan**

In South Sudan, understanding the dynamics around bride wealth is particularly important for any conflict analysis or programming intended to address gender inequality, community-level violence or employment opportunities. Bride wealth does not exist as a discrete practice; it is driven by and reinforces unequal gender roles and relations that have a negative impact on both men and women. There is a strict gender hierarchy based on age and cattle wealth. However, decades of conflict have destabilised this practice. Young men are not only unable to make a living given the limited employment opportunities and fragile economy, but they are also prevented from participating fully in community life because they cannot acquire the cows that enable them to go through the rite of passage of moving up the social hierarchy and getting married. Since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, the price of cattle has risen rapidly, exacerbating cattle raiding and violence between communities, particularly during the dry season when conflicts flare as competition over grazing land for cattle increases. It is not just men who reinforce these violent incidents: women too are reported to encourage their male relatives to participate in cattle rustling. The increased availability of small arms and decades of conflict have also contributed to turning an old customary practice into an increasingly violent occurrence with higher costs for the communities involved. Applying a gender lens to the issue of cattle raiding can therefore expose the layers of gendered identities and customary practices of bride wealth that are driving violence between communities. If donors are armed with such an understanding, there is a greater likelihood they will be able to support programmes that address the root of the issue and can lead to a more sustainable solution.

Sources: Schomerus, M. and T. Allen (2010), *Southern Sudan at Odds with Itself: Dynamics of Conflict and Predicament of Peace,* Development Studies Institute, LSE; Sommers, M. and S. Schwartz (2011), *Dowry and Division: Youth and Statebuilding in South Sudan,* United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Washington, DC.

of this chapter is to highlight some of the areas where interventions could be most effective and to provide some examples of strategies and programmes that have been implemented. Although there is a lack of robust evidence,[1] these examples are intended to document existing and innovative approaches and point to the areas where interventions can be particularly strategic.

The examples listed below are broken down according to the five Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals. A summary of the key areas where donors can take action is in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. **Summary of what donors can do to integrate gender issues across the PSGs**

PSGs	What donors can do
Legitimate politics	• Support quotas and other measures to increase the number of women in politics. • Strengthen the inclusion of women's rights in formal constitutions. • Enhance the participation of women in formal and informal peace and dialogue processes through funding, political pressure and convening power. • Support women's mobilisation and engagement in policy processes.
Security	• Pay particular attention to gender-specific security needs of women and girls. • Seek participation from women leaders and networks in the design of security priorities and provision, and support the inclusion of women in high-level decision making about security.
Justice	• Identify and support opportunities to make women's rights a reality by enshrining them in statutory law. • Promote reforms that address specific barriers impeding women's access to formal and informal justice mechanisms. • Support efforts to reform and strengthen traditional, non-state and informal means for dispute resolution and adjudication, and align them with international human rights standards.
Economic foundations	• Support the creation of job opportunities including income-generating projects that can reduce incentives to engage in violence and conflict, and benefit women as well as men. • Ensure that increased agricultural productivity and domestic private sector development benefit women farmers and entrepreneurs. • Support the transparent and equitable management of natural resources.
Revenues and services	• Identify and address the specific barriers that affect women's and girls' ability to access services. • Support more women to be engaged in frontline service delivery. • Support the adoption of sound and transparent financial management including by using gender budgeting to inform resource allocations and decision making. • Include women in oversight bodies that monitor both budgetary processes and service delivery in different areas.

Legitimate politics

Women's ability to participate in and influence statebuilding processes is connected to broader patterns of power, political dynamics and resource allocation in fragile contexts. Other marginalised groups can act as spoilers when armed and organised, and especially if connected to elite leaders. Women, though, pose little threat to the stability of a government. As a group their ability to challenge the allocation of political and economic power is limited: They lack leverage in the political settlement, and male elites have few incentives to cede power to them or to share it in a meaningful way

Statebuilding processes, including negotiations over peace settlements and constitutions that contribute to shaping broader rules of the game, can nevertheless provide important windows of opportunity for changing the political status quo. For example, the UN reports that about one-third of the countries with 30% or more women in parliament are also countries that experienced conflict, fragility or recent transitions to democracy. Such contexts may open space to introduce quotas (UN Security Council, 2012). Conflict can also enhance women's efforts to mobilise for peace, which can result in greater public roles for some women. An important entry point for donors is to identify and support these new roles and movements, and help to maintain and expand them so that women are not pushed back out of public life once a ceasefire is achieved.

Supporting women's groups and others to advocate for the introduction of quotas is one way to contribute to the achievement of this goal. Female participation in politics is an essential ingredient for changing social expectations and making it easier for governments to respond to women's needs. However, measures to insert women into formal politics do not suffice to significantly increase women's political influence or achieve gender-sensitive policies. One reason is that formal political institutions, particularly in FCAS, tend to operate on the basis of informal networks, resources and relationships. In post-conflict environments political parties tend to be highly personalised around their male leaders. These elites frequently act through informal networks that women cannot access. During field research on gender and statebuilding in Guatemala, for example, women politicians described political parties as "owned" by leaders and devoid of mechanisms for collective decision-making. In Kosovo and Burundi, women politicians expressed frustration that male leaders make important party decisions in bars. Women in all three countries identified their relative inability to pay bribes and access patronage as a major barrier to increasing their political influence. This context helps explain why parties do not include women within their leadership or develop policy agendas on gender equality (Castillejo, 2011).

These conditions point to the need to accompany quotas with sustained support to women to enable them to operate effectively within formal political

institutions marked by a high level of informality. Donors can, for example, support the development of their skills in building networks, negotiating, developing policy agendas and generating pressure on male leaders through strategic links with civil society. A complementary programme component would include training male leaders on how to work with and benefit from women's formal and informal political participation.

In view of women's marginalisation in formal political processes, there is also an *a priori* case for working with civil society organisations. Women's organisations can carve out democratic spaces at local and national levels to press for change outside formal political processes (Cornwall and Goetz, 2005). Civil society activism can also provide a platform for women's entry into more formal politics as women may find it easier to access these spaces, which tend to be newer and less constrained by or linked to traditional power relations. Mobilisation of women through civil society organisations, as opposed to more formal institutions, appears to have a particularly powerful impact on social attitudes around gender roles and relations. In Guatemala, for example, awareness raising by women's civil society is transforming social attitudes towards domestic violence. In Sudan, meanwhile, women's activism has brought about the first public discussions of sexual violence (Castillejo, 2011).

Facilitating linkages among women is another important strategy for enhancing their leverage in the political settlement via formal and informal politics. The reason is that women's political influence is also tied to broader patterns of power and political dynamics in that women tend to be split along the same ideological, religious and ethnic divides as the rest of political society. An important strategy is to support women in coming together beyond these divides in order to identify an agenda of specific women's needs and priorities they can collaborate on. This can not only help build peaceful relationships across identity groups, but can also can ensure that women's formal representation leads to more gender-sensitive policy outcomes.

The following interventions can support increasing women's participation in political life:

- Support quotas and other measures to increase the number of women in politics.
- Strengthen the inclusion of women's rights in formal constitutions.
- Enhance the participation of women in formal and informal peace and dialogue processes through funding, political pressure and convening power.
- Support women's mobilisation and engagement in policy processes.

Security

Security is a fundamental aspect of statebuilding, although the multiple dimensions of security beyond the narrow definition of "public security" are rarely acknowledged. Women and men have different experiences of insecurity; they have different security needs and priorities. Understanding the complex relationship between gender inequality and insecurity is critical to the development of effective programme responses.

In FCAS, security reform entails a wide range of activities, from restructuring of state security forces to demobilising combatants and supporting a more community-oriented policing approach. Women have traditionally been excluded from the security sector, both in terms of participating in the design and delivery of reforms as well as accessing services.

However, women's participation is critical to ensuring that all people benefit from security sector reform (SSR). Consultations with diverse groups of both men and women can increase local ownership by enhancing the inclusion, legitimacy and sustainability of SSR. It can also help ensure that SSR is undertaken in a way that respects local culture. Working with women's civil society organisations also can raise awareness of SSR in local communities, further reinforcing ownership, while informing policy makers of the security needs and priorities of both men and women. In this way security reforms may be less likely to bypass part of the population, as was the case in Sierra Leone, for example (see Box 3.2). Increased recruitment and advancement of women in security and justice institutions can in turn strengthen their operational effectiveness by building on staff diversity and generating greater civilian trust. Gender-sensitive SSR also enhances the capacity to prevent and address gender-based violence (OECD, 2009; Bastick and Valasek, 2008).

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is a key issue in many FCAS and must be tackled in the context of security reforms. Many donors are scaling up their efforts, supporting programmes such as training for security officials, streamlining monitoring and reporting mechanisms, and collaborating with women's organisations to identify and address incidents of SGBV within the community. The move towards community-based policing in particular has the potential to contribute to improved responsiveness to women's security needs at the local level. It can also enable under-empowered victims – frequently women, girls and the poor – to voice their views (Miles and Sengupta, 2006). To realise this potential, community policing, like any other security programme, must ensure that monitors are sensitised to women's human rights and that women are involved in all consultations for designing policing policies. Some efforts are also being made to increase the number of women involved in the security sector through recruitment and training initiatives. However, research shows that this may not be enough

to challenge the discriminatory cultures of security institutions that often remain resistant to change (El-Bushra, Lyytikäinen and Schoofs, 2012).

It is important to recall that SGBV is not a "women's issue"; when men are perpetrators, gender-based violence is very much a man's issue. But men are not only perpetrators. They are victims themselves, suffering from rape and mutilation in FCAS. They are also victimised when their loved ones and fellow community members are victims: Men suffer both from the trauma of witnessing the harm caused to a loved one, and of having failed to protect that person from harm. Social constructs around masculinity can intensify shame and humiliation. For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, husbands whose wives had been raped were ridiculed by other men and experienced a loss of self-esteem and a sense of powerlessness at not having prevented the rape (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009). Given that SGBV is an issue for both men and women, effective responses must leverage the participation of both sexes.

Box 3.2. **Female Soldiers and DDR in Sierra Leone**

The case of Sierra Leone demonstrates the risks of basing interventions on gendered stereotypes rather than context-specific analysis and consultations with local men and women. Both the government of Sierra Leone and international actors made the mistake of developing programmes for female victims of war without considering women's own accounts of the roles they played during the war and their needs after the war. They therefore assumed that combatants were necessarily men while largely ignoring any active role women may have played, and instead constructing all women involved in the conflict as passive "wives", "camp followers" or "sex slaves". This was far from accurate: estimates of the proportion of women and girls in various armed factions range from 10% up to 50%. As a result of this false assumption, women were not targeted as primary beneficiaries for the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programme. Nor were their specific challenges in reintegrating into their communities (e.g. related to stigmatisation and responsibility for children born in war) addressed. The designation of women exclusively as passive victims rather than soldiers also contributed to their depoliticisation and exclusion from significant policy discourses. In this way, failure to engage with women's own depictions of their experiences during conflict has compromised the effectiveness of post-conflict programming as well as inclusive transitions from conflict to peace and gender equality in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

Source: MacKenzie, M. (2009), "Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone", *Security Studies,* Vol. 18, Issue 2.

While most donor support for SSR focuses on making security services more accessible to women and increasing recruitment of women in rank-and-file positions, its focus is rarely the inclusion of women in high-level decision making about security. Nor does it address the establishment of policies to prohibit sexual harassment that make the security sector a safe place for women. Both efforts are needed to make security institutions truly gender sensitive in the long term.

Below are some of the areas within the security sector where donors have supported programmes that have targeted women's empowerment and gender equality:

- Pay particular attention to gender-specific security needs of women and girls.
- Seek participation from women leaders and networks in the design of security priorities and provision, and support the inclusion of women in high-level decision making about security.

Justice

In FCAS formal justice systems may be barely operational, or inaccessible and dysfunctional for the majority of citizens. However, women are likely to face additional barriers to justice that can include lack of education, social norms that encourage women to use religious or tribal conflict-mitigation mechanisms, stigma, and economic insecurity. Even where they are accessible, informal justice and formal laws may discriminate against women by, for example, not recognising domestic violence as a crime.

Transitional justice is an important component of statebuilding to address ongoing grievances, provide reparations and promote reconciliation mechanisms. Yet in many cases abuses faced by women and minority groups, particularly in relation to SGBV, are not addressed fully in the context of transitional justice, thus compounding women's exclusion (El-Bushra, Lyytikäinen and Schoofs, 2012). In the interest of building a state that works for all, addressing these barriers should be a particular focus. The long-term goal should be for formal justice mechanisms to be accessible and affordable and to uphold rights equally for men and women.

Facilitating reform of discriminatory legislation is one important dimension of supporting gender-sensitive justice reform in FCAS. The changing political settlement, and processes to identify priorities for national reconstruction and development, can provide entry points for reviewing laws around land, property and inheritance rights; personal status (family law); and women's broader status in society. In addition, constitutional commitments set the framework and limits within which women can make claims for new rights and legal reforms

over the long term. Where there are processes of constitutional reform, donors should therefore support the strongest possible constitutional commitments to women's rights or gender equality, both in their own policy dialogue and by supporting civil society pressure for such commitments.

In addition to supporting women's groups who lobby their government regarding formal commitments to women's rights, donors can also support strong gender units within national human rights commissions or other oversight bodies. This integrated approach can provide independent monitoring and advocacy on women's rights.

Improving women's access to formal justice is a priority for donors in FCAS. Donors have addressed barriers such as cost, language, stigma, and a lack of awareness about rights and recourses to justice. Examples of such support include the establishment of circuit courts or fast-track courts for rape cases; translation of legislation into less complex or local languages; enhanced recruitment and training of female staff; and capacity support to women's organisations to monitor progress, advocate and raise awareness of women's access to justice.

In tandem, donors also need to support the gender sensitivity of the informal justice systems that are frequently present in FCAS. While informal justice mechanisms tend to address issues of particular concern to women, they are often characterised by systematic gender biases. At the same time, informal systems can be more accessible to marginalised groups including women and girls, particularly in non-urban communities, than state institutions (in terms of cost, vicinity, language, shared culture and values).[2] Informal justice can therefore offer important entry points for change.

Donors often have difficulty understanding and engaging with customary practices. In the short to medium term, supporting justice systems that work better for women will mean engaging with both formal and informal institutions. The engagement should be based on careful mapping of existing processes, institutions and relevant actors in the specific socio-political context.[3] Some barriers can be addressed quickly, and should be directly targeted. Overall, these efforts must be embedded in a broader and longer-term process of sensitisation, empowerment of women to participate in building and running justice institutions, and reform of discriminatory legislation and practices.

Below are some of the areas within the justice sector where donors have supported programmes targeting women's empowerment and gender equality:

- Identify and support opportunities to make women's rights a reality by enshrining them in statutory law.

- Promote reforms that address specific barriers impeding women's access to formal and informal justice mechanisms.
- Support efforts to reform and strengthen traditional, non-state and informal means for dispute resolution and adjudication, and align them with international human rights standards.

Economic foundations

Rebuilding the economy of FCAS is a critical element of statebuilding. Jobs, livelihoods and the productive management of resources are at the heart of recovery. Historically gender issues have not been well integrated into the economic dimensions of peacebuilding and statebuilding or into macroeconomic policy more broadly. Because donors and host country governments have not researched how male and female gender norms will affect participation in the economy, women in particular have been less able to benefit from economic growth initiatives. Recent research carried out in six FCAS points to the conclusion that women's integration in economic recovery could yield important benefits for households, and ultimately could translate into important peace dividends and support for broader statebuilding (Justino, 2012). Yet while economic spaces may open up for women during and in the aftermath of conflict, these opportunities do not always translate into more control over economic decision making in the home, greater political or social empowerment, or challenging gender norms around women's economic roles (Justino et al., 2012; Petesch, 2012). Conflict often aggravates women's economic vulnerability despite increased labour market participation. As the number of female-headed households and the scope of women's care responsibilities increase, the accessible jobs are dominantly low paid and low skilled in the shape of self-employment in informal activities. These levels of vulnerability are rarely taken into consideration in post-conflict policy and programming (Justino et al., 2012).

To make economic policy more equitable to women, donors and host governments need to design public policy, institutions and financial assistance that increase women's access to their programmes. Some relevant areas include roads, land, water, technology, credit, banking and financial services. Enabling women to access these services and benefits will strengthen their rights, increase agricultural productivity, reduce hunger and promote economic growth (OECD-DAC Gendernet, 2012). One area where donors have tended to target women specifically is in the provision of microcredit where small grants are given to women individually or as a group, enabling them to take on small income-generating activities. Such schemes are important in providing a basic level of economic security to women and their families. But given the small amounts of money allocated through microcredit, this does not always translate into an ability to scale up their activities or develop them into small and

medium-sized enterprises. For some women in some contexts such interventions have also created harm by leading to men feeling emasculated and taking out their frustration on their families, resulting in increased domestic violence. Such empowerment programmes must therefore start with a gender analysis and consider including men in order to avoid jeopardising women's safety and to build on men's desire to support their families (see Box 3.3).

Box 3.3. **Gender analysis and "do no harm": Women's economic empowerment programmes**

The example of women's economic empowerment programmes shows that gender analysis is essential to avoid doing harm. Women's economic empowerment is a key goal for increasing gender equality and brings benefits to families and wider society. However, men can respond in diverse ways when female family members benefit from economic empowerment programmes such as microcredit initiatives. Some interventions have found the risk of violence against women decreases because their participation in microcredit programmes enables women to renegotiate power dynamics in their relationships with men; another consequence is that stress on the household declines as women's income increases. Yet such programmes have also been found to create new problems for some women in some contexts. In 2010 CARE Rwanda assessed men's attitudes about their female partners' participation in microcredit initiatives. It found that some men responded by retaining more income for their personal use and that gender-based violence apparently increased as a result of shifting household dynamics and men's perception that their wives had received the additional income through selling sex.

What is clear is that the precise effects of women's economic empowerment programmes depend to a significant extent on men's perceptions of women's economic empowerment, which in turn are shaped by prevalent gender roles and gender relations. To avoid negative effects economic empowerment programmes must therefore start from an analysis of gender roles and relations in households and communities, the impacts of interventions on these gendered social relations and the consequences for the lives of men, women, boys and girls.

Sources: Barker, G. and J. Schulte (2010), *Engaging Men as Allies in Women's Economic Empowerment: Strategies and Recommendations for CARE Country Offices*, prepared for CARE Norway by the International Center for Research on Women, Washington, DC.; Hadi, A. (2005) "Women's Productive Work and Marital Violence in Bangladesh", *Journal of Family Violence*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 181-189; Koenig, Michael, et al. (2003) "Women's Status and Domestic Violence in Rural Bangladesh: Individual- and Community-level Effects", *Demography,* Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 269-288; Schuler, S. et al. (1996), "Credit programmes, Patriarchy and Men's Violence against Women in Rural Bangladesh", *Social Science and Medicine,* Vol. 43, No. 12, pp. 1729-42; Slegh, H. et al. (2013), "I Can Do Women's Work': Reflections on Engaging Men as Allies in Women's Economic Empowerment in Rwanda", *Gender and Development*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 15-30.

Any attempt to reform the economic foundations must also be closely connected to the other Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals. Research by International Alert in Uganda shows that the conflict opened up opportunities to transform the sexual division of labour and women's economic roles. As a result, in the post-war years in Northern Uganda women have played a key role in providing for their families through commercialisation of food crops, cross-border commerce and entering sectors from which they were previously excluded. Nevertheless, women's new roles have not translated into greater participation in community- or national-level decision making. On the contrary, expanded gender roles resulted in women bearing the double burdens of productive and domestic labour. Ugandan women often could not scale up their businesses and investments, and remained marginalised from most of the economic development and recovery plans for the region (Sow, 2012).

Below are some of the areas within the realm of economic foundations where donors have supported programmes that targeted women's empowerment and gender equality:

- Support the creation of job opportunities including income-generating projects that can reduce incentives to engage in violence and conflict, and benefit women as well as men.
- Ensure that increased agricultural productivity and domestic private sector development benefit women farmers and entrepreneurs.
- Support the transparent and equitable management of natural resources.

Revenues and services

The state's ability to collect and manage revenues, primarily through tax and customs collection, is an important source of state authority and resilience, and forms a basis for citizenship. As highlighted in the PSG indicator progress report, the quality of public financial management is an indicator of the overall capacity and accountability in the civil service (International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, 2012). Service delivery can be an important mechanism for restoring state legitimacy. But it is notoriously difficult to effectively deliver local services. It is vital to prioritise interventions and make sure that they build on existing institutional capacity (OECD, 2008). To reduce sources of conflict, services must also be distributed equitably between different regions and groups of people. The relationship between needs and service delivery can vary for women and men, so policy makers and donors have to consider how services can be delivered in a way that contributes to gender equality and women's empowerment. Otherwise, they will miss opportunities to address social exclusion and inequality.

Service delivery can also help restore or strengthen social cohesion, which violent conflict tends to weaken. Non-state actors play important roles in service delivery, particularly in cases where the state is unwilling or unable to extend its services to the whole population. Women's organisations are often key providers of frontline services such as support for victims of SGBV, health care or training. Women, due to their care-giving responsibilities, are often the main users of public services. But women and girls face specific challenges in accessing services that address their needs. When public services are inadequate or poorly designed, women also are less likely to have the economic resources to take advantage of private alternative services. The decentralising of services does not necessarily empower or benefit women, or serve their interests. Engaging local civil society organisations, including women's organisations, is essential to making public services accessible to men and women.

Below are some donor interventions in support of service delivery programmes that have targeted women's empowerment and gender equality:

- Identify and address the specific barriers that affect women's and girls' ability to access services.
- Support more women to be engaged alongside men in frontline service delivery.
- Support the adoption of sound and transparent financial management, including by using gender budgeting to inform resource allocations and decision making.
- Include women in oversight bodies that monitor budgetary processes and service delivery in different areas.

Notes

1. Two recent studies (O'Connell, 2011; El-Bushra et al., 2011) provide some initial consideration of the quality of the evidence that does exist. Both find that it is lacking and that donors must increase investment in the coming years.
2. For example, research for the International Rescue Committee in Timor-Leste showed that women call on traditional justice systems due to their familiarity. This is despite findings that these systems generally exclude women from hearings and that decisions are often a function of administrators' biases and cultural beliefs concerning women's status in society (Swaine, 2003)
3. Including the interactions between formal and informal justice mechanisms and the consequences of these interactions for women's lives. See for example, Chiongsong, R.A. et al. (2011).

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Chapter 4

Key ingredients for success in integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

This chapter draws on examples presented in the previous chapter and further evidence from research and practice to derive key success factors in integrating a gender perspective into donor support to statebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states.

Chapter 3 and the Annex provide examples of donor-supported interventions to integrate a gender perspective into statebuilding at different levels, over different timeframes and targeting different stakeholders. These examples and further evidence from research and practice suggest several key success factors that increase the likelihood of successful outcomes. Many of these "success factors" are well known if not widely practised. The following analysis highlights aspects of each that have particular significance when pursuing gender equality objectives in FCAS.

Undertake fine-grained contextual analysis that integrates political economy with conflict and gender analysis, and understand how statebuilding impacts women and men differently.

As highlighted above, a nuanced understanding of local context is the essential starting point for effective action. This includes understanding the power dynamics surrounding the political settlement and the role played by customary law and informal justice institutions. Fine-grained analysis helps reveal the way gender inequalities are innately political and are rooted in deep social, economic and political structures. Such an approach can also highlight the multi-dimensional challenges involved in supporting women's rights and integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding programmes. Donors should be alert to the underlying reasons for resistance to reform, recognising that gender inequalities (for example, around access to resources or discriminatory legal codes) can be tied up with broader power struggles or serve particular elite interests. Good analysis guides policy makers in making more discriminating choices both about what kind of change is possible and with whom to work; it may reveal opportunities for small changes in policy or institutions that can have significant longer-term effects. Recognising and unpacking these complex dynamics can help donors identify entry points to challenge resistance, given that tackling gender inequality head-on may not always be the most strategic response. Finally, donors need to improve their understanding of statebuilding as gendered processes and how existing institutions, processes and practices, as well as donor strategies and programmes, impact men and women in different ways. This is a prerequisite to ensure that donor strategies and programmes do no harm.

Fine-grained analysis involves more than applying generic toolkits for political economy and gender analysis. It requires access to in-depth expertise related to a range of social, political and economic factors affecting gender relations, sometimes in a very specific location. This means that donors need to invest a lot more time and resources in such processes than is often the case.

Adopt both direct and indirect strategies over the short- and long-term to maximise the possibilities for integrating gender into statebuilding activities.

As noted in Chapter 2, donors' normative commitments to gender equality may not be well aligned with the interests of power holders or local social norms. A more politically informed approach implies confronting these tensions and looking for ways to manage the inevitable trade-offs between them. Donors need to realistically assess the scope for advancing a rights-based agenda in the short to medium term in situations where formal institutions are very weak or where they are contested by informal institutions. Achieving transformational change in gender relations requires a long-term perspective, and is not something that can be realised from the top down. In practical terms, this means that donors should adopt a variety of strategies to seize whatever opportunities exist to advance women's rights in the short term, while also pursuing longer-term, incremental and more indirect approaches.

Gender mainstreaming across all statebuilding activities is critical for ensuring that a gender perspective is integrated into some of the less traditional sectors. Too often, gender programmes are either standalone or are considered to be social sector issues, which means that gender inequalities and women's rights are not linked to other more political priorities. For example, a transitional government might create a ministry of youth and women, which silos women's issues within the sector of juvenile issues, leading other ministries to consider themselves exempt from including women's concerns in policy priorities.

Gender mainstreaming efforts must include addressing the access and participation barriers – economic, social and cultural – women face within each sector. To accomplish this, donors must allocate adequate resources for staff to have the skills to apply gender analysis across all functional areas, and to put accountability measures in place to ensure that results are monitored. It is also important for donors to support women's engagement and the prioritisation of gender issues within mainstream policy processes such as budget formulation and monitoring.

Support women's agency and mobilisation at multiple levels.

Many of the interventions described in Chapter 3 involved supporting the mobilisation of women at different levels and for different purposes, including engaging in national and local peacebuilding processes, influencing national and local politics and policy choices, and pursuing grassroots initiatives. Community-based organisations such as women's networks and local NGOs can be particularly well placed to identify specific issues

facing women at the community level and facilitate the emergence of local solutions. They are also often front-line service providers and can be important advocates for marginalised groups and those living in rural areas. However, it is critical that donors be sensitive to how they support women's mobilisation, especially through grassroots, membership-based organisations. Recent research has emphasised the potential for external funding to do harm by privileging elite organisations, undermining local collective action, weakening membership and voluntarism among women's networks, or distorting the agendas of local organisations (Bano, 2012; Booth, 2012). Working effectively with grassroots organisations requires detailed investigation of their underlying motivation and a genuine willingness to respond to local agendas and leadership. Monitoring and evaluation should assess the longer-term impact of external support on local capacity.

Donors should also take into account that there will be diverse and often conflicting views and interests among women. Sources of division such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity or religion can undermine the emergence of a unified women's agenda. This can result in a plethora of women's groups organising around different issues, as for example in Nepal, or more ideologically driven divisions between activists, for example between supporters of secularisation and supporters of Sharia law in Northern Sudan. In other words, donors need to consider the full diversity of women's voices when deciding which organisations and priorities to support.

Engage with a wider range of actors and institutions, and facilitate identification of common interests and partnerships to promote gender equality.

Donors should look for ways to frame gender issues by identifying points of mutual interest with other stakeholders – such as the private sector and traditional, religious and male community leaders – and not just women's organisations. For example, donors can highlight the well-established links between gender equality and economic growth, which would concern many community leaders. Donors may be able to facilitate collaboration by reducing perceived threats to powerful actors, by the language they use in promoting gender issues and by drawing on "South-South" contacts with relevant experience and the ability to stimulate peer pressure. They could support different ways of generating public debate around how to better meet the interests of men and women to their mutual benefit, for example through support for local radio and television programmes, think tanks and universities. They may be able to bring together local policy makers, officials, journalists and civil society representatives, providing spaces where actors from different backgrounds and with different agendas can share ideas. This will require donors to adopt a long-term perspective and be alert to the range of different

interests and incentives likely to be in play including ideological, reputational, political and material.

An overarching principle is to identify and work with local ideas, capacity and leadership first and to draw on external ideas, organisation and leadership last. This prioritisation is much easier said than done,[1] but reflects consistent evidence that genuine local ownership is a critical success factor for development interventions.

Use political influence and senior-level commitment to advance the gender and statebuilding agenda, and seize opportunities in particular in the early stages of statebuilding.

Following the commitments laid out in the New Deal, the process of setting priorities and a vision for statebuilding and development is negotiated at the country level and led by national governments. However, there is clearly a role for externally led advocacy, especially to uphold basic principles and fundamental rights, for example to girls' education in the face of organised religious or political opposition, or against practices such as female genital mutilation. At times, it may be more effective if conducted through UN or other international or regional forums and networks that are seen by local actors as having greater legitimacy. Donors can also play an important role in raising the profile of gender equality issues in relation to peacebuilding and statebuilding processes by strategically using diplomatic channels and opportunities for dialogue with government and other local stakeholders to advocate for women's rights and gender equality. This requires a commitment to these issues at the highest level within donor agencies and coherent approaches between diplomatic, development and security arms of an embassy. Commitments must be sustained throughout the programming cycle since evidence suggests that supportive rhetoric at the planning stages is not always followed through in the implementation of activities (El-Bushra, Lyytikäinen and Schoofs, 2012).

The early stages following violent conflict can present an important window of opportunity for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding processes. Ideas, institutions and actors are frequently in a state of flux in the immediate aftermath of conflict and as rebuilding and reform processes get underway. As seen in Chapter 3, an effective strategy for getting gender issues on the agenda at an early stage can be to seize on opportunities to directly or indirectly influence constitution making, for example, or support women's participation in key policy processes. Donor efforts can be accelerated by being alert to these openings and able to respond rapidly in support of local actors.

Note

1. Applying "local first" principles is particularly challenging in relation to gender issues, given the tension between normative commitments of donors and the often diverging interests and values of local power holders and of society more broadly. Local first approaches are also particularly challenging in fragile and conflict-affected situations where formal institutions may be very weak, and have limited ability to support citizen-based rights, including rights for women. Capacity for effective local collective action is also likely to be weak. So there is an inbuilt temptation for gender equality objectives to be donor-led, with a tendency to focus on advocacy or aid conditionality rather than persuasion.

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Chapter 5

Recommendations for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

Based on the analysis developed in preceding chapters, Chapter 5 sets out a series of recommendations for donors to address key challenges and seize opportunities for integrating a gender perspective into their work on statebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states.

The practical examples outlined in Chapter 3 and the key ingredients of success in Chapter 4 are together intended to provide insights and guidance to donors seeking to integrate a gender perspective in their statebuilding programmes. The recommendations offered in this chapter can help donors address some of the obstacles highlighted in Chapter 2 and to position donor agencies to seize opportunities to integrate gender into statebuilding.

The majority of these recommendations address the operational challenges facing donor agencies, as these are easier to control. Nevertheless, by strengthening the usage of analytical tools and generating a more solid evidence base, donors will also be better equipped to address the contextual challenges of supporting statebuilding in FCAS.

It is important to keep in mind that the gender equality agenda is demanding. Even the most informed outsider will find it a challenge to engage effectively with the complex, informal and highly political institutions surrounding gender issues in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. No donor should operate with gender blind policies. All donors should have basic competences and staff with skills to apply gender analysis across all core development programme areas. However, donors should make strategic decisions about the extent to which they have the resources and expertise to engage in more demanding tasks or whether they need to develop them before doing so. For example, working with grassroots organisations requires local language skills, a careful selection of partners, negotiation of effective working relationships, and engagement over the longer term.

Table 5.1. **Recommendations: Strategic entry points and examples of actions donors could take**

Strategic entry points	Examples of actions donors could take
Strengthen analytical tools	• Revise existing conflict analysis and statebuilding frameworks to reflect gender analysis. • Ensure that all staff have adequate training and knowledge to be able to effectively apply gender analysis in programme design, development and monitoring. • Ensure the inclusion of gender issues in any future assessment frameworks such as Fragility Assessments.
Improve the funding and accountability mechanisms available to support gender-sensitive statebuilding	• Strengthen co-ordination of in-country funding allocations to support gender-related statebuilding activities and, where relevant, reinforce the priorities set out in National Action Plans. • Consider earmarking within statebuilding funding streams to ensure that resources are available each year for programmes that directly support gender equality and women's rights. • Support efforts to advance international and national-level accountability mechanisms, including transparent reporting and data collection on progress in implementing UNSCR 1325 and other commitments. • Partner with the private sector to leverage and target resources more effectively.
Contribute to building an evidence base on gender-sensitive statebuilding	• Allocate funding to multi-year research programmes to understand the impact of increasing the gender-sensitivity of statebuilding programmes. • Support the establishment of partnerships between northern and southern-based research organisations working on issues relating to gender and statebuilding. • Ensure that all programmes incorporate detailed monitoring and evaluation components that specifically relate to gender issues.
Use international forums and networks to support change at the national and local levels	• Use the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding as a platform for exchanging good practice and lessons learned on integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding. • Support international networks that work with grassroots women's organisations and provide channels for them to feed their priorities and recommendations into UN, EU, NATO and other inter-governmental forums. • In the convening role that many UN organisations or donors play, ensure that speaking invitations are extended to women's civil society, for example in donor planning or national recovery conferences.

Table 5.1. **Recommendations: Strategic entry points and examples of actions donors could take** *(continued)*

Strategic entry points	Examples of actions donors could take
Identify skills and capacity gaps within donor agencies and take measures to address them	• Develop and carry out gender training with staff working on peacebuilding and statebuilding programmes. • Ensure that gender advisors have the seniority and access to high-level policy discussions relating to statebuilding.
Build on entry points to integrate a gender and statebuilding lens into the piloting of the New Deal and the development of the post-2015 framework	• Advocate for the inclusion of gender-sensitive and gender-specific indicators within the indicators being developed for the PSGs. • Ensure that women and girls are consulted and supported to identify their priorities in relation to governance, security, justice and economic dimensions of the post-2015 framework. • Use the New Deal piloting as an opportunity to strengthen implementation of UNSCR 1325 and supporting resolutions in the pilot countries.
Foster linkages with local women's organisations and grassroots networks and ensure they are able to access funding and programming opportunities	• Establish quick-disbursing, smaller-scale funding streams that are accessible to community-based and grassroots organisations and streamline procurement processes. • Build capacity among programme staff to be able to identify and engage with local women's groups and grassroots networks. • Facilitate South-South and North-South linkages among women's organisations and networks to enable cross-learning. • Establish regular and institutionalised mechanisms for consulting with local women's organisations on priorities and recommendations in relation to the statebuilding process.

Annex A

Practical examples of what donors have done to integrate gender issues across the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals

A.1. Legitimate politics

Support quotas and other measures to increase the number of women in politics

Why it matters and what donors can do

Historically, women have been excluded from the political sphere and face numerous structural and cultural barriers to public office. The processes of bargaining that underpin political settlements involve mainly elite, male actors. But there has been limited research on the possible long-term impact of perpetuating the exclusion of women from peace and statebuilding processes. While the immediate priority in FCAS is often stability, outside actors should work to ensure that women's interests are on the agenda. It is equally important in the longer term to support economic and social development that benefits women and men, as well as direct measures to enhance the participation of marginalised groups in political processes (UN Women, 2012a). The political landscape is often reshaped in the immediate post-conflict period: post-conflict elections or peace processes offer opportunities to increase the participation of women and influence transitional constitutions and policies. Quotas can bean effective mechanism for bringing more women into politics and beginning the process of removing barriers to their representation in the public space. They have been implemented in many post-conflict countries with positive results. Yet quotas alone will not transform attitudes or turn formal representation into effective participation. Quotas are a means, not an end, to achieving women's political empowerment.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- In 2001, the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) supported a media outreach strategy for women candidates in the country's first election for the constituent assembly. Given that many women were first-time candidates, access to media was particularly crucial to building their voter base and profile. Television and radio time as well as newspaper advertising space were made available to women candidates and parties that put women in winnable spots on their party lists. This helped create a strong incentive for parties to support women candidates. Quotas also guaranteed women were represented in party campaign offices, public administration and the national election commission. These initiatives contributed to women winning 26% of the seats in the 2001 constituent assembly. These women played a crucial part in enshrining in the constitution that "women and men shall have the same rights and duties in all areas of family, political, economic and social and cultural life". More recently the election laws in Timor-Leste established quotas for women on party (UNDP, 2011).
- One of the objectives of the Gender Programme of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) is to support women in accessing and transforming parliament through workshops that introduce them to parliamentary work. IPU also assists in the short-term deployment of experts to support women parliamentarians. Some seminars for parliamentarians also focus on specific gender issues and ways to address them through parliaments. In Mali IPU supported training for men and women parliamentarians on violence against women and specifically female genital mutilation. Parliamentarians from countries in the region that had already legislated against female genital mutilation shared their knowledge and experiences in achieving relevant legislation (Abdela and Boman, 2011).

Strengthen the inclusion of women's rights in formal constitutions

Why it matters and what donors can do

Constitution-making processes are critical in shaping the framework of rights and opportunities that citizens will have in the future. They are especially important for making the state accountable to women. Implementing new laws is a challenge in many FCAS. But support for women's rights and electoral reform, for example through quotas for women parliamentarians, can create an environment that enables local groups to mobilise in the future. Women's organisations often cite strengthened formal rights frameworks as an important tool for advocating for change to their governments, male leaders and

other groups. Donors can help women aggregate their demands by facilitating coalition building among and between women's civil society organisations and other allies, and by assisting their efforts to set shared priorities. This can be done through direct support through high-level dialogue, political influence and action as well as more indirect support through local initiatives.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- In Zimbabwe, UN Women and UNDP supported the Group of 20, an alliance of women's groups, in setting up a task force to monitor inclusion of women's rights in the constitutional reform process mandated by the 2008 Global Agreement (UN Women, 2012a).
- Care International similarly supported a national network of 35 grassroots women's organisations in Nepal known as the National Forum for Women Rights Concern. Among other actions, it helped bring the network together with important actors from political parties, the Constituent Assembly, intellectual groups and lawyers for debates on gender and women's rights issues that were pertinent to the constitution-making process (Care International, 2010).
- In Rwanda, UNDP and IPU helped bring together members of the Transitional National Assembly, senior government ministers, members of the Legal and Constitutional Committee, women's organisations and other groups for a seminar on how to make the new Rwandan constitution gender sensitive. The seminar triggered a popular consultation process among various groups of women in Rwanda from government, parliament and civil society. Over the course of two years, these consultations produced a series of recommendations designed to enshrine principles of equality between men and women in the constitution. This process eventually generated what has been considered the most gender-sensitive constitution in the world (Abdela and Boman, 2011).

Enhance the participation of women in formal and informal peace and dialogue processes through funding, political pressure and convening power

Why it matters and what donors can do

Ensuring women's formal representation in peace negotiations can help create processes that are more democratic and more responsive to citizens' interests. Even where women are excluded from formal statebuilding and peacebuilding processes, they often promote peace and reconciliation at the community or national levels through informal women's groups. A diversity of

voices and representation is important to ensuring not only that peace processes are inclusive, but also that the full range of relevant issues are raised. While donors have successfully used their political influence to argue for the inclusion of marginalised groups, including women, in a variety of processes, peace negotiating teams still include too few women. The valuable contributions that women can make are often lost (UN Secretary-General, 2012).

Practical examples from current donor practice

- The National Dialogue and Reconciliation in Kenya, which received substantial international support and input, provides an encouraging example. Compared to previous mediation processes, it is a strong case of inclusion of women. One out of four members of each negotiating team was a woman. One of every three people on the Panel of Eminent African Personalities and a number of the senior advisors from the UN and the African Union on the Panel's mediation team were also women. In their report for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, McGhie and Wamai (2011) single out Graça Machel's involvement on the Panel as critical in the promotion of women's concerns in the mediation process.
- In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), UN Women helped bring about the inclusion of women in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, a national convention on political reform and reconciliation convened by all the parties to the conflict. Support took the form of facilitating a variety of initiatives including a peace and solidarity mission to the DRC by a delegation of African women leaders and the convention of a women's forum which brought together representatives of the government, rebels, the political opposition and civil society to define a common agenda prior to negotiations (UN Women, 2012b; Wijeyaratne, 2009). Similarly, key decision makers can also use their position and political clout to encourage consultation with women, complementing the bottom-up initiatives.
- Supported by the Initiative for Inclusive Security and UN Women, South Sudanese women from across the country came together with government officials to identify key priorities for women on the margins of the International Engagement Conference on South Sudan, held in December 2011. The statebuilding process is still unfolding in South Sudan so it is too early to assess the impact of such initiatives. But it does appear that some of the commitments sought by women, such as the inclusion of a 25% affirmative action quota for women in the Transitional Constitution, have been adopted in theory, if not yet in practice.

- As part of Denmark's MDG3 Programme in Liberia, women's groups and youth have been trained as mediators and peacebuilders in Liberia with the aim of preventing conflicts in communities. In Kenya Denmark supports female mediators through the peace-building efforts of the Kenyan government's Peace and Security for Development (PSD) component.

Support women's mobilisation and engagement in policy processes

Why it matters and what donors can do

In fragile and conflict-affected states, people typically have low expectations of what formal public authorities can deliver. There are high levels of distrust between state and society, and social groups frequently have low capacity to mobilise. This creates a situation of low levels of engagement among (often fragmented) social groups, and between social groups and the state, which only reinforces low expectations of positive change. Women face particular difficulties in mobilising to identify their interests and priorities, in organising effective collective action, and most critically in having their voices heard within formal and informal institutions. To address these challenges, donors can fund the development of radio and television programmes that seek to raise awareness and change social attitudes and facilitate public forums that enable discussion and debate between public and private actors and between men and women. They can also support separate opportunities for women to share ideas and discuss priorities for feeding into these spaces, at the local and national levels. Civil society organisations can also play a key role in monitoring the implementation of peace agreements and other commitments, as well as national and institutional policies on gender equality. This can be a useful way to engage with political elites who have an incentive to preserve their reputations if they are likely to face pressure in international or regional forums, and it can highlight poor performance or human rights abuses. Civil society organisations can also play an important role in facilitating dialogue and negotiation between local communities and formal and informal governance bodies. Incorporating community-level and grassroots-based interests and perspectives in statebuilding processes can also help support local ownership and sustainability, and can contribute to greater accountability for the government-led reforms that are taking place.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- Despite the slow pace and lack of accountability for implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other gender-related commitments, civil society groups have been actively engaged in monitoring what is being done at the national and international levels, often with the support

of UN agencies or bilateral funding. One such group, the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), brings together over 50 women's organisations and networks from approximately 15 countries and aims to bridge the gap between policy discussions on one hand and implementation and action on the ground on women, peace and security issues on the other. The work of GNWP focuses on building capacity in civil society, especially women's civil society, to conduct effective monitoring of policy implementation. Its mission is also to support effective implementation of UNSCR 1325, particularly at the national level, and provide a global "snapshot" of the status of UNSCR 1325 implementation. The findings of GNWP's annual monitoring process are brought to the attention of national governments and international organisations through advocacy events and lobbying, and the process also empowers and builds the skills and awareness of local organisations around different dimensions of statebuilding in those countries.

A.2. Security

Pay particular attention to gender-specific security needs of women and girls

Why it matters and what donors can do

Traditional security sector reforms emphasise restructuring of the formal security services such as the army, police, border agents and prison officials and improving standards, equipment and policies and procedures. While such reforms can also benefit women and marginalised groups, there are gender specific security-related issues that can be overlooked or not seen as relevant to broader national security. Specific efforts must be made to recognise the sources of women's insecurity, as well as the specific types of protection and support they may need. Women are often reluctant to report gender-based violence to (male-dominated) police for a variety of reasons. These include issues relating to fear generally and fear of backlash against victims. Cultural norms may also limit interactions between men and women and inhibit women from speaking about gender-based violence. Moreover police services may fail to process such complaints. Training on gender issues for existing security services can be an effective strategy for promoting greater responsiveness and awareness among security actors to the needs of women and girls. By funding and developing such initiatives with local actors, donors can support the creation of security services that address both men's and women's security needs, a vital building block in the construction of states that serve and enable participation of all of their citizens.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- In Liberia, UN Women has supported the police in the design of more gender-responsive human resource policies in order to increase the representation of women in the national police. As a result recruitment, retention and promotion strategies now take into consideration the particular barriers women may face in accessing employment in the police services (UN Women, 2012a).
- In Nicaragua, a range of donors supported the establishment of women's police stations, the *Comisarías de la Mujer y de la Niñez* (Women's and Children's Police Stations, or CMN). Staffed primarily with specially trained female officers, mandated with addressing sexual and domestic violence and networked with women's NGOs, the CMNs help enhance reporting and processing of gender-based violence cases. By 2008 there was one CMN in each departmental and regional capital and one in each district of Managua (DCAF, 2011). Similar units focused on gender-based violence have also been established in countries such as Sierra Leone and South Sudan, and despite operational constraints have increased women's access to police services in some areas and contributed to greater awareness of issues related to gender-based violence.
- In Kosovo, the Border and Boundary Police Training Unit of the Kosovo Police integrated an introductory half-day "gender and border management" module into its training curriculum. Its aim is to enable border personnel to establish the link between gender issues and their own daily activities, including the identification of the differential threats men and women may face at border points (McKay, 2008). In Nepal, women's NGOs have conducted similar training on gender issues for police services, and, in 2003, for over 200 senior military officials (DCAF, 2011).
- In Rwanda, DRC and Burundi, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, now part of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD)) has supported a regional project to combat violence against girls and young women in partnership with the Centre for International Studies and Cooperation (CECI). This includes support for the Forum for Collectives Associations Working to Promote Girls and Young Women in the Great Lakes Region (COCAFEM/GL) – which comprises the most experienced associations of the region concerned with the fight against sexual violence – in becoming a recognised authority for combating sexual violence nationally, regionally and internationally. This is combined with support for the development and implementation of assistance protocols and awareness raising activities. Thus far, the project has increased collaboration

between representatives of the judicial, psychological and medical sectors, resulting in a change in service protocols that have enhanced access to services for survivors because they are increasingly sensitive to their needs. Additionally, a total of 676 community leaders have been sensitised on the nature of gender-based violence, available services and their role in preventing and addressing this violence. A preliminary evaluation revealed changes in attitudes among some leaders, as they admitted that the campaigns opened their eyes to forms of violence they had not condemned in the past.

Seek participation from women leaders and networks in the design of security priorities and provision, and support the inclusion of women in high-level decision making about security

Why it matters and what donors can do

Women's groups, leaders and networks can be useful partners for security system institutions and for addressing insecurity in the community or domestic spheres. In addition to providing services, women's groups are a crucial resource in defining inclusive security priorities and strategies.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- In Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, women's groups provided training and sensitisation on women's rights to male ex-combatants to help prevent domestic violence; recruited and trained men to support this work; carried out gender training for new police recruits; and conducted workshops in various communities to raise awareness of the consequences of violence against women and children (Barnes and Albrecht, 2008).
- The Liberian Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) gave crucial support to the DDR process by calming combatants, providing essential services and protecting under-aged combatants at a cantonment site that was unprepared for the number of fighters who presented themselves for demobilisation. Following that experience, Liberian women's groups spoke out about key gaps they had identified in the DDR programme, emphasising that the inclusion of men and women with local expertise would have avoided such problems in the process. Liberian women then co-operated with international institutions and the government to design an awareness campaign to encourage women and girls to participate in the DDR process (DCAF, 2011; OECD, 2009; Valasek, 2008).

- The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Women Waging Peace hosted a conference attended by women from Iraq including representatives from civil society organisations, government ministers and security sector personnel. They identified several key priorities for women's security and SSR success such as enhanced border security, more police, better street lighting and training in gender and human rights issues for police and army officers (Barnes and Albrecht, 2008).

A.3. Justice

Identify and support opportunities to make women's rights a reality by enshrining them in statutory law

Why it matters and what donors can do

Constitutions may provide protection for women's rights. But there is often a large gap between what is written and the reality of how national laws and justice systems actually operate. A critical issue is how customary legal institutions are addressed within the statebuilding agenda since in many fragile and conflict-affected contexts, the domestic and family issues that are critical to women's rights are delegated to customary authorities that tend to be discriminatory. For women's constitutional rights to become a reality, statebuilding processes must therefore include an expansion of state jurisdiction over these areas where women's rights are being infringed. However, as noted in Chapter 2, navigating between formal and informal institutions is far from straightforward: donors need to understand the role played by informal arrangements in a specific context, how they are perceived by women and what the realistic alternatives might be. They also must understand how efforts to enshrine women's rights in statutory law can get entangled in broader struggles for power and resources. Donors need to explore opportunities to extend the reach of formal legal provisions while remaining alert to the risk that laws may not be implemented if they are poorly aligned with underlying social norms.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- In Kyrgyzstan the UN country team came together during 2012 and 2013 to support a coalition of civil society groups and parliamentarians in their efforts to change public attitudes and adopt a new law to toughen the penalty for the widespread practice of bride kidnapping. Many thousands of women are kidnapped for marriage and often experience physical violence and rape. Only a very small fraction of kidnappers are ever judicially processed since popular opinion still

does not perceive their actions as crimes against women's human rights. Supported by the donor community, efforts by national advocates to change social norms and legislation helped shift public attitudes, prompting state institutions to recognise their responsibility to strengthen legal protections for women. The result was an increase in the maximum prison sentence for bride kidnapping to ten years from three years. Additional resources are being committed for services for women who are vulnerable to kidnapping and for those seeking to escape their kidnappers.

- In Rwanda, UNPD and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) supported the Rwanda Women Parliamentary Forum (FFRP) in conducting a series of national consultations that laid the groundwork for passing the country's first comprehensive legislation on violence against women. The mission of the FFRP is to build the capacity of women parliamentarians, revise discriminatory laws, draft gender equality legislation and lobby for the inclusion of a gender perspective in all government activities. To prepare a legislative initiative on gender-based violence, it conducted a series of consultations that included a national conference on gender-based violence, field visits and an interactive mass media campaign. The FFRP effort helped collect data on the prevalence, causes and appropriate responses to gender-based violence, sensitise citizens and parliamentarians and build ownership and legitimacy for the issue. The consultations engaged both men and women and built strong links with civil society, culminating in proposed legislation to prevent and punish gender-based violence and to protect victims. The law was passed in 2009. Addressing spousal violence, marital rape, sexual harassment and abuse of children in its definition of gender-based violence, the law was not only the country's first comprehensive legislation on violence against women but also the first policy initiated by the parliament since the ratification of Rwanda's 2003 constitution (Pearson, 2008).

Promote reforms that address specific barriers impeding women's access to formal and informal justice mechanisms

Why it matters and what donors can do

Faced with serious judicial delays in gender-based violence cases, governments have established special courts or fast-track courts, as Liberia and Nepal did for rape cases and cases involving women and children, respectively (World Bank, 2011). Where women's limited literacy poses a constraint, translating legislation into less complex or local languages, as has been done in Botswana, can be a valuable short-term intervention. Supporting

the collection and publication of data regarding women's access to justice can also help make barriers more visible, identify targeted interventions and add urgency to working towards more equitable access to justice (World Bank, 2011). A lack of female staff within formal justice institutions is another key barriers to women's access (Douglas, 2007). Donors can support reform by training paralegals and magistrates and through sensitisation to encourage women to pursue careers in these areas.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- Women's civil society organisations have also served as a powerful force in demanding women's access to formal justice and donor support can amplify their effectiveness In Aceh, Indonesia, UNDP worked towards equitable access by providing capacity support to women's organisations to monitor and advocate women's rights (Douglas, 2007). In Rwanda, the engagement of civil society, including women's groups, in government-sponsored policy discussion on changes in land laws was found to have both enhanced these policies and helped raise awareness of individual's rights (World Bank, 2011). UN Women subsequently supported Rwandan women in claiming their newly acquired land rights by assisting a local NGO in training a network of designated paralegals (UN Women, 2012c). It also supported the Ministry of Agriculture in training and deploying more than 200 female agricultural extension agents, an effort designed to ensure that women farmers can access agricultural services and farm their land more productively.
- In Kosovo, UN Women supported the Kosovo Judicial Institute in drafting a manual to guide judges in handling legal protection of domestic violence victims (UN Women, 2011).
- In Sierra Leone, the Justice Sector Development Programme, funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), engaged with formal and customary justice institutions and communities. In the provinces where it operated as a pilot programme, it successfully reduced some of the barriers to women's access to justice, for example by bringing formal justice mechanisms to remote areas through circuit courts and sensitising customary justice officials on women's rights (Castillejo, 2011).

Support efforts to reform and strengthen traditional, non-state and informal means for dispute resolution and adjudication, and align them with international human rights standards

Why it matters and what donors can do

Informal means of dispute resolution are often women's primary avenues for justice. There may be opportunities to support partner country efforts to enhance the effectiveness of these mechanisms and to harmonize them with international standards for women's human rights.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- In 2006 the International Development Law Organization (IDLO) raised awareness in Aceh of applicable law, ways to access the legal system, and the rights of women and children by providing highly accessible guidebooks on Indonesian and customary laws as well as Islamic legal opinion relevant to inheritance and land rights. They were distributed to organisations involved in post-tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation, legal professionals, courts, government officials and villages across the region (Harper, 2007; Wojkowska, 2006).
- In Nepal, donors such as DFID, the Japan International Cooperation Agency and UNICEF have supported informal paralegal systems in order to enhance women's access to formal justice mechanisms. Paralegal Committees are established in all 75 districts and seek to address issues including sexual and gender-based violence, citizenship matters and family disputes in the community (Onslow, 2012).
- In Somalia, UNDP and the Danish Refugee Council supported the local NGO Hornpeace in convening a series of discussions with more than 100 elders and community leaders of the Puntland region to better align the informal justice system with human rights standards including respect for women's rights. In 2009 these efforts culminated in the first state conference for traditional leaders, which brought together 130 traditional leaders, religious leaders and government representatives from all seven regions of Puntland. An alliance of 30 local women's NGOs, the Coalition for Grassroots Women's Organisations, educated participants about the situation of women in Somalia. Due in part to the coalition's contribution, the conference addressed gender-based violence and ultimately adopted a National Declaration that called for the protection of women's rights. It also included important reform of informal laws requiring a widow to marry a brother of her dead husband and a commitment to advocate for further reforms of customary law to enhance women's rights (DCAF, 2011; UNDP, 2009, 2010).

A.4. Economic Foundations

Support the creation of job opportunities including income-generating projects that can reduce incentives to engage in violence and conflict, and benefit women as well as men

Why it matters and what donors can do

Women are empowered by playing an active and productive role in the labour market, and donor support is key. The benefits can be far-reaching: given the evidence that women spend more of their incomes in support of family health and welfare, increasing their disposable income in post-conflict contexts could also boost overall consumption and growth. Although there is often a marked increase in women's engagement in economic activities during and after war, they may not gain much because they often end up in very low-wage and dangerous occupations (Justino, 2012). As mentioned above, microcredit is a powerful tool that donors have frequently used to support women's economic empowerment. While continued investment in this area is needed, it is important to remember that such programmes alone cannot transform women's livelihoods or job opportunities. They must be well-designed, for example by being coupled with training, group loans and increased access to credit that allows women to transform and scale up their businesses over time (OECD-DAC Gendernet, 2012).

Practical examples from current donor practice

- Donors support microcredit initiatives. These can be particularly effective if they integrate training and awareness-raising components and ensure adequate evaluation of impact to improve design of programmes over time. Research in countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan and East Timor shows mixed results in terms of how microcredit opportunities have impacted on women's empowerment in the household and community (Justino et al., 2012).
- In June 2010, inter-ethnic violence broke out in southern Kyrgyzstan, displacing as many as 400 000 people. Local populations began to reject newcomers (displaced persons), at times violently, in an attempt to safeguard already scarce economic resources. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) supported the women-led Civil Society Support Center of Jalal Abad (CSSC) in addressing this local level of conflict by providing training on conflict mitigation and management and establishing local forums for discussion of grievances. Other initiatives included peace promotion campaigns, business training on best practices in the development of small businesses and support to small business development plans. CSSC ensured that women participated in the activities through minimum participation rates for women.

Ensure that increased agricultural productivity and domestic private sector development benefit women farmers and entrepreneurs

Why it matters and what donors can do

Women often engage in agricultural labour but often as family workers or in subsistence farming rather than in connection with cash crops. They also tend to have less access to agricultural extension services and rarely receive adequate technological or other support to enable them to scale up or increase productivity. The lack of access to credit is a major obstacle facing women in all countries, including FCAS, and can make it particularly difficult for them to develop their subsistence activities into small or medium-scale enterprises. Traditionally, there is also much gender stereotyping in the types of economic activity undertaken by women (for example, hairdressing, catering and cloth making), which can limit the income-generating opportunities that are then open to women. Through funding skills-training programmes, donors can provide support to women entrepreneurs in non-traditional areas that may have greater market potential while at the same time encouraging new thinking about the types of economic activity perceived as appropriate for women.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- The Women's Entrepreneurship Development and Gender Equality (WEDGE) project in Ethiopia supported female entrepreneurs by raising awareness about their activities, supporting their participation and developing services that targeted their needs (ILO, 2007).
- The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported a programme launched in 2009 to enhance women's economic empowerment in West Africa by bringing together NGOs specialised in economic assistance in predominantly informal sectors with NGOs specialised on gender. Together they developed jointly tailored pilot projects that involved women and men to promote gender equality and women's control over revenues. The projects were based on an analysis of men and women's access to and control of economic resources as well as their representation in formal governance and other decision-making bodies such as professional unions. In Burkina Faso, for example, the local NGO ASMADE worked with women street vendors to successfully lobby their district mayor for formal recognition and space for their activities. The co-operation programme also supports training by the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (National School of Administration) for women directing companies and representing economic networks and associations.
- In Liberia, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the International Trade Centre and Finland co-operated to support market women

by linking them to farmers and allowing them to buy and sell – all by mobile phone. The project was designed to reduce the stress and risk that women face in buying and transporting produce and to allow them to access a larger pool of suppliers so that they pay less for products they purchase. The "Trade at Hand" programme raised incomes for both farmers and market women and inspired them to explore other ways to make use of innovative methods, according to a 2011 report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland.

- USAID helped facilitate access to financing for women entrepreneurs in Ethiopia and Kenya by sharing credit risks. To help banks decrease collateral requirements and women entrepreneurs to expand their businesses beyond the limits of microfinance, USAID in Ethiopia designed credit guarantees of USD 4.3 million for small and medium-sized businesses owned or managed by women. In Kenya the USAID guarantee was aimed at sectors such as agricultural production and processing, tourism and manufacturing with a strong emphasis on extending credit to businesses owned or operated by women (OECD, 2012).
- In Ethiopia, the Swedish Economic Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) provided financial assistance and the Swedish Chamber of Commerce provided meeting and technical assistance to strengthen the capacity of the Amhara Women Entrepreneurs Association (AWEA). With over 3 000 members, this umbrella organisation of businesswomen in the Amhara region is the second largest private business organisation in Ethiopia. It assists members with business development services, consultancy services, skills training and mentoring. One result of the partnership with Sweden was the creation of the National Women's Business Network, which has 11 000 members and is the vehicle for AWEA to offer business opportunities and contacts for members seeking partners and clients beyond the Amhara region (OECD, 2011; Sida, 2010).

Support the transparent and equitable management of natural resources

Why it matters and what donors can do

Natural resources play an important role in many civil conflicts around the world, and are often important revenue generators for FCAS. Given that in most of these countries women are responsible for securing water and food for the household, they have a particular stake in ensuring safe, reliable access to natural resources. However, they rarely benefit from economic opportunities around natural resource exploitation and management, and natural resource degradation can have a negative impact on their ability to

provide for their families. Women can nevertheless play important roles in managing resources at the community level, and are often important sources of knowledge that could be tapped into. Security is also an issue for women who work in and around mines. Any programme should therefore address sexual and gender-based violence against female miners and those who work in the surroundings to provide food, water and other supplies to male miners. Women's lack of access to property and land rights can also exacerbate their exclusion from discussions around natural resource management, so this issue is closely linked to broader questions about women's economic security and status within the community and household.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- A programme in Africa supported by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) has assisted women and men in the domestication, cultivation and sale of indigenous fruit and medicinal trees. The first phase of the programme was implemented from 1999 to 2003 in Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Nigeria. Through training on vegetative propagation techniques, the programme enabled many farmers to set up their own nurseries. The project led to an increase in average household incomes in rural communities and was particularly effective in enhancing the livelihoods and status of women. Women's groups created nurseries, enabling more women to take part in income-generating activities. These results in turn led to increased school attendance by children. They also contributed to improved nutritional well-being of households because women were able to produce a variety of foods for household consumption that had not previously been available to them (World Bank n.d.; Rural Poverty Portal n.d.).

A.5. Revenues and Services

Identify and address the specific barriers that affect women's and girls' ability to access services

Why it matters and what donors can do

Women face specific barriers to access to services, for example lack of transport or financial resources that prevent them from being able to use existing services. They can also be vulnerable to various forms of violence such as rape or other forms of sexual violence when either using services or travelling to and from locations such as health clinics or water points. Services may also not be designed or delivered with their needs in mind, which can further reduce their likelihood of accessing appropriate and needed services.

Access to services can also be linked to citizenship and the possession of identity cards or birth registration. This can result in the exclusion of large segments of the population who may not have such formal proof of citizenship.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- Research by UN Women and UNDP in Egypt showed that as many as 80% of rural women in Upper Egypt did not have ID cards, which they need to access health clinics, education services and financial and credit services. Nor could they vote. One of the major obstacles, in addition to lack of awareness of the rights that come with an ID card, was women's perception that it was unsafe to visit police stations where ID cards are issued unless escorted by a male family member. UN Women and UNDP partnered with the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Local Administration to redesign the delivery of civic registration services, allowing women to start the process on their own by completing forms at home or at mobile registration centres.
- In Tajikistan, monitoring by women's community groups revealed that as many as 50% of vulnerable households did not have birth certificates for children or ID cards for adults. Without these documents they were unable to register for disability benefits, pensions or health services. UN Women supported the women's groups to create a dialogue mechanism with local authorities to discuss the extent of the problem; create a special list of vulnerable households that would be eligible for a fee waiver for civic registration services; and create a one-stop shop service delivery point so they could receive their documentation and register for health, pension and disability services in one location. This is an important step, in particular for individuals who may struggle with illiteracy or feel intimidated when dealing with state officials because they rarely interact with them.

Support more women to be engaged alongside men in frontline service delivery

Why it matters and what donors can do

Women often fill gaps in service delivery or provide specific services to address women's unmet needs, for example through community-based or grassroots women's associations. Expanding their role in FCAS, where the capacity of the state may be limited, is an effective strategy for increasing the reach and impact of service provision. Research also shows that having more women involved in frontline service delivery can ensure better delivery of services – and higher-quality services. It provides role models, as well, and

encourages women to be more engaged in the planning and design of service delivery (Lukatela, 2012). For example, where there are higher numbers of female health workers it is likely that women's needs such as maternity care and family planning will be better addressed.

Practical examples from current donor practice

- Provide training for women as health and education workers
- In countries where polio is still persistent, such as Pakistan or Nigeria, UNICEF and the World Health Organization work closely with national health authorities to provide polio vaccinations in at-risk communities. Women health workers are a key part of these vaccination drives in contexts where women are confined to private spaces. Women health workers serve to bridge the gap between public and private spaces and reach marginalised women and children who would otherwise not have any interaction with the state or its public service providers (Lukatela, 2013).
- Rwanda with the support of UN Women has established farmer field schools that specifically aim to train women agricultural extension agents and connect extension agents and model women farmers. These agents and farmers then work as a team to raise awareness of women farmers about services available to them, and advocate with community leaders to encourage women farmers to access services and increase their crop yields. Women farmers have commented that previously they felt that male extension agents only paid attention to cash crop farming and did not perceive the women's maize and bean subsistence farming as "real farming". They described the women extension agents as more likely to understand the type of farming they were doing and how their needs might differ, and as more prepared to meet those needs.
- In Liberia, the requirement of a high school diploma for police service severely restricts the potential pool of applicants. Liberian women, even in peacetime, had limited access to secondary education. Wartime diminished it further. Thus, finding women with the requisite educational qualifications is a big challenge. The Liberian National Police (LNP) and UN Police have responded with an innovative idea, funded by the Government of the Netherlands, called the Educational Support Program for Female Candidates in LNP. A total of 150 women were chosen to attend classes that will result in their receiving a high school diploma upon successful completion of their exams. In return, the women promise to join the LNP and to serve for five years upon completing the police academy training (UN DPKO/DFS, 2008).

Support the adoption of sound and transparent financial management, including by using gender budgeting to inform resource allocations and decision making

Why it matters and what donors can do

Research by OECD and UN Women finds that, to date, donors have spent minimal funds on addressing women-specific issues or in support of gender equality in statebuilding contexts. By increasing the resources they make available, donors could have an impact on how seriously these issues are taken and improve allocation of resources in response to identified needs. In sectors where investments are particularly low – such as infrastructure, agriculture, and information and communication technologies – gender budgeting can be a useful tool for understanding how resources are being spent and the impact that they have on different parts of the population. In FCAS there are often major planning processes that can act as entry points for applying these tools and also changing the pattern of resource distribution among government ministries and departments. It is important to ensure that local populations are involved. Soliciting the views of women around how government budgets and resources should be spent can be a way of ensuring that different perspectives are taken into account

Practical examples from current donor practice

- Support community-based service-delivery mechanisms, and focus not only on the state.
- Provide technical assistance to governments to enhance capacity in gender budgeting and provide training so that in the long term, the skill sets are there. Rwanda has made systematic efforts to mainstream gender into the economic policy framework, and required all ministries and provinces to draw up gender-responsive budgets, with support from DFID.[1] The 2002 Poverty Strategy Review paper refers to gender as among the key cross-cutting issues that need to be addressed by all priority policy areas. It particularly highlights the need for public services (especially health, education, agricultural services) to ensure equal access, utilisation and impact. The PRSP advocates sectoral targets including the promotion of gender sensitivity in agricultural extension; introduction of a multi-sectoral HIV/AIDS programme; an emphasis on education of girls in science and technology; and the introduction of a scholarship programme for girls of poor families (El-Bushra, Lyytikäinen and Schoofs, 2012).

Note

1. The Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) initiative ceased after 2004 with the end of the DFID-supported programme, and government restructuring and retrenchments discouraged further efforts in this area. Recently, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning has developed plans for a new three-year GRB initiative, in part as a result of advocacy by the Women's Parliamentary Forum.

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Gender and Statebuilding in Fragile and Conflict-affected States

Table of contents

Chapter 1. Why integrate a gender perspective into statebuilding?

Chapter 2. Addressing the challenges and limitations of current international approaches to integrating a gender perspective in statebuilding

Chapter 3. Strategies for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

Chapter 4. Key ingredients for success in integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

Chapter 5. Recommendations for integrating a gender perspective into statebuilding

Annex A. Practical examples of what donors have done to integrate gender issues across the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals

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