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The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction

The Challenges in Development Aid

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Abstract

Based on analysing World Bank and other donor post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) loans and grants from rights-based, macroeconomic and microeconomic perspectives, we conclude that few PCR projects identify or address gender discrimination issues. Bank PCR investments hardly reflect Bank research recognizing that gender inequality increases the likelihood of conflict and gender equality is central to development and peace. Our conceptual framework examining women's programmes, gender mainstreaming, and gender roles in transforming violent into peaceful societies, leads to recommending that PCR projects systematically address gender issues and promote gender equality to make peace work.

Keywords: women, reconstruction, post-conflict, equality, gender, gender and development, development aid

JEL classification: J16, F59, F35, O19

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Acronyms

BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
DDR	demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration
ICT	information and communications technology
IFI	international financial institutions
PCF	Post-Conflict Fund
PCR	post-conflict reconstruction
MPV	Mandela Peace Village
PRSP	poverty reduction strategy papers
SC 1324	Security Council Resolution 1325
SAPs	structural adjustment programmes
SMEs	small- and medium-sized enterprises
SOEs	state-owned enterprises

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1 Our topic and our approach

Based on our experience working with and reviewing development aid projects in post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) situations, this paper suggests ways in which gender dimensions may promote gender equality and enhance PCR returns on investments. It argues that achieving successful reconstruction and maintaining peace requires attention to gender in the post-conflict arena.

We use World Bank examples to demonstrate the extent to which the largest development institution meets its own objective to mainstream gender into all its investments, including a sample of its large post-conflict reconstruction development loans and its small post-conflict fund (PCF) grants. We integrate World Bank and other donor project examples into the text. While these examples mainly bolster our argument that gender issues need much greater attention in PCR, a few examples illustrate the kind of gender-sensitive approaches that we advocate.

We begin our discussion by locating post-conflict reconstruction within a process triggered by peace negotiations and ending with peaceful, prosperous and equitable societies. This is important because of the great efforts and substantial accomplishments relating to gender in the earlier phases. Then, we propose a framework with three interrelated essential gender dimensions: (i) women-focused activities, (ii) gender-aware programming, and (iii) gender role transformation to heal trauma, build social capital and avoid further violence. Throughout the paper, we recommend gender-focused approaches for building peaceful and equitable post-conflict societies. Examples of World Bank and other donor projects are presented throughout the paper. The concluding remarks at the end of the paper contains a summary analysis of World Bank projects.

2 Situating our topic along the continuum of conflict, peace negotiations, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, peacemaking and reconstruction

From the women and armed conflict plank in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) (United Nations 1996) through government commitments in the June 2000 five-year BPA review, to Security Council Resolution 1325 (SC 1325) (United Nations 2000), the world has increasingly acknowledged the impacts of conflict on women—and of women on conflict.

SC 1325 marked a milestone. For the first time in its 55-year history, the UN Security Council focused on women. Through SC 1325, the international community recognized that women's involvement is essential for achieving sustainable peace. SC 1325 commits to women's participation in peace negotiations, preventing and managing conflict and peacekeeping operations. Although SC 1325 could be strengthened by *mandating* the need to address gender relations and gender equality during all phases of conflict and post-conflict, it is a historic achievement raising the stature of gender roles and women's needs in international discourse and planning.

Many excellent papers have addressed advocacy for women during conflict and peace negotiations, peacekeeping and peacemaking, resulting in significant progress.[1] This paper builds upon them, shifting the focus to stages that follow. It addresses women's inclusion and gender issues beyond conflict settings, humanitarian and peacemaking efforts, and peace negotiations—in *reconstruction.* Our concern is with the gender dimensions of *development*—social, economic and political—within a particularized context that is post-conflict.

3 Three gender dimensions: women-focused activities, gender aware programming, gender oriented social transformation

To analyse the gender aspects of post-conflict reconstruction, we propose three interrelated dimensions. Each is rights-based, guaranteeing women *rights* to: participate *meaningfully* in policymaking and resource allocation; benefit *substantially* from public and private resources and services; and enjoy equal status with men in constructing the new peace and prosperity. Under civil society pressure the World Bank rhetoric occasionally recognizes human rights but the Bank has not yet integrated a rights-based approach into its investments.[2] This needs to change—both as a matter of right, and as a matter of sustainable reconstruction.

With women's rights as the foundation, the first gender dimension is women-focused activities that *compensate for gender disparities*—in rights, education, resources and power. The second dimension emphasizes economic issues, *recognizing that gender-related impediments diminish the effectiveness of economic and governance programmes*. Characterized by urgent need for leadership, resources, labour and talent, post-conflict societies cannot afford to bypass women or to ignore gender-related impediments and opportunities. The third gender dimension, the most strategic, is transformative as it advocates *gender-oriented activities to change unequal conflicted to peaceful societies of respect and equality*.

4 Dimension one: women-focused activities

This dimension highlights PCR opportunities to set new norms, draft new rules, identify and empower new leaders, and build new institutions (McMillan and Greenberg 1998). It invites the full incorporation of women's rights through women-focused activities that contribute to levelling the playing field, redressing deficits and disparities and ensuring that women have resources and capabilities. Thus, for example, the World Bank supported a project in Peshawar to train Afghan exiled women to teach girls in Afghanistan who, because of previous injunctions preventing female education, lacked schooling. While such activities reflect a 'women-in-development' approach, they target deficits in order to achieve gender equality.

This section promotes women's rights to: (i) full and effective participation in decisionmaking, particularly political; (ii) property ownership, including land, housing

1 See Strickland and Duvvury (2003) for a review of the pertinent literature on these processes.

2 See the World Bank Post-Conflict Fund manager's statement on human rights in Quinones (2004).

and other assets; (iii) employment without discrimination in hiring, benefits, promotion or firing; and (iv) lives free from violence.

4.1 Political rights

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

But ensuring that women's political rights are fully exercised requires attention to the number of women in decisionmaking (elected and appointed positions), their capability in such positions, and their commitment to supporting gender equality (Greenberg 1998; Greenberg 2000b). Many post-conflict countries have taken steps to increase women's political participation. The dominant parties in South Africa (ANC), Mozambique (Frelimo), and Namibia (Swapo) established women's quotas on candidate lists. Though controversial, quotas can increase women's representation (Tinker 2004). And while some may question women representatives' political qualifications, they generally ignore unqualified elected men.

Others have focused on women's ability to run for office and hold office effectively (Greenberg 1998). When the national council in Timor Leste, where some 45 per cent of adult women are widowed (UNIFEM 2004), rejected quotas, women's networks sought UN funding to train women to compete effectively in elections. Women now comprise 26 per cent of elected constituent assembly members (UNIFEM 2004).

In Rwanda, where women comprise over 60 per cent of the post-genocide population, women captured 49 per cent of parliamentary seats in fall 2003 elections. Rwanda now has the largest female parliamentary representation worldwide.

In Afghanistan, despite the predominant fundamentalist religious, warlord-led culture, women will occupy at least 25 per cent of lower parliament seats. This resulted from pressure by Afghan women's groups and the international community, including from countries such as the US where women hold only 14 per cent of congressional seats. Yet women's representation in some post-conflict parliaments remains discouragingly low. An example is Guatemala's lower house where women hold only 8 per cent of the seats.

Thus the record of women's political representation is uneven. One of the problems limiting the ability of women to participate politically is their disadvantage in education that also must be addressed.

With or without quotas, women's strengthened leadership capacity is necessary for women politicians to succeed and for increasing voter support for them (eventually eliminating the need for quotas). This requires women-focused activities to build capacity to run for office, win, effectively serve, and promote gender equality when governing. It also requires support for women's organizations that build political awareness and capacity. Women must also remove gender impediments to effective collaboration with men—as coalition partners and political party leaders.

4.2 Property rights

After the chaos, dislocation and destruction of conflict, post-conflict reconstruction often involves sorting out property ownership, including law-making around property rights and privatization. More often than not, the old systems that are being replaced had institutionalized gender inequality. PCR legal reforms present an historic opportunity to support gender-equal property and inheritance ownership and control.

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

Poverty compounds gender inequalities in accessing property. For example, the poorest families, particularly female-headed households, had the greatest difficulty obtaining and holding on to the privatized land that Mozambique's government distributed following war. They lacked the capacity to navigate the official bureaucracy and the resources to purchase inputs and hire labour. More prosperous farmers benefited from donor-supported land privatization schemes (Wuyts 2003).

Despite these impediments that the poorest populations, especially female-headed household, face in accessing property, donor projects often neglect gender considerations. For example, a World Bank PCR project for Angola that focuses on resettlement and land acquisition does not consider gender issues affecting female-headed households.[3] Another World Bank PCR project for Colombia that includes land titling for the poor does not consider gender needs.[4] However, a World Bank project for Sri Lanka that reconstructs houses and regularizes titles for war-displaced people gives preference to female-headed households. This Sri Lankan project provides a good example for other countries.

In PCR countries that privatize state assets, the process usually includes a small group of men with international contacts and access to substantial capital. Women rarely become owners of privatized economic facilities (Dokmanovic 2002). Only legal literacy and other empowerment programmes can ensure women receive equal property rights with men. Despite passage of new laws, women often remain unprotected or unable to enjoy the rights stated by law. Most developing country women lack

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3 World Bank Angola Emergency Multisector Recovery Credit. Available at: //www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/11/30/000104615_20041202102917/Rendered/PDF/Project0Inform10Stage01Nov103010041.pdf

4 World Bank Bogota Urban Services Project. Available at: //www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2003/03/11/000094946_03022604021461/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

information about their legal rights and lack the capacity and resources to pursue them (such as literacy, money, and power within their families). Post-conflict reconstruction activities need to develop women's legal literacy and access to justice through the courts and legal professionals.

4.3 Employment without discrimination

The right to employment without discrimination raises similar issues. While post-conflict countries often pass new laws forbidding discrimination, employers frequently ignore them. Following wars of liberation, the Chinese and Vietnamese governments passed laws forbidding employment discrimination. These laws were better adhered to during these countries' socialist than during their current market economies (Zuckerman 2000a). This pattern pervades virtually all transition economies as Gender Action's analysis of World Bank structural adjustment loans in Serbia and Montenegro demonstrate (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). The policies and oversight of the Commission for Gender Equality and the Office on the Status of Women in South Africa illustrate that continuous institutional support is critical to enforce women's employment rights (Greenberg 1998).

Furthermore, in PCR there is a danger that donors not only fail to redress employment discrimination, but may promote it. While donor focus on employment for demobilized male soldiers is understandable, they may institutionalize gender inequality (Greenberg *et al.* 1997; Greenberg 2001b). De Watteville, in her extraordinary study of gender and demilitarization-demobilization-reintegration (DDR) points out numerous critical factors in PCR preferences for men: In Bosnia, women were glad for employment programmes that targeted their husbands because it relieved both economic and psychological strain on their families. But in Nicaragua, an estimated 16,000 women lost their jobs because men returned from war (de Watteville 2002). Enabling employers to discriminate positively in hiring men because of economic pressures reinforces gender disparities and stereotyped positions, perpetuates employment practices that violate women's rights and constricts women's potential contribution to economic growth. Donor and NGO projects must take care to hire and promote without gender bias and ensure that women benefit from job training and work experience equally with men (Greenberg 1997).

4.4 Right to live and work free from violence

This right is particularly difficult to promote and protect in post-conflict settings for several reasons. First, men who return home from the front or the bush come from cultures of violence, accustomed to wielding weapons and using force. Second, returning male tensions are high because of uncertainty about place and roles in society, exacerbated by the pains of post-conflict economic adjustment and related unemployment. These tensions often result in increased male alcohol consumption that precipitates violence against women and raises HIV/AIDS rates. This tragic cycle has developed in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and many other post-conflict countries. Third, after either sexual apartheid during war-time (with men away and women tending to homes and family) or extremely patriarchal relations 'in the bush' typified by girls in 'forced marriages' and otherwise 'enslaved' to men, many returnees lack experience with respectful, equitable gender relations.

Violence also affects women's ability to generate income. For example, Angolan women are held up to steal their earnings at the end of a workday in the informal market and South African women are often threatened by crime as they travel to and from work (Greenberg 1998).

Some post-conflict societies have taken this issue very seriously, seeing it not as something ancillary, but requiring attention in building sustainable, peaceful societies. Rwandan genocide survivors, with UNESCO support, developed the Mandela Peace Village (MPV) that houses and provides shelter and literacy programmes to displaced widow- and orphan-headed households. But its conditions are still very poor. For example, many of the impoverished MPV women still walk several hours a day to fetch contaminated water and fuel.[5]

4.5 Dimension one challenges

One constant challenge for PCR women-focused activities is funding. It is a common problem in many development projects for governments and donors to allocate insufficient funding for women's rights-focused activities. This is striking in post-conflict settings where project resources tend to be generous. For example, the World Bank has US$6.6 billion for 95 projects under implementation in Africa alone and an additional 105 projects worth US$7 billion under preparation (World Bank 2004b). Although the majority of World Bank projects that Gender Action analysed lacked any women or gender focus, one exception is the Bank portfolio in Sri Lanka that more consistently 'mainstreamed gender' into post-conflict reconstruction projects. We believe this results from Sri Lankan policies and enlightened Bank staff working on the country. Despite such achievements in some countries, there is a constant danger, as in Kosovo, of a precipitous drop in funding for women's initiatives once the life resumes normalcy.[6] It is important to programme sustained and sustainable funding.

On the positive side, some PCR programmes have included laudable women-focused approaches. In Rwanda, a women's NGO umbrella organization, the Pro-Femmes Twese-Hamwe trains members as leaders. Pressured by women's groups and donors, the Rwandan Parliament passed legislation giving women equal rights to property and inheritance (Zuckerman 2000b). In late 2003, Serbia's first poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) allocated €7 million to develop women's capacity (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). In Bosnia and Kosovo, the international community funded major women's initiatives.

A second challenge is to get beyond perfunctory participation and *de jure* legal protections to effective participation and commitment to gender equality. Thus women-focused activities must ensure that women political representatives are women's and gender equality advocates, and not merely well connected, compliant politicians. This requires effective, persistent training in gender equality to ensure that not only women, but women and men who are accountable to constituencies, will recognize and support gender equality in policies and resource allocations. This was a key reason for controversy in Kosovo when the UN maintained women's representation quotas in the

5 Co-author Elaine Zuckerman interviewed MPV residents in their homes in 2001.

6 Co-author Marcia Greenberg gathered this information during visits to Kosovo.

face of a women's lobby demanding 'open lists' to ensure representatives' accountability to constituencies.

Gender equitable laws and policies require a critical mass of capable women who voice positions and garner collegial support, along with men who also support gender equality. The challenge is to engage all stakeholders, including elder male leaders and younger men, to accept gender equality.

Rights-based work cannot be viewed only in terms of women, but also men, who need to know and promote everyone's rights.

5 Dimension two: gender aware programming

Gender-aware programming is about gender mainstreaming—systematically identifying and addressing gender issues that may obstruct or improve reconstruction. The whole gamut of PCR macroeconomic and microeconomic development activities requires gender mainstreaming.

5.1 Macroeconomic issues

Post-conflict reconstruction and macroeconomic reform agenda sometimes conflict, usually because PCR requires heavy socioeconomic financing that donor-imposed public expenditure management programmes constrain. This macroeconomic constraint restricts funding for gender-based PCR socioeconomic development.

Too little attention has focused on the intersection of macroeconomic policies and gender although the gendered impacts of macroeconomic interventions frequently affect development outcomes (Çagatay, Elson and Grown 1995; Grown, Elson and Çagatay 2000; Zuckerman 2000b). PCR macroeconomic reforms with gendered impacts include spending reallocations, state-owned enterprise (SOE) privatization, price and trade liberalization, civil service streamlining, and governance decentralization (Greenberg 2001a; Greenberg 2001d; Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004; Zuckerman 2000b). During privatization, sometimes class factors outweigh gender differences. Elite females as well as males might benefit while poor women and men are likely to lose.[7] Our focus is on the poor whom donors claim to target to meet their poverty reduction objective and the extent to which donor projects address gender issues. It is problematic, for example, that neither a World Bank poverty reduction support credit for Rwanda approved in 2004 promoting private sector development activities[8] nor a World Bank Cambodia electricity privatization programme considered gendered impacts.[9] Donor-

7 Tony Addison, Deputy Director of UNU-WIDER, thoughtfully pointed out this nuance.

8 World Bank Poverty Reduction Support Credit and Grant Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/09/30/000090341_20040930101314/Rendered/PDF/29467.pdf

9 World Bank Cambodia Rural Electrification and Transmission Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2003/11/26/000012009_20031126114127/Rendered/PDF/270150KH.pdf

imposed privatization activities always seem to bypass and harm poor groups such as female-headed households and benefit the better-off (Zuckerman 1989, 1991).

Macroeconomic programme expenditure cutbacks during post-conflict reconstruction usually deprive new single mothers or widows of public support. For example a World Bank public sector reform project for Rwanda approved in 2004 never considers gender needs.[10]

PCR programme design and implementation must do better in recognizing and addressing gender needs. This requires increased effective participation by women and greater awareness of gender equality as a right and economic motor.

Studies demonstrate that women bear the brunt of painful structural adjustment programmes (SAP) integral to many PCR frameworks (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). Serbia and Montenegro's typical SAP requires: the closing of SOEs closing, restructuring and/or privatizing; public expenditure and civil service cutbacks including in social programmes; and financial sector liberalization, commercialization and downsizing. Although these measures affect women and men differently, their design and implementation neglected gendered impacts. In Serbia and Montenegro, health spending cutbacks expand women's homecare for sick household members, reducing time for paid work. Women lose formal sector jobs first and are rehired last because they are assumed to be secondary breadwinners. In reality increasing numbers of households are female headed. Men caught in persistent unemployment often become drunk and violent, another gender impact needing attention (Greenberg 2000c).

But PCR programmes rarely recognize the gender impacts of resource allocations. Many PCR countries face severe resource scarcities that require choices. Removing gender barriers in setting priorities may affect development outcomes significantly, as reflected in women urging reallocations from weapons to social programmes in the Beijing Platform for Action and during the Beijing Plus Five review: 'Many women's nongovernmental organizations have called for reductions in military expenditures worldwide … Those affected most negatively by conflict and excessive military spending are people living in poverty, who are deprived because of lack of investment in basic services' (United Nations 1996).

Mainstreaming women's involvement and empowerment into macroeconomic programmes may enhance gender equality, accountability, and transparency. One way to do so is through promoting gender budget analyses to monitor public expenditures. All PCR countries should support gender budget analyses and follow up advocacy.

Trade is another macroeconomic issue with neglected gendered impacts (Gammage *et al.* 2002; Zuckerman 2000b). Post-conflict reconstruction, like regular development, promotes trade as an economic growth motor. PCR trade ranges from modern industrial economies recovering from conflict such as those in the Balkans, to less-developed countries with informal barter arrangements such as in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire.

10 World Bank Public Sector Capacity Building Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/06/21/000090341_20040621101209/ReSsndered/PDF/27857.pdf

The gendered trade impacts of post-conflict reconstruction need addressing in all types of trade arrangements. For example, women who have been traders in West Africa for generations developed mobility and networks pre-conflict. Conflict undermines or destroys their trade patterns and livelihoods. In PCR, women must re-build their trade networks. Doing so requires overcoming in most countries necessary almost insurmountable hurdles to credit access for the income generation needed to pay for basic needs and contribute to economic growth (see the following subsection on access to credit).

5.2 Microeconomic issues

Access to credit

Credit, one of the most popular PCR programmes, raises several gender issues.

Both women and men need access to credit, sometimes micro, sometimes larger. In some countries, such as Eritrea and Mozambique, rural women need access to microcredit to be able generate their first beyond-subsistence livelihoods (de Sousa 2003). Most of the repatriated Eritrean refugees who fled during the country's three-year liberation war preferred developing micro-enterprises in urban areas to taking government or village allotted land (Kibreab 2003).

Both men and women who spent years in the bush or displaced may lack skills to start or maintain a business. They need training in business skills, as well as credit. Many Eritrean and Angolan fighters who lived in the bush lacked any experience with a market economy. Some Eritrean ex-combatant women who lived their entire lives in the bush had never even handled money. The single mothers among them who borrowed microcredit failed in their enterprises because of insufficient training and guidance. They ended up in *abject* poverty (Greenberg 2001c).

On the positive side, while men were away fighting, many women who stayed home worked in agriculture or urban enterprises such as those in Luanda's informal market. These women developed business experience and became better investment and credit risks than many men (Greenberg *et al.* 1997). However, many PCR credit programmes do not target women at all. An example is the World Bank Sierra Leone Economic Rehabilitation and Recovery Credit Project (III) that does not ensure that women will be borrowers.[11] An exception is the World Bank agriculture project for Sri Lankan war-affected households that targets women with village-level revolving fund credit.[12]

In some PCR countries, such as those in the Balkans, women are ready for larger loans. However, as in non-PCR contexts, programmes tend to slot women into microcredit

11 World Bank Sierra Leone Economic Rehabilitation and Recovery Credit Project (III). Available at: web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=104231&piPK=73230&theSitePK=40941&menuPK=228424&Projectid=P074642

12 World Bank Sri Lanka Second North-East Irrigated Agriculture Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/06/04/000090341_20040604131552/Rendered/PDF/285420LK.pdf

while men gain access to larger credit, even when women require more than microcredit for SMEs (small- and medium enterprises), particularly urban educated women.[13]

Despite women's positive credit repayment record worldwide, gender roles still influence how banks and credit facilities work with women, both in post-conflict reconstruction and in normal situations. Lending officers in many countries are almost all men, as are borrowers. Women's legal lack of the required property collateral impedes their borrowing. Methods to remedy gender inequalities include ensuring equal hiring practices in banks and training opportunities for new bank jobs, using non-property collateral methods like savings groups, targeting credit to women and men equally, and maintaining sex-disaggregated records to identify and remove gender disparities.

Sensitive PCR gender issues surrounding women's access to credit and business development skills can undermine household relations. Manifestations include threatened and angry returned men, who engage in domestic violence because of the difficulty in coping with changing household gender roles. One solution is to train and require lending officers to speak with husbands and wives. This good practice is illustrated by a lending-incubator north of Boston, USA, that always interviews both spouses to ensure that each understands the time commitment required to build a successful new business.[14]

On balance, using thoughtful approaches, both microcredit and larger loans can contribute to PCR.

Agriculture development

Worldwide agriculture has been feminizing as more developing-country rural males than females migrate to cities for employment. Conflict accelerates this trend.

While men were at war, for example in Angola and Rwanda, women deepened their knowledge, skills and experience as farmers. Female-headed farms multiply while rural men die fighting.

Sometimes men return from war lacking farming experience but wanting to farm to generate income for their families. Where women also farm, it makes sense to train both men and women to collaborate effectively and equitably.

Some post-conflict agriculture programmes target mostly ex-combatants. PCR programmes disseminating seeds, tools, technology, and other agricultural inputs often bypass women farmers' strategic roles in subsistence and market agriculture. PCR rural growth strategies should target female farmers, not just demobilized male soldiers (Greenberg *et al.* 1997; Greenberg 2001b). One exceptional project that does so is the

13 Across Africa, women compose about 80 per cent of the farmers but access less than 10 per cent of micro rural credit and less than 1 per cent of total agricultural credit (Blackden and Bhanu 1999).

14 Reflecting experiences from a study tour organized by co-author Marcia Greenberg in 1995 for representatives of Polish communities interested in lending programmes for economic development.

World Bank agriculture project for Sri Lanka approved in 2004 that supports village and community based organizations including rural women development societies.[15]

5.3 Demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)

Meanwhile, a lot of donor resources flow to demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) although such complex programmes are very challenging.[16] Although DDR programmes are particular to PCR countries, they typically involve development activities like providing skills, agricultural inputs, and access to capital. Like PCR agricultural programmes, DDR-projects likewise define 'target populations' narrowly—primarily as male ex-combatants—partly because of gender discrimination and partly because policymakers feel it is tactically imperative to demobilize and reintegrate gun-toting males. A rare exception was the ACORD 'Barefoot Bankers' credit programme in Eritrea that targeted women ex-combatants who played a substantial role in the war (de Watteville 2002).

Most World Bank and other donor DDR projects ignore gender needs. A 2002 World Bank project entitled 'Protection of Patrimonial Assets of Colombia's Internally Displaced Population' that emphasizes stakeholder participation to address the many effects of forced population displacement especially in protecting property, attempts no gender analysis, proposes no gender strategies and makes no effort to mainstream gender at all (World Bank 2004a). In East Timor, two independent commissions identified ex-combatants and veterans, and elaborated programmes to assist them. More than 10,000 men registered. However, women ex-combatants who carried arms and occasionally fought battles were excluded. Instead they were classified as political cadres (UNIFEM 2004). A World Bank DDR project for Angola approved in 2003 mentions female ex-combatants but does not acknowledge that conflict affects females and males differently, for example through sexual violence, and includes no programmes to assist them.[17]

DDR focus on men is problematic in at least two respects: First, it perpetuates unequal gender stereotyping, unfairly bypassing women ex-combatants and others who supported war activities. Second, it shortchanges economic growth by missing opportunities to involve productive women in reconstruction. Demobilized soldiers in Eritrea included female ex-fighters trained as bricklayers, mechanics and electricians during the war who, on returning home, faced discrimination in the job market because their skills were considered to be exclusively men's, a traditional gender bias (Kibreab 2003).

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15 World Bank Sri Lanka Second North-East Irrigated Agriculture Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/06/04/000090341_20040604131552/Rendered/PDF/285420LK.pdf

16 Ian Bannon, head of the World Bank Post-Conflict Unit suggested to co-author Elaine Zuckerman that it might be more efficient to focus on 'DD' on the one hand and 'R' on the other in separate projects, with DD focusing on taking the guns away and R on socio-economic reconstruction.

17 World Bank Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2003/01/11/000094946_0301090403297/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

DDR programmes, for example in Angola, could have achieved more equitable and sustainable results if they targeted women who followed soldiers into the bush to perform 'nonmilitary' service as carriers, cooks, forced sexual partners and combatants (Greenberg *et al.* 1997).

DDR programmes should also prepare men better for respectful household and community relations and non-violent behaviour. Building more peaceful societies requires addressing such gender issues resulting from war. 'Social integration, in other words, is not simply about coming home, but about defining new guiding social values and establishing corresponding relationships and institutions' (de Watteville 2002). DDR needs to integrate ex-combatants by dispelling gender stereotypes, building respect for all, and breaking destructive cycles (see section 6 on gender dimension three). DDR also must build the capacity of receiving households and communities to welcome and reintegrate the returnees. Post-conflict reconstruction sometimes provides an opportunity for 'new starts' that develop more equal gender roles and overcome gender barriers to development. We recommend that future research collect examples demonstrating where this has worked.

5.4 Demography and health

Conflicts cause demographic changes, including men lost in combat, rural to urban and out- migration, and multiplying the number of orphans and elderly survivors. Gender ramifications include increased female-male ratios, female-headed households, and young women alone in cities. PCR female-headed households are typically poorer than male-headed households. This often results both from war and donor-imposed macroeconomic liberalization policies (see section 5.1 on macroeconomics issues) compounded by cultural biases. This interplay is described well in Clara de Sousa's analysis of post-conflict reconstruction in Mozambique (de Sousa 2003).

In PCR societies, as the BPA notes, 'women often become caregivers for injured combatants and find themselves, as a result of conflict, unexpectedly cast as sole manager of a household, sole parent, and caretaker of elderly relatives' (United Nations 1996).

PCR demographic shifts are usually dramatic. As noted above, in PCR Timor Leste some 45 per cent of adult women are widowed (UNIFEM 2004), and in PCR Rwanda, females comprise over 60 per cent of the population. The majority of households are female-or child-headed. Rwandan women are increasingly playing significant roles in many post-conflict walks of life. In PCR Eritrea, where some 45 per cent of post-conflict households are female headed, women returning home from nontraditional sexual relationships in the bush, were spurned by conservative village and family members. Abandoned and rejected, many single mothers settled in Asmara needing homes, jobs and community support. Without jobs, some in desperation turned to prostitution, often linked to PCR peacekeepers (Greenberg 2001c).

Donor's reproductive health projects target female needs by definition. However, other health projects often neglect gendered needs (Zuckerman and Wu 2003). Such is the case in a World Bank PCR emergency health project for Iraq approved in 2004. It neither analyses nor addresses any gender issues whatsoever except for obstetric care

that is by definition a female issue.[18] The World Bank Health Sector Support Project for PCR Cambodia that particularly promotes women's health provides a better example.[19]

HIV/AIDS often increases dramatically in post-conflict environments when infected combatants return home. Additional factors spreading HIV/AIDS in post-war situations include prostitution and destruction of health and information-dissemination infrastructure. According to Stephen Lewis, the UN Special Envoy for HIV/AIDs in Africa, 'Gender inequality is what sustains and nurtures the virus, causing women to be infected in ever greater, disproportionate numbers'. About 60 per cent of HIV/AIDS infections in Africa affect women and the proportion is rising to 75 per cent of females between the ages of 15 and 24 (Lewis 2004). Prevention of HIV/AIDS depends on both men and women receiving information and having power in their relations. PCR programmes must address gender inequality to prevent the escalating toll of AIDS (Greenberg 2001b). This is beginning to happen. For example, a World Bank PCR project focusing on HIV/AIDS in Angola distinctly recognizes and addresses the disease's gendered face.[20]

5.5 Human capacity and life skills

PCR programmes must address human capacity shortages caused by interrupted schooling, fewer teachers due to HIV/AIDS attrition, and destroyed school infrastructure. Females often have less opportunity for schooling. In Angola, more elderly women had access to education before decades of conflict or in bush schools than did younger women raised in an environment lacking educational infrastructure (Greenberg 2001b). PCR education programmes open the possibility to reshape gender-biased into gender-sensitive curricula. Too often donors restore pre-PCR curricula including their old gender biases.

PCR societies can benefit from developing skills without gender stereotypes or inadvertent negative gender impacts. New opportunities, such as information technology training, should be available to women and men alike. Many PCR programmes launch training quickly without regard to who can participate and why some do not. For example, the World Bank West Bank and Gaza Palestinian NGO II Project identifies women as the most marginalized group but allocates no funds to train them.[21] We found an exceptional World Bank project in Sri Lanka, however, that

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18 World Bank Iraq Emergency Health Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/11/22/000104615_20041123100849/Rendered/PDF/PID010Appraisal0Stage0Nov019102004.pdf

19 World Bank Cambodia Health Sector Support Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/12/21/000094946_02120504013689/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

20 World Bank Angola HIV/AIDS, Malaria and TB Control Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/12/07/000012009_20041207092002/Rendered/PDF/289940init.pdf

21 World Bank West Bank Palestinian NGO II Project. Available at: web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=104231&piPK=73230&theSitePK=40941&menuPK=228424&Projectid=P071040

targets women with ICT (information and communications technology) training and skills to enhance employment opportunities.[22]

Deliberate measures can avoid reinforcing gender biases. For example, childcare, family responsibilities and conservative traditions may prevent women from travelling. When the family of a Kosovo female lawyer selected for training in Prishtine forbade her to travel and stay alone in a hotel, thoughtful organizers moved the whole training to the woman's town (Balsis *et al.* 2004).

Besides developing male and female vocational skills to increase opportunities to earn income, PCR programmes must also teach men and women life skills in how to get along, get to work on time and work professionally, and social and civic skills and values that are essential for building a nonviolent society. This includes training women and men to work collaboratively and respectfully together (see section 6 on gender dimension three).

5.6 Employment

A top priority for constructing a viable, functional and sustainable post-conflict economy is reducing high unemployment. Generating employment can contribute to preventing a resurgence of conflict. PCR formal sector employment training programmes mainly target male ex-combatants. Concern to prevent men whose social connections, sense of purpose, and activities are militarily derived from becoming 'loose cannons' is understandable. News from Iraq demonstrates how demobilizing armies and guerrillas without giving them alternatives can be explosive.

But while it is a short-term strategy to focus on employing men, missing the opportunity to engage women in formal economic activities is a long-term strategic oversight. Employed women increase household and national income. Women's entrepreneurship generates jobs as does men's. This is often overlooked, however, as with the World Bank West Bank and Gaza Industrial Estate Project promoting employment that makes no effort to employ women.[23]

Women, who filled 'male jobs' through replacing fighting men, have acquired skills that contribute to productivity and growth. Ending female employment post-conflict is an economic loss. Nevertheless, PCR programmes often exclusively focus training and employment on demobilized men while laying off and disempowering women. These measures restore stereotyped divisions of labour (see section 4.3 on employment without discrimination).

In PCR countries, shifting from old to new industries to construct a modern, global economy, women are usually the first to be laid-off and the last to be rehired because of the traditional view that men are the main breadwinners despite increasing numbers of

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22 World Bank Sri Lanka E-Lanka Development. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org /servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/09/10/000009486_20040910112659/Rendered/PDF/28979a.pdf

23 World Bank West Bank and Gaza Industrial Estate Project. Available at: web.worldbank.org/ external/projects/main?pagePK=104231&piPK=73230&theSitePK= 40941&menuPK=228424&Projectid=P040503

female-headed households and constitutionally-enshrined equal rights. Many women also face job discrimination during pregnancy and breast feeding. As discussed in section 5.1 on the macroeconomics issues, World Bank financed Serbian and Montenegrin enterprise privatization provides such examples (Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004). In Kosovo, women who were pushed out of the workforce back into their homes by Milosevic's policies lost their skills and regressed to home-based roles.[24] It is critical to analyse who loses jobs by gender and to prevent such discrimination by providing equal opportunities to men and women.

PCR programmes also usually fail to recognize and value women's skills and contributions in the 'informal' and 'invisible' sectors where most economic activity takes place in conflict and non-conflict settings. Neglecting these economies illustrates how many female productive activities that contribute to economic growth lack financial and technical support. Of course, informal sector employment can only succeed in the context of a healthy macroeconomy where there is demand for informal sector outputs. If demand is absent, women's and men's informal sector jobs might not be sustainable.

In the poorest PCR countries, employers discriminate against women partly because of their low school attainment. This underlines the need for girls to complete school cycles (de Sousa 2003).

5.7 Physical infrastructure

Much post-conflict reconstruction rebuilds destroyed infrastructure. Gender perspectives differ in infrastructure selection. While men often prioritize highways, women prefer rural roads to access markets, water, fuel, schools, health facilities, and other essential services. In most of Sub-Saharan Africa, men fetch water or firewood only when there is no woman to do it for them (de Sousa 2003). Female time spent fetching water and fuel squeezes time available to earn income and hinders reconstruction of war-torn communities (de Sousa 2003). Moreover, females, particularly young girls, are tragically killed or injured by land mines when they travel long distances to collect water and fuel or when they farm. This has been a problem in Mozambique where paths to water and fuel sources were mined. Public sector allocations would do well to prioritize investing in removing land mines and constructing rural roads in order to eliminate female fatalities while they transport water and fuel, and to reduce their carrying burden.

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

24 Co-author Marcia Greenberg's interview with Sevdie Ahmeti, founder and Executive Director of the Center for Protection of Women and Families (2004).

Improvement Project acknowledges but does not allocate funds to relieve women's water burden.[25]

Gender analyses reveal special infrastructure needs. In Afghanistan, women require private road rest-areas for their own and children's needs. Road security is critical for women who are vulnerable to sex-based crimes. In post-conflict environments, security is a major problem amidst armed, unemployed ex-soldiers. In post-conflict countries like Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Sierra Leone where women historically have been traders, insecurity impedes work travel. Security is also essential for girls travelling to schools. A World Bank emergency school construction project in Iraq approved in 2004 does not recognize or address any such gendered needs.[26] Two World Bank transport projects in Colombia fail to recognize gendered safety needs.[27]

Often women face discrimination in obtaining PCR food-for-work infrastructure jobs that provide short-term work, income, food, and skills. While such jobs could enable women to develop 'nontraditional skills', PCR projects rarely offer women this opportunity. For example, the World Bank Guatemala Rural and Main Roads Project did not employ women.[28] Similarly, the World Bank Iraq Emergency Infrastructure Reconstruction Project that generates employment does not target women at all.[29]

There are better examples. In Angola. CARE involved women in making bricks and providing labour to build their own houses in one project and in another project women provided stones and labour to construct a road, a hospital and a school (Greenberg *et al* 1997). A World Bank Cambodia PCR infrastructure project is targeting unskilled female labourers in its road rehabilitation programme and promoting equal pay for equal work.[30]

Power is another infrastructure sector that rarely considers gendered impacts. For example, the World Bank Tajikistan Pamir Private Power Project does not identify gender issues although women, the majority of the poor, will be hardest hit by required

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25 World Bank West Bank and Gaza Southern Area Water and Sanitation Improvement Project. Available at: web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=104231&piPK =73230&theSitePK= 40941&menu PK=228424&Projectid=P051564

26 World Bank Iraq Emergency School Construction and Rehabilitation Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/11/22/000104615_20041123100849/ Rendered/PDF/PID010Appraisal0Stage0Nov019102004.pdf

27 World Bank Colombia Integrated Mass Transit Systems. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/05/24/000012009_20040524125105/ Rendered/PDF/28926.pdf; World Bank Colombia Bogota Urban Services Project. http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2003/03/11/000094946_03022604021461/ Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

28 World Bank Guatemala Rural and Main Roads Project. Available at: web.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64027221&piPK=64027220&theSitePK=328117 &menuPK=328152&Projectid=P035737

29 World Bank Iraq- Emergency Infrastructure Reconstruction Project Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/04/22/000160016_20040422173641/ Rendered/PDF/AB7271Iraq0Rehab0PID010PUBLIC.pdf

30 World Bank Cambodia Provincial and Rural Infrastructure Project. Available at: www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2003/08/25/000090341_20030825102529/ Rendered/PDF/25594.pdf

tariff increases.[31] Similarly, international advice urging governments to remove subsidies and increase electricity rates in Armenia, Kosovo and Montenegro may have devastating impacts on poor and female-headed households (Balsis *et al.* 2004; Vladisavljevic and Zuckerman 2004).

Gender should be an integral issue in selecting companies for public works contracts. Contracting often involves corruption and generates low-quality infrastructure. Although studies demonstrate that women's involvement reduces the likelihood of corruption, female beneficiaries and entrepreneurs rarely participate in procurement decisions (World Bank 2001). Most contracted companies are owned, managed and staffed by men.

Project consultations should incorporate female inputs and integrate gender analysis into feasibility studies. A positive example is gender equality training in the Swedish-supported Kosovo railways management reform. Usually, however, donors push rapid rebuilding, ignoring opportunities for gender equality and with it enhanced sustainability. Women must participate in identifying and designing infrastructure to reflect their gendered needs, such as day-care centres and water systems that would free their time and permit them to work, and their daughters to attend school.

5.8 Dimension two challenges

This dimension underlines the need for PCR programmes to identify and address gender issues. PCR programmes often flounder because they fail to address unequal gender relations and power dynamics (Strickland and Duvvury 2003). Financiers like the World Bank may produce excellent gender studies and use powerful gender rhetoric, but fail to incorporate them into investments (Picciotto 2000; Zuckerman and Wu 2003).

The challenges are three-fold: First, many of these activities—such as DDR and food-for-work—are implemented in haste, and are therefore based on old models that fail to take account of gender. Yet in many countries, years have passed in which to re-make the models. Second, gender mainstreaming requires knowledgeable staff to consult with women, recognize gender impediments and opportunities in project design, and to ensure attention to gender throughout implementation. Third, monitoring and evaluation tend to focus on meeting immediate, critical needs, rather than the long-range strategic impacts like achieving a democratic, gender-equal society that respects everyone's human rights and rewards everyone's economic contribution.

6 Gender dimension three: gender role transformation

The Beijing Platform for Action states that peace is inextricably linked with equality between men and women and development. This is the foundation for Strickland and Duvvury's call for transformative approaches to achieve gender equality in their paper on 'Gender Equity and Peacebuilding' (Strickland and Duvvury 2003). Their vision would replace masculinity that employs violence and domination with cooperation and

[31] World Bank Tajikistan Pamir Private Power Project. Available at: web.worldbank.org/external/projects/main?pagePK=104231&piPK=73230&theSitePK=40941&menuPK=228424&Projectid=P075256

equality. In suggesting Dimension Three, we respond to Strickland and Duvvury's challenge to recognize the importance of transforming gender roles in order to heal conflict's trauma, build social capital and further the goal of gender equality.

This dimension tries to redress a paradox: violent male leaders and a few women who adopt male characteristics in conflict become honoured peace negotiators and 'new' society leaders. Meanwhile women who yearn to break cycles of violence and build cultures of peace are marginalized instead of becoming post-conflict reconstruction leaders.

Dimension Three rests on two hypotheses:

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

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

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

6.1 Addressing the trauma

To break violent cycles, post-conflict reconstruction programmes must support measures to heal the trauma. According to a Timor Leste survey of 750,000 people, 40 per cent of respondents experienced psychological torture, 33 per cent beatings or mauling, 26 per cent head injuries, and 22 per cent witnessed a friend killing a family member (UNIFEM 2004). Reports abound from the Balkans to Rwanda of family members watching male relatives get killed or mothers and sisters being raped.

Gender-focused trauma work can assist traumatized family members, child soldiers, sex-violence victims, and returnees unaccustomed to families or communities, who harbour anger, yearn for vengeance, lack purpose, and/or suffer depression, boredom and frustration.

Nearly every war-affected demographic group needs healing. Fighting men and boys must learn to function in a nonviolent culture, resolve differences without force, and handle their detachment and fears. Female victims of gender-based violence and witnesses of violence must heal and move on. They must not transmit their experiences to their children as hate or urge revenge.

6.3 Rebuilding social capital

Along with physical destruction, conflict destroys trust throughout society—thereby undermining and breaking the bonds of positive social capital (McMillan and Greenberg 1997/98).[32] In fact conflict breeds negative social capital. PCR programmes must

[32] Ian Bannon pointed out that there is also negative social capital, exemplified in the Rwanda genocide and in Central American and Caribbean gangs.

rebuild positive social capital—social networks that contribute to successful development. Gender equality can play a positive role in this process.

Social capital must begin within the family. Conflict saddles households and individuals with uncertainty and mistrust. Moreover, losing family members through conflict and related HIV/AIDS often redefines roles among survivors. Widows or children may become household heads. Returning combatants are 'newcomers' to their own families and communities. But a gender aware approach to defining new roles and responsibilities has the potential to enhance respect and collaboration, and thereby strengthen new household structures.

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

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

There are also many opportunities to build social capital within local development institutions, from planning boards and community committees, to new local governments. To achieve post-conflict reconstruction, the World Bank sometimes invests in such programmes, such as in the Fondo Apoio Social in Angola and the Sri Lankan E-Lanka Development Project. Sometimes, as in these countries, there are project leaders committed to gender equality, but in many cases there are not. These are extraordinary opportunities to build social capital—and to model gender equitable relations and nonviolent ways of resolving disputes.

6.4 Gender inequality and preventing violence

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

Inevitably, families, communities and societies encounter conflict all the time. Yet, conflict may be resolved respectfully and peacefully, or violently—and the habits, mechanisms and choices learned at the personal level can build a culture of peace at the social level. Integrating gender equality and conflict resolution programmes throughout PCR health, education, community development and other programmes may be critical inputs in constructing *sustainable* peace.

6.5 Dimension three challenges

This gender dimension poses distinct and interrelated challenges, including reintegrating demobilized soldiers into families and broader society; defusing fears, reestablishing social capital and rebuilding trust among family members and neighbours who inflicted violence on each other; and developing sustainable peace and PCR with equal male and female inputs. Women, who are particularly strong in breaking cycles of violence and in ensuring the peace necessary for reconstruction, need to partner with men to achieve sustainable PCR (King 2001; Caprioli 2003).

The challenge is for PCR programmes to strategically focus on gender equal roles as a means of transforming violent societies into sustainably peaceful ones.

7 Concluding remarks and recommendations

This study addresses policy issues and opportunities where gender issues play a role in post-conflict reconstruction and examines development aid focused on PCR. It develops a conceptual framework based on three necessary, interrelated gender dimensions: women's programmes, gender mainstreaming and addressing gender roles to transform societies steeped in violence into the promise of peaceful prosperity. Since gender inequality increases the likelihood of conflict (Caprioli 2003), achieving gender equality is essential for achieving peace.

Our starting point is that many PCR activities are typical development activities. Recognizing and addressing gender roles and promoting women's rights and gender equality are critical for the success of all development programmes, including PCR activities (Zuckerman and Wu 2003; King 2001).

We focus mostly on World Bank projects, including large PCR development loans and smaller post conflict fund grants. Some large World Bank PCR projects mainstream gender, notably those in Sri Lanka. Other countries have a more mixed track record. Most World Bank projects fail to identify or address gender needs. The World Bank pumps huge amounts of financial and technical resources into post-conflict reconstruction—with the potential to redefine the physical, human, government and economic infrastructure. It is imperative that Bank investments more systematically reflect its research that recognizes the centrality of gender equality for successful development (King 2001). Each World Bank post-conflict loan must incorporate the input of women and gender equality advocates.

Our World Bank PCF grant analysis completed in the fall of 2004 suggests that possibly one-third of these projects target women in post-conflict reconstruction. In terms of the number of grants, only ten or *3.34 per cent* of these projects have targeted women as a

specific group. In terms of grant amounts, US$3,127,383 or *4.67 per cent* out of the total of US$66,961,254 allocated to all 301 projects, financed the 10 projects targeting women. Given the centrality of women and gender in post-conflict reconstruction, the PCF needs to target women more systematically and address gender roles in all its projects. None of the World Bank PCR projects we reviewed address male issues like violence. World Bank PCR projects must overcome the common gender gap of neglecting critical male issues.

To improve this record the World Bank central gender unit and regional coordinators should work more closely with PCR and PCF project staff and ensure these projects mainstream gender. This will be possible when the ranks of gender experts in the Bank increase, a recommendation Gender Action has been making (Zuckerman and Wu 2003).

PCR projects need to balance short- and long-run opportunities. For example, short-run DDR ensuring that returned soldiers discontinue violent behaviour in their households and communities is essential for peace and development while long-run educating and training girls contributes to social and economic development for future generations and society at large.

All development including PCR activities depends on political commitment at all levels and on *indigenous country solutions*. Leaders must ensure that the entire population, men and women alike, receive information and training on the importance of equal gender rights for improving livelihoods.

The following specific recommendations emerged from our analysis:

- Serious, not superficial, gender analyses *must* be included and followed up in all country and PCR assessments.
- Each programme and project proposal should holistically and by component address gender opportunities and barriers and assess steps taken to promote gender equality.
- Post-conflict reconstruction must address gender issues strategically. It is insufficient to add a few small women-focused initiatives into development plans, projects and/or budgets.
- Every post-conflict policy and project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation programme *must* analyse and address gender issues, intervention opportunities and gender derived benefits and costs. Women and men should jointly make macroeconomic resource allocation decisions.
- Gender budget analyses should be used to track where resources are allocated and they need to be monitored against gender equality promises.
- Information about women's rights and gender equality needs to be disseminated widely in post-conflict countries, using such mechanisms as school curricula, teacher training, the media, politics, civil society and advocacy.
- Greater resources must be dedicated to understanding gender roles within distinct cultures and societies to build solid foundations for women's rights and gender equality.

- All social and economic data must be sex-disaggregated to track gender disparities and progress in meeting equality objectives.
- Critical numbers of women must be equal partners with men in the peace-making and post-conflict decisionmaking processes. Male gender advocates are also essential.
- Peacebuilders and other PCR stakeholders all must understand the role of gender, identify gender issues in their programmes and address them.
- Gender training is needed for women and men alike. Training should include the need for women's rights and gender equality in programme design, implementation and monitoring, human resource/hiring/firing, and economic analyses.

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