International Alert

International Alert (IA) is a non-governmental organisation based in the UK. IA has a multi-national team of 60 staff including volunteers and interns. The creation of the organisation was a response to the rise in violent conflict within countries and the subsequent abuse of individual and collective human rights in conflict situations. It aims to address the root causes of violence and contribute to the just and peaceful transformation of violent internal conflict. Today there is an ever more pressing need for conflict resolution and peace building efforts.
IA was among the first organisations to work specifically on women, peace and conflict. In 1995 IA initiated a programme focusing on women and peace-building in the Great Lakes region of Africa, mainly in Burundi and Rwanda. It has since launched the international Women Building Peace Campaign which undertakes policy research and advocacy focusing on women, peace, security issues within the international community.

Swiss Peace Foundation

The Bern-based Swiss Peace Foundation (SPF) is an action oriented peace research institute active both nationally and internationally. Since it's founding in 1988, it has developed into an internationally renowned institute for peace and conflict research and is part of a national and international network. The Swiss Peace Foundation deals with the prevention and management of armed conflicts. In view of the current widespread wars and violent conflicts in the world, the Foundation focuses on the establishment and further development of viable structures to resolve conflicts peacefully. The goal of its scientific and practical activities is a general and lasting reduction in organised violence between and within states. The Swiss Peace Foundation also sees itself as a forum permitting on-going discussion within the public and within administrative, scientific and political circles about questions of peace and security policy. With its analyses and reports and its regular publications and events, the Foundation contributes to the development of informed political opinion on questions relating to peace and security policy.

GENDER AND CONFLICT EARLY WARNING:
A FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

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with

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Executive Summary

The deliberate victimisation of women during recent wars has focused attention on the different impacts of internal and transnational conflicts on men and women. At the same time, the contribution of women and women's organisations to conflict resolution, management and peace building is also gaining wider recognition.

Parallel to this, early warning systems are playing an ever more crucial role in the international arena, in identifying areas at risk of violent conflict. The development of their multi-method approaches has brought early warning analysis closer to anticipating rather than predicting crises that could lead to large-scale humanitarian disasters. Such analysis now increasingly concentrates on the grassroots level, working with major stakeholders and cooperating with local partners.

In spite of these developments, gender remains largely absent in the pre-conflict context and early warning exercises, including the development of response options. In response, this paper presents an initial framework on how to 'engender' early warning. More specifically, the process, and benefits can be understood as follows:

1. Incorporating gender-sensitive indicators into information collection and subsequent analysis allows for previously overlooked signs of instability to be taken into account and concentrates early warning at a grassroots level, anticipating conflict before it spreads to high politics.

2. Incorporating gender analysis and perspectives into the formulation of response options ensures discriminatory policies are not perpetuated in post-conflict situations, or new found freedoms reversed. It also ensures that responses at a political and humanitarian level address the vulnerabilities specific to women and men.

These proposals aim to make early warning more comprehensive, 'earlier,' and preventive actions more effective and permanent. As more comprehensive and quality early warning that include gender analysis increase the likelihood of political will, engendering early warning has far-reaching benefits that go beyond the protection of vulnerable groups.

The paper also proposes a list of gender-sensitive early warning indicators for the purpose of verification and expansion. It concludes with a set of recommendations for future research and action, with particular emphasis on conducting empirical tests on the assumptions put forth.

Introduction

The end of the Cold War brought several changes to the international system that gave early warning and gender issues more visibility. Serious considerations for early warning were made possible due to the resolution of previous deadlock situations between powers in the East and West - exemplified best in the United Nations Security Council. The shift from international to largely internal conflicts, however, made conflict prevention efforts linked to military intervention difficult, as they challenged state sovereignty.

However, the attacks of 11th September may challenge this, as they demonstrate that disasters emanating from the failure to address root causes of conflict early on are more likely to push early warning into the consciousness of policy makers than the modest successes of conflict prevention, such as in Macedonia in 1992.

The heightened visibility of protracted internal conflicts, as well as an increase in media and NGO attention, has brought the horrible truths of war much closer to home. In particular, the deliberate use of rape, sexual assault and other forms of gender-based violence in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda have focused attention on the differential impacts of internal and transnational conflicts on men and women. These atrocities were a wake-up call to governmental and international decision-makers, non-governmental activists, and researchers for the need to better understand gendered forms of violence. The world has also begun to notice that women are not solely victims of war, but also make tremendous contributions to conflict resolution, management and peace building processes. Again, the conflict in Afghanistan, and the extent of the oppression of women by the Taliban, may have been key in pushing the importance of involving women in peace building and conflict resolution strategies.

Until recently, a gender perspective was largely absent from conflict analyses, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation processes and is completely lacking from conflict early warning and preventive response systems[1]. The limited and speculative research findings that exist in this latter area (Fein 1992, Schmeidl 1999) suggest that the modelling and analysis of conflict early warning practices would be improved if gender-based perspectives were included. A gender-sensitive focus may enrich our understanding of factors that lead up to armed conflict and thus improve our early analysis and the formulation of response options. The process of engendering early warning[2] – and by this we mean integrating a gender perspective into all the stages of early warning, at all levels and not confining gender issues to a single process – ensures that the concerns of men and women are equally considered, to benefit men as well as women. At the same time, it improves existing approaches of information collection, analysis, and response formulation. In sum, the integration of gender into current early warning practices would lead to more practical, accurate and realistic approaches. While becoming more comprehensive, they could also become more effective by providing both truly *early* warning, and in offering a wider range of response options to addressing violent conflict.

The paper is divided into two, concluding with the identification of gaps in the framework presented, areas for further research and recommendations for policy. Part I offers a brief overview of the definitions, processes and development of conflict early

warning, and clarifies the issues surrounding the use of the terms *gender* and *gender mainstreaming*. Part II examines the links that can be made between gender and early warning and identifies areas where the integration of a gender perspective can improve existing models. While the main focus is on how to engender early warning, the importance of including women and women's organisations into the entire process is also addressed.

Part I   Definitions and Clarifications

Conflict Early Warning and Early Response

Early warning systems were first used for the purposes of predicting natural disasters and stock market crashes. In the 1980s, with the introduction of models to predict famine and potential refugee flow, early warning was first introduced into humanitarian affairs[3]. This 'early warning' was primarily to alert relief agencies of impending humanitarian crises to allow for contingency planning and ensure the timely provision of adequate food, shelter and medication.

In light of the immense human suffering as a result of violent conflicts and due to costly post-conflict emergency requirements, humanitarian early warning in recent years has developed knowledge-based models to help decision-makers formulate coherent political strategies to prevent or limit the destructive effects of violent conflicts (FAST 2000). The emphasis is less on *forecasting,* but rather on *anticipating* the potential for crisis.

Extensive literature in this field has provided a range of definitions for early warning, with a number of common elements[4]:

Components of Early Warning
- Collection of information using specific indicators.
- Analysis of information - attaching meaning to indicators, setting it into context, recognising crisis development.
- Formulation of best and worst case scenarios and response options.
- Communication to decision-makers.

The principles of early warning and the associated focus on conflict prevention can also be applied after conflict has erupted - concentrating on conflict-containment, minimising human suffering and avoiding spillover conflict - as well as in post-conflict phases, focusing on preventing the resurgence of conflict (Lund 1996, FEWER 1999, Schmeidl 2001). What separates early warning from peace building and conflict mitigation is its implied *proactive* and not *reactive* character, with a focus on early rather than late action. It is argued that engendering early warning will improve conflict prevention.[5]

Gender and Gender Mainstreaming

The term *gender*, has since the 1970s been an important analytical concept used to explain the different learned identities associated with masculinity and femininity. It focuses on the socially constructed as opposed to biologically determined sex identities of men and women in societies.

> **It is important to note that gender and gender roles:**
> - Are ascribed to men and women in early socialisation and reflect the myths, assumptions, expectations and obligations connected to each biological sex.[6]
> - Are specific to a given culture in a given time and can thus change.
> - Are affected by other forms of differentiation such as race, ethnicity and class.
> - Can alter in different political, social and economic contexts within any given society.
> - Help us understand the use and share of power and division of labour between men and women, and can define relationships between the sexes.
> - Cut across public and private spheres and are institutionalised at various levels - family, community, society and state.

Gender by definition refers to both men and women. The goal of engendering society or politics is not a reversal of discrimination or an attempt to make men and women similar, but a means to attain equity through equal opportunities and life chances (Woroniuk 1999). As long as men and women can make their own choices and have equal opportunities and access to resources and power, gender equality can vary according to culture and society.

Nevertheless, 'as traditionally, men have had a stronger position than women in societies around the world, the values and norms in society have been shaped accordingly' (Kvinna till Kvinna 2001, p.6).[7] In other words, there is a male bias and gender roles so far still 'diminish women's socio-economic positions in most societies' (Tickner 1999, p.9). This makes 'equal treatment of women and men…insufficient as a strategy for gender equality' if there is no parallel shift in discriminatory attitudes that exist toward women (as well as men), and institutional practices and social relations that reinforce the lower status of women (Woroniuk 1999, p.2).

In light of the above, so far gender initiatives have tended to focus largely on women and their advancement in society, economics and politics. This has partially been practiced through positive discrimination in institutions to achieve a *gender balance,* attempting to address the degree to which women and men hold the full range of positions in governance and development. This has included the call for incorporating women into the bodies and organisations that work in politics and development, 'irrespective of the quality of their participation or their involvement in decision-making processes' (Karl 1995, p.1).

It became apparent that gender equity could not be achieved simply by increasing the number of women, particularly if they lacked access to leadership and decision-making, and if individuals (men or women) in high positions lacked gender-sensitivity. Thus, the focus shifted to a more quality-oriented view of women's participation and the strategy of *gender mainstreaming*.[8] This strategy for achieving gender equality can be considered as going beyond the simple inclusion of women in institutional structures by focusing on an engendering of social, political and economic processes. More specifically, actions on two dimensions are emphasised:

Aspects of Gender Mainstreaming

Analysis/Evaluation: 'the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area' (ECOSOC, Doc.E/1997/66).

Implementation:

- As 'a tool for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated (ECOSOC, Doc.E/1997/66)

- 'The reorganisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making' (Council of Europe 1998, pp.7-8).

It is this mainstreaming approach we are concerned with. Thus, engendering early warning is not only concerned with including women into early warning systems, but on sensitising the entire process by training both men and women on how to use gender analysis to fine-tune early warning and allow for a more appropriate and diverse range of response options.

Part II   Early Warning and Gender

A number of lessons have been learned in the practice of early warning from past failures. One was the realisation of the importance of including micro-level factors which lead to violence as opposed to solely focusing on state-based structures and relations.[9] A second was that early warning researchers were working too much in isolation from political decision-making processes and thus lacked sufficient understanding of response capabilities. Engendering early warning tries to improve upon these weaknesses in three interconnected ways:

Gender and Early Warning: Three Hypotheses[10]

1. Incorporating gender-sensitive indicators into the collection and analysis processes of early warning makes existing models more comprehensive and allows for 'early' early warning by anticipating macro-level conflict through micro-level events.

2. An incorporation of micro-level changes, and interactions between men and women, fine-tunes the formulation of political and humanitarian response, in order to address the specific vulnerabilities of men and women and ensure that discriminatory policies are not perpetuated in post-conflict situations.

3. Early warning and preventive activities can be made more effective by utilising the untapped potential of women, women's networks and women's organisations as actors for peace.

In light of the above, the rationale behind introducing gender into early warning rests on the argument that the use of a gender-lens enriches early warning analysis and allows for more appropriate response options equally benefiting men and women. The aim is not simply to draw attention to the plight of women and other vulnerable populations during conflict stages, but to enrich early warning in general.[11] The three areas of consideration here, as entry points for engendering early warning are the collection of information, the analytical process of risk assessments, and the formulation of response options. These three areas are very much interconnected as good indicators are derived from a good analytical model, analysis is only as good as the information that flows into it, and response options in turn need to be informed by both timely information and correct analytical insight.

Engendering the Collection of Information

Extensive work within and outside academia, coupled with the information revolution through the Internet and electronic mail (e.g. ReliefWeb and the Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) of UNDHA/UNOCHA), has improved access to information. Nevertheless, availability of information does not necessarily make for sensible indicators, as they need to be derived from thorough analysis that identifies the complex interrelation of factors that may lead to the escalation of armed conflict.

One way of engendering the collection of information is to develop gender-sensitive early warning indicators and add them to existing indicator models. It is important to note however, that doing so will have implications not only for information collection and other methodological processes, but also for the practice of early warning. This is discussed in more detail later. A second aspect to engendering early warning is linked to the potential women hold in the collection and analysis of information.[12] If we are interested in indicators that measure change at the micro-level, we need to engage with individuals and organisations that function at the grassroots level of society, very often these are women and women's organisations.

Engendering the Analytical Process of Early Warning

Discourse over the best analytical method for early warning has culminated in an understanding that both quantitative and qualitative strategies are needed for adequate early warning analysis. Quantitative scholars agreed that more macro-level structural models were primarily useful for yielding risk assessments that can guide analysis while more micro-level approaches are invaluable in the actual monitoring process and anticipation of conflict (Gurr and Moore 1997, Schmeidl and Jenkins 1998a, Schmeidl 2001). Even though this discourse acknowledged the necessity of monitoring micro-level changes for their impact on macro-level armed conflict, it has so far neglected the role of gender and the actions of men and women as important micro-level components enriching early warning analysis.

It is in this area where a gender perspective can fine-tune early warning. Compared to traditional approaches, gender analysis elicits different questions about the causes and effects of conflict on different sectors within society, and their particular relationships and roles with each other. It also provides a better understanding of unequal social hierarchies (including gender hierarchies) inequality and oppression, which are often characteristics of societies that are prone to, or embroiled in conflict (Tickner 1999). This would make gender equity and equality as essential considerations in the building of sustainable peace and the reconstruction of democratic processes. Thus, engendering early warning may prompt analysts to ask new questions relating to the conditions of life among different classes, age groups, identity groups, and so forth at different levels of society. It follows that the inclusion and mainstreaming of these considerations into the agendas of relevant policy makers at an earlier stage may lead to a more integrated and comprehensive understanding of the realities on the ground. In turn this could lead to 'earlier' early warning and/or longer term perspectives that introduce conflict prevention into development planning (Leonhardt 2000).

As women within the field of peace and security 'are asking new questions about conflict…trying to expand conventional agendas' (Tickner 1999, p.10), involving women into the early warning process may also hold the added value of countering mind-blindness by challenging traditional analytical patterns and opening new avenues for formulating response options.[13]

Gender-Sensitive Early Warning Indicators[14]

A gender-sensitive indicator can be defined as 'an indicator that captures gender-related changes in society over time' (Beck 1999, quoting Johnson 1985). Thus, while statistics disaggregated by sex provide 'factual information about the status of women, a gender-sensitive indicator provides 'direct evidence of the status of women, relative to some agreed normative standard or explicit reference group [here men]' (Beck 1999). For example, to say that 60 percent of women in country X are literate is a gender statistic, but to say that 60% of women in country X are literate compared to 82% of men (or 80% of men compared to 50% of women were killed in battle) is a gender-sensitive indicator.

There are two ways of developing gender-sensitive early warning indicators.[15] As sex and gender tend to be highly correlated, sex can be a good indicator of gender for many research purposes, and therefore we can use or build upon sex-disaggregated statistics.[16] However, the collection of sex-disaggregated data alone is not sufficient. It is essential to know why and for what purpose a particular indicator is needed and how it can improve early warning processes. This calls for theoretical grounding and the development of new indicators. The 1994 edition of the UNDP Human Development Report, offering the Human Development Index (HDI) adjusted by gender-disparity for 43 countries for the first time,[17] marks a first step in this direction. It was not until the 1995 edition, however, that two significant new indicators assessing women's access to resources and their overall status and power in the society were introduced for 130 and 116 countries respectively:

- The *Gender-related Development Index* (GDI) adjusts the HDI downwards for countries with a poor record in gender equality, making 'the average achievement of each country in life expectancy, educational attainment and income in accordance with the degree of disparity in achievement between men and women' (UNDP 1995, p.130).

- The *Gender Empowerment Measure* (GEM) uses 'variables constructed explicitly to measure the relative empowerment of men and women in political and economic spheres of activity'. This examines whether women and men are able to participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making (UNDP 1995, p.132).[18]

Existing literature on early warning offers a variety of different types of indicators ranging from long- to short-term and focusing on background, proximate, facilitating and triggering factors. While the search for a set of key indicators upon which all conflict escalation processes could be monitored has largely been abandoned, there is growing consensus that structuring information around groups of 'family' indicators is beneficial. For the purpose of this paper we draw on the traditional categories of early warning models that were strongly influenced in the 1980s by Clark (1989) and the Refugee Policy Group (1983), who pioneered the early warning of population displacement.[19]

Given that little work has been done in this area, the following sections rest upon

previous research and evidence from a limited number of cases (sometimes only one), but mainly on theoretical assumptions. The indicators presented should be considered preliminary suggestions to be further developed, added to and tested empirically. Due to space considerations only the main indicator groups are discussed, with Appendix 1 providing a more comprehensive (though not exhaustive) list of suggestions. For the purpose of early warning, all underlying – not just gendered – causes of expressed violence, frustration, and demographic and behavioural changes must also be understood. Thus, gender-based indicators are most beneficial when they are used in conjunction with wider socio-political analyses.

Root or Structural/Systemic Causes

Root or systemic causes refer to general structural and deep-rooted background conditions. According to Clark (1989), they are underlying events and conditions that have existed for many years and are mostly static or only change slowly over time. They tend to be embedded in historical/cultural contexts e.g. religious conflicts, long-standing border disputes, difficulty in state building, poverty/economic exclusion or ecological degradation. Root causes are thus necessary but not sufficient causes of armed conflict. They can be instrumentalised by political actors and are generally used to assess the risk potential of a country.

For the purpose of engendering root causes, a basic hypothesis is that the more inclusive a society is, the less likely it will resort to force as a means of conflict resolution. Limited research suggests that cultures which limit women's access to resources (economic, political, social) and decision-making power, and which characterise women as inferior to men, treat women as property and accept domestic violence as a norm, are more prone to repression and violent conflict in the public arena. In these cultures, men who do not fall within the traditional masculine ideal of strength and domination also tend to suffer and might become outcast. For example, in order 'to help overcome soldiers' reluctance to fight, cultures develop gender roles that equate 'manhood' with toughness under fire. Across cultures and through time, the selection of men as potential combatants (and of women for feminine war support roles) has helped shape the war system. In turn, the pervasiveness of war in history has influenced gender profoundly - especially gender norms in child rearing' (Goldstein 2001, p.13, see also Enloe 1993). Given that women are often seen as bearers of culture, which men have to defend, attacks on women may function as a proxy to attacking the culture of an entire society (Byrne 1995).

Exclusion and discrimination, however, need not be limited to social and cultural structures; they can also occur in an economic sphere. The exclusion of groups low in status from important resources, for example, could be considered a further indicator of a deteriorating societal situation that can lead to conflict in the future.

There are very few studies that empirically support these assumptions and in most cases only for proneness to inter-state conflict. As the proportion of countries with a large enough participation of women in political life is still small,[20] some of the findings need to be considered with caution until in-depth studies based on more specific indicators can be

conducted. It is also important to re-emphasise that root causes are only necessary, but not sufficient factors that may lead to armed conflict. They cannot be used in isolation from other indicators, as many countries lacking gender equity are not at risk of conflict.

Gender-Sensitive Root Causes

1. **Political equality:** Research suggests that states with lower *percentages of women in parliament* are more likely to use military violence to settle disputes (Caprioli 2000). A 5 per cent decrease in the proportion of women in parliament renders a state nearly five (4.91) times as likely to resolve international disputes using military violence (p.61).21 *Female suffrage* is also a significant predictor of state bellicosity. 'Given two states, for example, the state having twice the number of years of female suffrage will be nearly five (4.94) times as likely to resolve international disputes without military violence' (Caprioli 2000, p.61). Switzerland, with late female suffrage, but also a warless contemporary history, is an exception.

2. **Economic equality:** The level of women's participation in the labour force can be interpreted as the extent to which women are integrated into the public sphere and other forms of participation such as voting or political activism. 'The *percentage of women in the labour force* showed statistical significance in explaining state bellicosity...Increasing the proportion of women in the labour force by 5 per cent for example, renders a state nearly five (4.95) times less likely to use military force to resolve international conflict' (Caprioli 2000, p.63). Variables of economic inclusion or exclusion, as well as resource distribution, could also be considered.

3. **Social Equality:** An overall measure of *female fertility rate*, suggests 'women's access to reproductive health services is constrained by their broader social deprivation, including the lack of resources for, or priority to their health, restrictions on social participation, and limited access to information due to illiteracy' (Caprioli 2000, p.57; see also Sadik 1997). Through multiple years of child bearing and child rearing, women are tied to the home, excluding them not just from the labour force, but also education and community or public decision-making processes (United Nations 1995). Thus, countries with a high fertility rate and lower gender equality are also more likely to engage in violence.[22] 'For example, decreasing the fertility rate by one-third makes a state nearly five (4.67) times less likely to use a military solution to settle international disputes' (Caprioli 2000, p.63). Marshall and Ramsey (1999), using the composite measure of *Gender Empowerment*, support these findings. Other research in related areas (Brumfield 1994, Erchak and Rosenfeld 1994, Levinson 1989 as cited in Caprioli 2000) suggests that 'societies *with high levels of family violence* are more likely to rely on violent conflict resolution and are more likely to be involved in wars compared to societies with lower levels of family violence' (Caprioli 2000, p.55).

Proximate Causes

Proximate causes reflect medium term conditions and emerging socio-political and economic trends. Together with root causes they can create the sufficient conditions for armed conflict. In the context of conflict early warning, much attention has been paid to trends in income disparity, patterns of political oppression and particularly human rights violations (Jongman 1990, Fein 1993, Schmid 1996, Schmeidl 1997). It is important to assess whether governments are able (and willing) to cope with unfavourable background conditions (e.g. a failure to introduce legislation that allows equal access to political and economic resources in an ethnically heterogeneous environment), or if there is an attempt to overcome gender imbalances (e.g. whether there is protection against human rights violations), or if there is a tendency to manipulate inequalities for political gain.

The indicators presented rest upon four basic and to some degree inter-related hypotheses:

- For a society to move into armed conflict, there will necessarily be a build-up of aggression, as killing and destruction require aggression, and in-group cohesion needs to be assured to provide unity against the enemy. Thus, aggressive behaviour at all levels, from domestic violence, bar-fights and vandalism, may be reinforced and rewarded.

- Violence against groups low in status (or allegations of such violence at the hands of the enemy or out-group) may become a deliberate way of achieving in-group cohesion. Especially in societies that have a strong honour-shame culture (or where women are equated with property) violent acts against women, such as rape, may be committed in order to punish, demoralise and symbolically defeat men.

- As armed conflict still tends to be largely masculine,[23] men are at risk of being targeted as combatants, forcibly recruited or being either killed or imprisoned purely on the basis of their gender to pre-empt opponents from building a strong resistance force (Jones 2000). Woroniuk (2001) argues that during nationalist propaganda 'gender-stereo-types and specific definitions of masculinity and femininity are often promoted' (p.64).

In light of the above, women, like other low status groups, or men not conforming to a hyper-masculine ideal, may be the first to experience the deterioration of human security levels that eventually culminates into a more widespread crisis, potentially foreshadowing armed conflict. If we accept this argument, then gender-sensitive early warning indicators and a gendered analysis are indispensable for more accurate early warning. Linked to this 'early detection advantage,' gender analysis can draw attention to deviating behavioural patterns and demographic trends, and therefore highlight dysfunctionalities that could be precursors to armed conflict. The sets of indicators discussed below further illustrate this.

Gender-specific human rights violations

The reduction in the status of women, discrimination against women (but also men who, for example, refuse to go to battle), media scapegoating, violations of women's human rights and virulent attacks on women, may be direct precursors of further repression and violent conflict. Kosovo is a good example of this. Like violence against property, violence against women, exemplified by an increase in the incidence of rape, as a form of mutual intimidation (Serbs vs. Kosovar Albanians and vice versa) was already on the rise in 1989. This lower level of conflict intensified in the following years. Men, in contrast to women, however, may be more vulnerable to getting into fights, being beaten up and experiencing other similar forms of harassment. This may well be part of an initiation culture for warriors that need to learn how to kill and view the enemy as sub-human. Thus, a general level of human rights violations, with different forms for men and women, is likely to be observed in a society with heightened levels of violence.

The fact that violations of the rights of women may not be noticed and thus missed as an early warning indicator, is linked to the fact that violence against women is often considered a private and not public affair, and therefore not politically related - even if performed systematically.[24] In effect it may be a more subtle form of rights violation that is tolerated, with wider public resistance only rising when violations spread to a more general level. It is this subtlety that makes the violation of women's human rights (and also that of minorities) an 'early' indicator for early warning.

Proximate indicators of gender-specific human rights violations

- **Rape:** Women and men are raped for different reasons, and women are more likely to be subject to this type of violence. Both are raped to humiliate the individual, but women are also raped to humiliate an entire culture. Women can be used to punish, shame and demoralise men and society, especially in shame and honour cultures.

- **Domestic Violence:** Rising aggression in society as it prepares for war might be expressed by aggression at a domestic level, experienced by women, but also children and both girls and boys. The rising level of domestic violence (or general tension) was observed in Ethiopia prior to the outbreak of war with Eritrea (Ludi 1999).

- **Other forms of Violence:** Bar fights, ganging up on men of out-groups or men not fulfiling the 'masculine' ideal of a combatant, verbal harassment, physical beating, persecution of men who refuse to take up arms, honour killings of women and the lack of institutional prosecution of perpetrators.

- **Presence of military operations:** Another factor that may increase the likelihood of conflict that could be measured through gender-sensitive indicators are military operations as they frequently result in an increase in prostitution, commercial sex trades and sexual harassment (Byrne1996, Woroniuk 2001).

Abrupt changes in gender roles in society

This set of indicators is linked to human rights abuses and can help gauge the level of tolerance in society in general.[25] Tickner (1999) argues that unequal social hierarchies, including gender hierarchies, inequality and oppression are often characteristics of societies that are prone to, or embroiled in conflict. Afghanistan under the Taliban with its rigid interpretation of Sharia law is a good example.

Furthermore, when a shift in gender roles occurs in society from more open to more closed, this could be considered a warning signal of an overall move towards repression and conflictual behaviour. In Kyrgyzstan for example, it was observed that increasing restraints on women's roles and the decline in women's political participation throughout the former Soviet system was linked to a more general tightening of the political system (Schmeidl 1999). The tighter imposition of Sharia law in Pakistan and an increasing amount of honour killings could also be considered a precursor to the restrictive interpretation of laws and a shift towards a more general conservatism in society, threatening stability as it clashes with more secular currents.

Similarly, a society that needs male combatants may also begin to change male gender roles away from being caretakers of family towards being fighters. During such a transition, the male ethos of war may be brought out more clearly. Men may be measured more on their aggressiveness, ability to excel in violent activities, bodily strength etc., than other less violent economic, political and intellectual performances. This becomes most evident in the persecution of draft evaders or other forms of punishment for men showing unwillingness to fight.

Proximate indicators of abrupt changes in gender roles in society
- Move from open to closed societies.
- Imposition of restrictive laws, especially for women.
- Increasing restrictive interpretation of existing laws.
- Reward for aggressive behaviour.
- Propaganda emphasising hyper-masculinity.

Deviation in behavioural trends or demographic patterns

Similar to increased levels of violence, preparation for war may also be expressed by increasing insecurity that may lead to fewer social gatherings or other shifts in behaviour. In addition, changes may be observed in demographic trends, which can be measured in comparison to the existing norm. Thus, demographic 'oddities' such as refugee populations comprising mainly of women and children, should only spark our interest if the composition does not reflect that of the country in general.

Proximate indicators of deviation in behavioural trends or demographic patterns

• *Sex-specific Refugee Migration:* Examination of refugee flows by gender may not only help to prepare better responses but also better prediction and anticipation. Linking gender and age can define three basic waves of refugee movements (Ferris 1987). The first waves of refugees are political exiles or anticipatory refugees (Kunz 1973). Politically active, they flee at an early point in time, foreseeing political turbulence. The second wave consists of urban dwellers, who flee after the initial outbreak of violence. The third wave of refugees is a mass movement, composed of people caught in the cross-fire of rapidly unfolding political violence that flee much later in the conflict. They are the victims of violence with little involvement in the initial conflict. While the first two types of refugees tend to be educated middle-class males, the third tend to be not formally educated women and children (Ferris 1987, d'Adesky 1991). In a different situation it was observed that between March and April 1992 women (especially of Muslim origin) left Priador (Bosnia and Herzegovina) by the bus load. This was actually 6-8 weeks before the situation deteriorated. Muslims described this as protecting their families from danger, Serbs as clearing the decks to prepare for all-out conflict (Last 1997). In cases where refugee populations are mostly male, they tend to be refugee warrior forces or militants in exile (Schmeidl and Popatia 1997). While it may not be fully clear if one has to look for all male or all female migration, sex-disaggregated analysis of the fleeing groups can provide a more accurate picture of the state of events and be an effective early warning signal to conflict escalation.

• *Gender-specific killing - 'gendercide' and disappearances:* As men are primarily combatants, it is possible that they may be either killed or imprisoned purely on the basis of their gender. This was observed in Cambodia (Heuveline 2001) but also in Kosovo (Jones 2000). Similarly, it is possible that pregnant women are targeted for execution in an attempt to extinguish a culture, while non-pregnant women might be forcibly impregnated, as another form of diluting a culture, or introducing the genes of another culture.

• *Sex-specific unemployment:* Recent studies suggest that a youth bulge and particularly a large percentage of unemployed young men are an indicator of potential instability. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, nearly 40 per cent of the population is below thirty years of age and 54 per cent live below the poverty line, thereby increasing the chance of them entering into the illegal drugs and arms trades, and other criminal activities to make a living (Schmeidl 1999). Huntington (1999) also argues that 'the increasing number of men aged 16 to 30 in many Muslim countries feeds the ranks of militants and fighters. Indeed, these young men are the primary soldiers in the Muslim international brigade whose members fought in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kosovo, the Philippines, Chechnya and elsewhere' (The New York Times, December 16, 1999).

Changes in economic pattern

War usually comes at a cost, as money is needed for arms and combatants. This may lead to an increase in prices or new taxation laws. However, it is also possible that other

venues for money-making are used, such as women selling their jewellry to support war (e.g. in the case of Palestine). In societies where women's own security and wealth is often based on their possession of gold and other precious materials, the sale of such items is an important indication of the level of desperation and need. Although there are no systematic studies of women's economic activities in the run-up to conflict, it is an area worth further exploration, as is tracking financial flight within a country to protect capital, or an increase in remissions being sent in externally to support war.

Proximate indicators of changes in economic pattern
- Sale of jewellry or other precious materials.
- Increase of remission from outside being sent home.
- Hoarding of goods.

Intervening Factors

Intervening factors, sometimes also called accelerators (Harff 1998, Ahmed and Kassinis 1998), can either increase or decrease the likelihood of armed conflict - or peace building in the event that there is already an armed conflict in progress.[26] *Intervening factors can also be grouped in the following ways:*

- *Obstacles to conflict prevention or peace building.*

- *External or internal influences that either fuel conflict or aid conflict resolution.*

- *Alternatives to conflict or coping strategies (not necessarily governmental, but also from civil society) on dealing with transition difficulties.*

It is crucial to consider organisations working to diminish violence, which include the grassroots level where women and women's organisations are active. It is also essential to consider coping strategies that might be unique to men or women that can assist in decreasing conflict.

Intervening factors are also extremely important in identifying triggering events as well as for formulating policy options and mobilising effective response. They might provide the necessary information on entry points for external actors in supporting local initiatives trying to diminish violence or offering coping strategies and peaceful alternatives. Often these are performed by women's organisations, which are not visible without a micro-level focus. 'Women have often drawn moral authority from their role as mothers. It has also been possible for women to protest from their position as mother when other forms of protest have not been permitted by authorities' (Woroniuk 2001, p.64, see Mothers of the Disappeared organisations in Latin and South America and Women in Black in Yugoslavia).

The media may also play a role since the sudden exposure or reporting of events hitherto unknown can catalyse action. For example, reports about the mass rape of Muslim women in Bosnia heightened the violence in the Balkans. In turn, reports of the concentration camps and rape camps galvanised western public opinion, which in turn

contributed to action by western leaders.

Nevertheless, while doing this, one should not ignore spoilers of peace or those that benefit from violent conflict and therefore work to escalate it. Once again the media can play a critical role in fuelling public anger and triggering violent action. The portrayal of women in the media can be a key indicator, as violence is often expressed verbally, through propaganda. In Rwanda, as early as 1990, extremist Hutu press and radio began to target Tutsi women as seductresses ('femme libres'), spies, and a threat to Hutu society (Chretien 1995, Human Rights Watch 1996). Among other attacks on Tutsis, pornographic material depicting Tutsi women and Belgian forces appeared in December 1993, while moderate Hutus, and Hutus married to Tutsi women, were characterised as traitors (Human Rights Watch 1996). This scapegoating, coupled with the gradual dehumanisation of Tutsis, who were portrayed as cockroaches to be exterminated, set the stage for the genocidal campaign of 1994. We may also find similar media scapegoating of minority groups, or of men who are unwilling to take up arms. Thus, the media can be a good early warning indicator for a society that is gearing up for war and trying to create in- vs. out-groups.

As existing research and literature is specifically weak in this area, below are some suggestions. Future research needs to focus heavily on improving the list of intervening factors:

Examples of Gender-sensitive Intervening Factors

Decreasing the Likelihood of Conflict
- Existence of NGOs addressing the special needs of men and women.
- Existence of peace organisations, particularly women's peace movements and organisations.
- Existence of regional initiatives towards engaging and encouraging women in peace negotiations and peace activities.
- Existence of programs aimed at addressing gender issues in peace building programs and projects.
- Gender-sensitive international assistance.
- Shared cultural customs and traditions of peaceful conflict resolution, especially at the local level.
- The long-term empowerment of women alongside an empowerment of communities.

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Increasing the Likelihood of Conflict

- Media scapegoating of women.
- Engagement of women in shadow war economy (e.g. trafficking of women and prostitution).
- Resistance to women's participation in peace processes and peace negotiations on the part of guerrilla/armed groups, warlords and governments.
- Lack of presence of women in civil society organisations and lack of women's organisations.
- Short-term empowerment of women and communities.
- Growth of discriminatory movements such as fundamentalism.
- Insensitive (to gender, etc.) response by international actors.

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Gender and Early Response[27]

Conflict produces changes in gender relations and offers options women may not have had before, especially as women are tasked with ensuring the survival of other family members. 'By necessity, war may become 'women's passport into the experience and world of men' (Segal 1987, p.171). This process often continues in post-conflict situations and leads to a renegotiation of gender relations, which could continue on a liberalisation trend, but often leads to a reversal of norms, with women losing new-gained freedom. Even worse, insensitive aid agencies may strip women of their traditional rights, allowing men to rule all aspects of life. A gender focus in response development can avoid this.

Early warning is often criticised for lacking coherent, consistent, adequate and complete response options (Schmeidl 2001, George and Holl 2000, Jentleson 2000). Thus, improving upon the analytical capacity that flows into early warning is just as crucial, if not even more so, than trying to anticipate correctly the escalation of violent armed conflict. Experts believe that this 'advisory' component of early warning which tells policy-makers how events may unfold and what actions could be taken, decreases the warning-response gap and political will problem, particularly if lack of political will is linked to not knowing what to do rather than not wanting to do anything. Therefore to truly engender early warning it is not enough simply to work with gender-sensitive indicators.[28] The ultimate challenge may be to link micro-level responses to the macro-picture of armed conflict.

Consistent with the section on information collection and analytical capacity, the advantages of engendering the formulation of case scenarios and response options are also twofold:

- The ability of gender-analysis to illuminate micro-level processes is not only beneficial for anticipating events early in the process of conflict escalation, but may also lead to more fine-tuned policy recommendations that focus on the community level rather than high politics.

- The inclusion of women in this process not only allows for equity by laying the foundations for having both men and women's needs equally addressed, but also invites a different set of views when deciding upon what response options might be most suitable. This may lead to different policy prescriptions, perhaps with a less militarised emphasis and more appropriate to groups at risk (Anderlini 2000, Mazurana and McKay 1999).

In sum, gender-sensitive responses in the context of conflict early warning and response processes may lead to the use of a wider range of policy tools, including micro-level responses that take into account the needs of diverse groups at every stage of the conflict cycle. In addition, focusing on the micro-level automatically increases the likelihood of involving women and women's organisations. The inclusion of communities in early warning exercises increases the likelihood that women are given a voice - given that much of early warning and preventive action is still male dominated - and vice versa. Appendix II explores this inclusion in practice. Women have made remarkable contributions in many countries (e.g. Somalia, Yugoslavia, Liberia, the Middle East and other regions) in effectively bridging the conflict divide by using their own social networks and different approaches to communication, negotiation and mediation (Anderlini 2000, Brock-Utne 1989, Kolb and Coolidge 1988, Weingarten and Douvan 1985, Rubin and Brown 1975).[29] A recent UNITED NATIONS study on multi-dimensional peace support operations found that the presence of women improved:

- Access to the local population.

- The behaviour of male members of the mission.

- The effectiveness of the mission by increasing the range of skills, approaches and perspectives within the mission (UNITED NATIONS 2000, p.26).

Engendering the Formulation of Case Scenarios and Response Development

Micro-level analysis in pre-conflict settings, even though at times difficult for aid organisations used to working on a macro-level with governments, is important for the formulation of adequate response options that equally benefit men and women.[30] Gender-sensitive analysis can shed light on how both men and women respond to crisis situations, how they cope, develop survival strategies, handle scarce resources and contribute to constructing a better society (Woroniuk 1999). Gender analysis not only helps focus on the vulnerabilities of specific population groups but also exposes the impact of changes in gender relations, which might either increase vulnerabilities or lead to empowerment. A micro-level focus also highlights the importance of addressing psychological trauma within society - in both men and women - and not merely reconstructing the political and economic system, as unresolved trauma risks a renewal of conflict as outlets for aggression are sought (e.g. the war between Ethiopian and Eritrea).

> **Examples of how gender analysis could suggest different response options**
>
> **Afghanistan:** The Taliban phenomenon provides an excellent example of how gender analysis can refocus our understanding of conflict situations. The Taliban has mainly been analysed in the traditional male ethos of suppression, aggression, warmongering and violating women's rights rather than through a gender-lens looking into the impact of changes in gender-relations and trauma created by war, loss and long-term exile (see Schmeidl 2002a).
>
> Without excusing their repressive methods and behaviour, the Taliban could be understood in terms of their up-bringing in broken families, exaggerated male-female separation in refugee camps, long-term exile (most were born in refugee camps), and above all an early socialisation in madrassas isolated from women. It has also been alleged that boys are subject to physical and sexual abuse in these religious schools. These factors may explain Taliban behaviour, particularly their treatment of women, more than their interpretation of Islam. A different understanding could have suggested alternative response options in the protracted war situation in Afghanistan, which would perhaps have favoured engagement and political education over isolation, and finally, removal by force.
>
> **Georgia-Abkhazia:** During the build up to the conflict of 1991 a group of women academics mounted a conflict prevention campaign, galvanising women across the region and addressing issues of gender equality in the context of peace and security. They joined a peace train that travelled across the border and gained media attention. However, as they lacked both official political backing within Georgia and international support, they were unable to mitigate the march towards violence (Anderlini 2000). If, however, a major international body such as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), had been aware of these activities, it could have used this platform created by the women to pressure local government. Thus, if gender sensitivity existed within response formulation it is more likely that responding agencies would look for, and draw upon local prevention initiatives developed by women.

Without gender analysis old pre-conflict norms may be inadvertently perpetuated and render women even more vulnerable by stripping them of new-gained freedoms.[31] In such a scenario, traditional tasks may be taken away from women and thus hamper their empowerment. This may be best illustrated by food distribution systems in refugee camps. Research has found that by arbitrarily assigning men to certain tasks considered important, refugee camps often distort existing systems of division of labour among men and women (Callamard 1993). For example, food production is often considered a reproductive task and thus falls under the work of women. But in refugee camps, men generally perform the task of redistributing food, as the largely male relief workers tend to assign them this work. The effect is three-fold: first, the supplies are often siphoned off and used in exchange for weapons or profit; second, women's subordination to men increases (Motsisi 1993); and third, women may be overlooked completely and go empty-handed (Marshall 1995).

If women, like men, were allowed to 'govern' their own space for the production and redistribution of food, if they were consulted in the design of camp layouts, and included in their daily management, many of these sorts of problems could be avoided.[32] This would benefit women physically by making them less vulnerable, but it would also empower them. Gender-sensitive analysis would have revealed that aid given to women has a greater likelihood to reach families and to build a strong subsistence base.

Examples of considerations for gender-sensitive response

Food Distribution. Female single-heads of household in Afghan refugee camps were overlooked in the food-distribution process as male-female interaction (except among relatives) is prohibited in traditional Islamic and Pashtun culture. An aid-worked explained: 'Had the group [of women] stood out in some way - visually or physically, because of their ethnic background, or a religious difference, or whatever - we would have made sure they got food… But because they were women, it didn't even occur to me, I have to admit - to my shame' (Marshall 1995, p.3).

Camp layout. The physical layout of a refugee camp can play an important role in the security of refugee women. For example, many of the latrines are built side-by-side for both women and men. But women have preferred to risk attack in the forest rather than use these closely confined latrines. In other instances, women are forced to forage outside the camp for firewood with no protection from bandits and the militia, placing themselves in situations of possible rape and assault (Marshall 1995).

Security. Most peace support operations tend to be male dominated, if women are not completely absent. In these situations, the security of women is put second to securing territory. Often the incidence of rape, trafficking of women and prostitution increases when operations are not planned with a gender-sensitive focus.

Education. The knowledge that militant groups, such as in Pakistan or Afghanistan, are trained by madrassas thriving on a poor public educational system (rather than allegiance to Islam) could lead to the recommendation to support a public school system or overall educational reforms.

Employment. Understanding that unemployment of young men provides an open-recruitment base for militants could lead to a micro-level response to develop job creation or re-education schemes providing an alternative to taking up arms.

In light of the above, it is important to note that engendering the formulation of response options does not necessarily champion a sole focus on women. As the end of conflict is a period of transition where gender relations can change, it would be a mistake to exclude men and fail to address their vulnerabilities experienced due to changing gender relations. After all, mutual empowerment of men and women decreases backlash from frustrated men and thus better guarantees the security of both women and men. In sum, the

true meaning of gender analysis highlights that neither men nor women have to take a victim role but can become equal actors (Woroniuk 1999). Appendix III, far from inclusive, provides some additional suggestions on engendering response development.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that a gender-sensitive perspective helps us to further question and refine assumptions about conflict early warning and the implementation of proactive and effective responses. It was argued that the mainstreaming of gender improves the design and use of early warning systems.

Summary of Suggestions on Engendering Early Warning
Collection of Information
- Developing gender-sensitive indicators to allow for 'earlier' early warning.
- Collecting gender-sensitive information through incorporating and consulting women and women's organisations.

Analysis and risk assessments
- Introducing gender analysis focuses on the micro-level and exposes realities on the ground, improving the anticipation of violent conflict escalation.
- Introducing gender analysis integrates micro- with meso- and macro-level considerations in producing risk assessments, case scenarios and response options.
- Including women in the analytical process adds new perspectives and avoids mind blindness.

Formulation of best and worst case scenarios and response options
- Integrating gender-sensitive response options addresses macro-, meso-, and micro-level concerns, as appropriate.
- Integrating the long-term efforts for peace and conflict resolution at micro-, meso-, and/or macro-levels as constitutive components of response options.

Communication to decision-makers
- Reaching a range of actors in institutions, including both those directly responsible for decision-making and those responsible for gender mainstreaming.
- Fine-tuning early warning response options and analysis to include women's groups and organisations.

The paper has also proposed a framework and a set of indicators, most of which, however, remain untested. In order to prove the utility of gender-sensitive indicators and the associated hypothesis that they provide earlier early warning than indicators that are not gender-sensitive, empirical research is needed. Once indicators are tested and accredited, it will be far easier to integrate them into early warning systems, slowly beginning an

engendering of the entire process that may alter traditional frameworks and methods of early warning altogether (see also Appendix II).

Finally, while the overall framework focuses on truly engendering early warning by working with men and women alike, the fact that early warning and conflict prevention is still largely male-dominated (and therefore has a male-bias) led to the second argument of the importance of increasing the numbers of women in agencies working in the field of early warning and conflict prevention, particularly at decision-making levels.[33] This process of positive discrimination is necessary in order to speed up gender mainstreaming and to integrate the different perspectives women can bring.[34]

It is thus important to work on committing the responding institutions to mainstreaming gender into their operations, to ensure that preventive mechanisms are gender-sensitive and work on achieving gender balance. They should aim to eliminate existing inequalities and build a critical mass of women who could affect and influence structural processes. They could develop working relationships between governments, large inter-governmental organisations, and more decentralised organisations such as NGOs and local networks, including women's organisations. They could also develop effective systems that proactively draw on micro-level, grassroots efforts involving the larger population, rather than top-down approaches that tend to focus solely on high politics.

It is also essential to note that so long as stereotyping on the basis of gender exists, simply pushing women into politics will not make for better early warning. Ultimately, meaningful contributions to conflict prevention through gender mainstreaming can only be achieved if convincing evidence of the benefits of equality between the sexes is demonstrated.

Recommendations

Research

The proposed framework and the assumptions regarding the use of gender as a tool to enhance early warning systems requires further research, consultation and testing to develop better indicators and response options. Particular attention is needed in the following areas:

a) Research the comparative advantage of gender-sensitive early warning models

- Further test the relationship between gender and conflict, and gender and violence, including the consideration of definitions of violence in different cultural contexts, so that early warning models can reflect local realities.

- Demonstrate, through research, the comparative advantages of gender-sensitive early warning systems with traditional early warning systems by analysing and questioning the processes by which information is collected, analysed and response options formulated. Lessons can be learned from existing early warning systems, which already incorporate civil society perspectives and are flexible enough to adapt to changes (e.g. FEWER, FAST, EAWARN and others).

- Research and consult humanitarian and early warning practitioners to gather their views on the relative merits of integrating gender into early warning and their recommendations on how gender can be mainstreamed.

b) Research indicators

- Provide case studies to test the validity of gender-sensitive indicators.

- Build upon the list of indicators using insights gained from case studies and ensure that generic indicators can be adapted to different conflicts and contexts.

c) Research response options

- Further explore the impact of gender-sensitive considerations and women's perspectives on response options.

- Assess the capacity of key actors to act upon gender-sensitive response options to maximise the function of early warning systems.

- Analyse how the media can be used positively and effectively for early warning and conflict prevention, avoiding potential media-scapegoating of women and perpetuation of a masculine war culture.

Mainstreaming

a) Indicators

- Consult women and women's organisation on how they can participate in early warning systems, particularly in the development of indicators, provision of data and development of response options.

b) Involving key stakeholders

- Consult gender experts in key institutions (OSCE, UNDPA, OCHA, UNITED NATIONS agencies, EU Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit, FEWER and other

NGOs) to promote the mainstreaming of gender-sensitive early warning as a constructive and essential component of gender mainstreaming.

- Work with early warning focal points at the UNITED NATIONS and other intergovernmental, governmental and non-governmental organisations to engage them in debate around improving the effectiveness of early warning systems on an ongoing basis.

- Support the development of regional early warning systems that – through their proximity to the grass-roots level – increases the likelihood of involving women and women's organisations into the process. However, dependency on external systems needs to be avoided by linking these regional systems to networks based elsewhere to verify and analyse information.

c) Staffing

- Create and promote a roster of gender-sensitive experts that can inform the debate around early warning.

d) Decision-making

- Involve gender-sensitive personnel in the design, implementation and management of early warning systems at local, national, regional and international levels.

f) Procedures

- Develop the outcomes of research and consultations into operational guidelines for practitioners.

- Create mechanisms for the rapid availability of resources to women's organisations as means for effective response.

g) Training

- Provide gender-sensitive early warning training to actors engaged in early warning systems and processes, including data gathering, analysis, response options and response.

APPENDIX I: Gender-Sensitive Early Warning Indicators

ARMED CONFLICT

INTERVENING FACTORS

DECREASING THE LIKELIHOOD OF CONFLICT

- Existence of NGOs addressing special needs of men and women
- Existence of peace organisations, particularly women's peace movements/organisations
- Existence of regional initiatives toward engaging women in peace negotiations and peace activities
- Existence of programs aimed at addressing gender issues in peace building programs and porjects
- Gender-sensitive international assistance
- Shared cultural customs and traditions of peaceful conflict resolution (especially at the local level)
- Empowerment of women alongside an empowerment of communities (long term)

INCREASING THE LIKELIHOOD OF CONFLICT

- Media-scapegoating of women
- Engagement of women in shadow war economy (trafficking of women and prostitution)
- Resistance to women's participation in peace processes and peace negotiations on the part of guerrilla/armed groups, warlords and governments
- Lack of presence of women in civil society organisations and lack of women's organisations
- Empowerment of women and communities (short term)
- Growth of discriminatory movements (such as fundamentalism)
- Insensitive (gender etc.) responses by (international) actors

PROXIMATE CAUSES

Political / Governance
- Violations of Women's Human Rights
- Exclusionary or Discriminatory Laws (e.g., Sharia, dress code, property)

Security
- Incidences of Rape
- Abductions
- Trafficking of Women (Sex Trade)
- Abuse by security forces

Societal / Socio-Demographic
- Sex-specific forced displacement (either male or female only)
- Sex-specific mortality rates (particularly of men in combatant age)
- Media scapegoating of women
- Abrupt changes in women's roles in society (open to more restrictive)
- Sex-specific unemployed (esp. of young men, youth bulge)
- Number of single female-headed households
- Incidences of Domestic Violence
- Population policies
- Change in customs or behavior

Economic
- Sex-specific labour migration
- Sale of valuables (e.g. gold)

ROOT (SYSTEMIC) CAUSES

The assumption here is that the more inclusive a society, the less likely it is to resort to force as means of conflict resolution.

Political/Institutional
- Percentage of women in parliament
- Female suffrage (Year)
- Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)
- Signatory to UNITED NATIONS Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

Economic Equality
- Percentage of women in labour force
- Gender-related Development Index (GDI)
- Percentage of women in work sector (agriculture, industry, service)

Societal / Socio-Demographic
- Female fertility rate
- Maternal mortality rate
- Gender ration at birth (preference of boys)
- Infant (and Child Mortality) of girls
- Female literacy rate
- Average Level of Female education
- Average number of children per household
- Contraceptive Use by women

Cultural
- Honour-Shame Culture
- Perception of women as property
- Cultural Practices restricting women
- Practice of Female Genital Mutilation (etc.)

APPENDIX II: Engendering Early Warning Through the Inclusion of Women

While there may be alternatives, these suggestions use the steps of early warning analysis.

Step 1: Baseline Analysis

This can be done by an individual analyst, but can be enriched by holding a consultation with stakeholders (NGOs, civil society, local communities, grassroots etc.) in the concerned region in order to ensure:

- A comprehensive analysis sensitive to the region.

- Development of monitoring indicators that are gender-sensitive.

- Avoidance of mind-blindness by including several opinions.

- Building of a network to identify organisations that can assist in the monitoring and response process.

This should not be considered as a one-time event but a process to be regularly revisited to ensure that the analysis is dynamic and the indicators up-to-date.

Step 2: Collection of Information

In this process it is important to rely on multiple data sources (as many as possible) and build on existing structures in order to ensure:

- Cross-verification of information

- All levels and all indicators are reached

Where information is sensitive or difficult to obtain, creative methods should be explored, such as using trend indicators instead of hard counts. In the information collection process it is important to include a feedback mechanism in order to avoid pure extraction and give something back to communities providing information. This is important as they might use such information for their own protection or begin preventive measures in case the state is unable or unwilling to do so.

This structure should ideally operate on multiple levels: local, district, provincial, national (women's ministries), sub-regional, regional and international. At each level an information exchange can be organised between different stakeholders who then agree on a linkage to the next higher level. This bottom-up method of information-sharing can be more practical and can include women's organisations which often only function at grassroots levels. It also minimises dependence on external structures.[35]

Step 3: Linking Warning to Response

It is always important to link a warning mechanism to a response mechanism, to ensure that information and analysis reaches those that can act upon it. A similar structure to that suggested under Step 2 can be used. At each level, information-collectors can link up to those stakeholders that are able to respond. Again, it may be easier to forge linkages at lower than higher levels.

APPENDIX III: Attempt to Link Gender-Sensitive Indicators to Adequate Response Options

GENERIC (FAMILY) INDICATOR	EXAMPLE OF GENDERED INDICATOR	EXAMPLE OF RESPONSE OPTION
Root Causes - Political	Percentage of women in parliament	Support to women's political organisations; equality programmes
	Female suffrage (Year) Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) Signatory to UNITED NATIONS Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	International lobbying efforts
Root Causes - Economic	Percentage of women in 'official' labour force	Incentives for employers to drop discriminatory rules and actively employ women
	Gender-related Development Index (GDI)	Equal wages
	Percentage of women in work sectors (agricultural, industry, service)	Working programs for men and women, encouraging women to join the labour force
Root Causes - Social	Maternal mortality rate	Support for proper health care facilities and midwives
	Gender ratio at birth (preference of boys)	Support for families with girls (food, education, etc.)
	Infant and child mortality (male-female ratio)	Improve health care for women and children.
	Female literacy rate (as compared to men)	Education programmes
	Average level of female education (as compared to men)	Support for girls' schooling; literacy campaigns targeting women; support for women's grass-roots organisations working in these areas.
	Average number of children per household	Medical information; family planning; contraception, awareness raising among men
	Female fertility rate/Contraceptive use by women	Education; awareness raising for both men and women on birth control and reproductive rights; (free) supply of birth control devices.

GENERIC (FAMILY) INDICATOR	EXAMPLE OF GENDERED INDICATOR	EXAMPLE OF RESPONSE OPTION
Proximate Causes - Cultural	Honour-shame culture	Introduce tolerance into education. Awareness raising campaigns.
	Perception of women as property	Awareness raising campaigns, change of discriminatory laws
	Cultural restrictions on women (owning of property etc.)	Awareness raising campaigns, change of discriminatory laws, UNITED NATIONS Conventions
	Cultural practice of institutionalised violence against women (female genital mutilation, sate, female infanticide, dowry deaths, honour killings etc.)	Support of (women's) organisations working toward producing cultural change. Education on women's rights. Support for safe houses for victims fleeing such cultural practices. Lobbying for gender as special category for asylum-determinations. Social worker programs, trainings.
Proximate Causes - Political	Violation of women's human rights (including rape)	Education and awareness raising of women's rights. Support of indigenous organisations working on the protection of such rights, or providing shelter for women fleeing violations. UNITED NATIONS Conventions.
	Exclusionary or discriminatory laws, especially application of such (e.g. dress code, property rights etc.)	Lobbing efforts. Offering legal assistance to women. Conditionality in aid or sanctions (see Afghanistan).
	Protection of women under existing laws against offenses (persecution of offender)	Supporting policy reforms and organisations working in this direction.
	Punishment for non-compliance with laws (e.g. draft evasion)	International protection for asylum seekers. Conditionality in aid/sanctions.
Proximate Causes - Security	Incidences of rapes	Provision of safe zones for victims. Consider lobbying with government for allowing 'external security forces': training of military and police

GENERIC (FAMILY) INDICATOR	EXAMPLE OF GENDERED INDICATOR	EXAMPLE OF RESPONSE OPTION
Proximate Causes - Security *Demographic deviations from the norm*	Sex-specific incidences of abduction / disappearances	International protests (bringing out in the open), appeals with government bodies, support of NGOs working in this area. Use of media to point out to the problem.
	Trafficking of women (sex trade, prostitution)	Education and code of conduct of 'good soldiers.' Curfew for soldiers after work-hours.
	Sexual abuse by security forces	Training of security forces to be 'good soldiers.'
	Diminished Market Activities	Offer international observer, police forces to increase security.
	Self-imposed curfews in bars etc.	Support community gatherings working on increasing security.
	Increased level of injuries due to bar-fights etc.	Introduce alternative activities such as sport.
Proximate Causes - Socio-Demographic	Sex-specific forced displacement (male/female only)	Adequate assistance and working toward permanent solutions.
	Sex-specific mortality rates (male/female only)	Offer international observer, police forces to increase security.
	Incidences of domestic violence (women, children)	Offer groups addressing aggression and alternative ways of dealing with it.
	Population Policies (esp. urging for increased birth rate)	Awareness raising campaigns, family planning, contraceptives.
Proximate Causes - Economic	Sex-specific unemployment (esp. of young men, youth bulge)	Employment programs for young men including additional training of necessary (or food for weapons/job for weapons programs)
	Sex-specific labour migration (men or women only)	Offer job incentive programs under aid conditionality.
	Increased sale of valuables (e.g. gold)	Monetary support

APPENDIX IV: Participants at Expert Consultative Meetings

NGOs and Grassroots Organisations

Waithera Ndungu, Abantu for Development

Mary Kuku, Nuba Association, African Indigenous Women Organisation

Brigitte Mutambala Mapendo, Africa Initiative Programme

Elizabeth Mutunga, Africa Peace Forum (APFO)

Noelle Nyakadekere Gisenya, Association des femmes Congolaises à Nairobi

Agnes Abuom, Building Eastern Africa Community Network (BEACON)

Jayne Kigadi Mbakaya, Chemchemi Ya Ukweli

Alice Kirambi, Christian Partners Development Agency (CPDA)

Miriam Gachago, Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development

Jerotich Seii, Education Centre for Women in Democracy (ECWD)

Patrick O. Onyango, Education Centre for Women in Democracy (ECWD)

Pamela Tuiyott, Education Centre for Women in Democracy (ECWD)

Jurusua Makumi, Federation of National Associations of Women in Business in Eastern and Southern Africa (FEMCOM), Kenya

Ruth Vakebila-di-Banda, Grafadeco Kinshasa

 Assani Bonzatina, Grafadeco Kinshasa

Judy Busolo Imbanga, Indigenous Information Network

Zeinab Mwango, Interfaith Peace Initiative

Bertha Amisi, Nairobi Peace Initiative - Africa

Wasye M. Musyoni, National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK)

Clène Nyiramahoro, NEGST

Sitouna A. Osman, New Sudan Women Federation

Tecla Wanjala, Peace and Development Network

Suzanne Nemeyimana, PRM/MAP International

Pauline Mukeshimana, Rassemblement Francophone Protestant Nairobi (RFPN)

Sibylle Mathis, cfd-Frauenstelle für Friedensarbeit (Woman and Peace NGO)

Bianca Mitglioretto, cfd-Frauenstelle für Friedensarbeit (Woman and Peace NGO)

Liliane Studer, Frauen & Entwicklung, HEKS (Aid Agency of the Protestant Church) – German-speaking section

Corinne Hechoz Piagnani, Resonsable du Département Etranger, HEKS/EPER (Aid Agency of the Protestant Church) – French-speaking section

Natascha Zupan, Peace building Center, Swiss Peace Foundation

Ellen Bernhardt, Swiss Peace Foundation

Maren Haartje, Swiss Peace Foundation

UNITED NATIONS Organisations and International NGOs

Sheila Mugo, Catholic Relief Services, Kenya/Tanzania

Francis Maklap Tulel, World Vision

Ned Greeley, United States Agency for International Development

Lee Foley, United States Agency for International Development

Lucy Hannan, IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Network), UNITED NATIONS OCHA

Emmanuel Muamba, UNESCO Culture of Peace Network

Nureldin Satti, UNESCO

Guy Avognon, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Hodan Addou, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Nyambura Githagui, World Bank

Elodie Marandet, International Organisation for Migration

Ida Mae Fernandez, Organisation for Migration

Jennifer Klot, United Nations Development Fund for Women

Lisa Smirl, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

John Clarke, Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs

Guenter Hemrich, Food & Agricultural Organisation (FAO)

Suzanne Williams, Oxfam

Juliette Prodhan, Oxfam

Kate Hart, Christian Aid

Georgina Ashworth, Change

Karin Ulmer, Aprodev

Hesta Groenewald, Saferworld

Kathleen Armstrong, CODEP

Maria Holt, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding

Ariane Brunet, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development

Julie Shaw, Urgent Action Fund

Angela Woodward, Vertic

Rosy Cave, Landmine Action

Jessika Trancik, WSP International

Peggy Knudson, Women in International Security

Zarghona Rassa, Afghan Women's Group

Uranus Rasooli, Afghan Women's Committee

Brita Schmidt, Womankind Worldwide

Eva Dalak, European Centre for Common Ground, Brussels

Ana Angarita-Nogura, Human Rights Officer, Gender, UNHCHR

Christina Saunders, Human Rights Officer, UNHCHR

Ute Kollies-Cummings, Gender Unit, UNOCHA

Grace Akpabio, UNHCR

Monika Kaempf, Women and War Project, ICRC

Research Institutes and Universities

Jeremy Lind, African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS)

Njeri Karuru, Centre for Conflict Research

John Joseph Okumu, Centre for Refugee Studies, Moi University

Howard Adelman, York University

Tsjeard Bouta, Clingandael Institute

Lambrecht Wessels, The Network University

Claske Dijkema, The Network University
Christine Chinkin, London School of Economics
Mark Hoffman, London School of Economics
Paola Brambilla, Institute of Development Studies (BRIDGE)
Maja Korac, Refugee Studies Centre
Pierson Ntata, Warwick University
Bridget Walker, Responding to Conflict
Yvonne Kambale Kavvo, Independent consultant
Tahmina Rachman, Independent consultant

Governments
Beth Richardson, Canadian High Commission, UK
Leslie Groves, Department for International Development (DfID), UK
Roy Trivedi, Department for International Development (DfID), UK
Indranil Chakrabarti, Department for International Development (DfID), UK
Ms Rosien Herweijer, Dutch MOFA (Women & Development Division), The Netherlands
Maya Walder, Defence Ministry, Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs
Kristina Wagner, Federal Office for Gender Equality, Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs
Siri Walt, European-Atlantic Security, Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs
Esther Schaufelberger, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)

Endnotes

1   The recent paper by Reiman (2001) on gender and prevention written for the German Technical Co-operation (GTZ) was developed in parallel to this paper and does not deal systematically with engendering early warning. There is however a substantial body of feminist theory that has dealt with security issues and gender in international relations that is very useful for the present discourse (see for example Tickner 1992, Enloe 1990, 1993, 2000, Peterson 1992, Pierson 1987, Pietilä and Vickers 1990, Ruddick 1989)

2   I would like to acknowledge the input by Chrystel Ferret from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation who helped clarify my thinking on the difference of introducing a gender-sensitive focus vs. a complete engendering of early warning practices.

3   The United Nations Disaster Relief Organisation began in 1972 and United Nations Environment Programme created the Global Environmental Monitoring System (GEMS) in 1975 (Ramcharan 1991). In the same year the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) established the Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture (GIEWS) and in the late 1980s the U.S. Agency for Development designed a Famine Early Warning System (FEWS) in order to avoid a repeat of the drought and famine disaster in the Sahel and Ethiopia (Rashid 1998, Whelan 1998). In 1987 the *Office for Research and the Collection of Information* (ORCI) became the focal early warning point in the UNITED NATIONS system until its abolition by UNITED NATIONS Secretary General Boutros-Ghali in 1992. The UNITED NATIONS Department of Humanitarian Affairs – renamed Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) – developed the Humanitarian Early Warning System (HEWS) in 1993 (Dedring 1994, Ahmed and Kassinis 1998). In 1999, HEWS was disbanded and UNOCHA began to re-evaluate its role in the field of early warning (briefly considering a search for key indicators). Parallel to these mid-1990s initiatives, information consolidation emerged with the Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) and ReliefWeb under UNOCHA and Reliefworld and RefugeeNet under UNHCR. The Department of Political Affairs also briefly toyed with the idea of creating an internal information system called POLIS (Vacchina 1992).

4   See, for example, Gurr (1996), Adelman (1998), Rusu (1997), Schmeidl and Jenkins (1998a), FEWER (1999), PIOOM (1999).

5   While early warning includes the formulation of response options it does not actually implement the response. Thus, this paper is limited to a discussion on how to engender early warning and not humanitarian action as whole. Several scholars have warned of the need to separate analysis from decision-making in order to prepare policy options that are as objective as possible (Gurr 1996, Adelman 1998).

6   Goldstein (2001) goes even so far as arguing against a clear separation between sex and gender, as he asserts, 'biology provides diverse potentials, and cultures limit, select, and channel them' (p.9). Interestingly he finds that 'the areas where gender roles tend to be most constant across societies – political leadership, hunting, and certain

coming-of-age rituals – are those most closely connected with war' (Goldstein 2001, p.12). As Goldstein's book is still forthcoming, I am using the page citation from the web version of his introduction:

7   http://www.american.edu/academic.depts/sis/goldtext/wargendr.htm

8   There are very few societies with matriarchal structures or where women hold a superior status over men. The societies where women have achieved a near equal status to men are also very small in number. Thus, one could argue that without actually being a minority in number, women are always among groups lower in status than men.

9   These developments can be traced through the four United Nations women's conferences (1975, 1980, 1985, and 1995) that began to focus on gender rather than women only. In the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (PFA) adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, governments committed themselves to ensuring that a gender perspective was reflected in all their policies and programs (United Nations 1996).

10   Innovative and more comprehensive approaches that aim to link field-based analysts to policy makers as developed by FEWER (the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response), or those with direct mandates from policy makers (e.g. the Conflict Prevention Network (CPN) of the European Union Analysis and Evaluation Center, the FAST (Early Warning of Tension and Fact Finding) project of the Swiss Peace Foundation) have begun to make some headway in closing the existing gaps.

11   Comments and discussion with Esther Schaufelberger from the Conflict Prevention Unit at the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation helped crystallise these points.

12   For criticisms on the technical aspects of early warning see, for example Adelman and Suhrke (1996), Schmeidl and Jenkins (1998a), George and Holl (2000), Jentleson (2000 and case studies and his book), and Schmeidl (2001). For a summary of other reasons that are linked to the failure of early warning see Schmeidl (2001, 2002b).

13   While we argue that early warning cannot be solely engendered by the inclusion of women, in a system that still tends to bias against women, it is nevertheless important to point out the role women could play.

14   Feminist international relations scholars have long argued that this notion of women 'expanding the agenda for discussion' is also evident at local and national levels within conflict zones. Recent studies show that in Northern Ireland, Guatemala and Liberia women introduce a wider range of issues, such as access to health care, education, employment, human rights and land rights into discussions on 'peace and security' (Barandun 1999, Anderlini 2000). As women are often involved in informal networks based on trade, clan and family ties across social structures and ethnic groups, they could provide a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of cross ethnic/cultural community relations. Also, 'the fact that women recognise the

connection between the domestic and public domains, or between the 'home front' and the 'war front' (Nnaemeka 1997) has been noted by many writers on conflict and gender (Bennett et al 1995 cited in Sorenson 1998, Byrne 1995, Jama 1996). 'Increasingly, women are realising that in order to change society, they must begin with the family and the community, for 'women's capacity to challenge the men in their families, their communities, or their political movements will be a key to remaking the world' (Enloe, quoted in Ferris 1992, p.47).

15   The importance of this has already been expressed through the Strategic Objective H.3: Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation (United Nations 1996). Beth Woroniuk (1999) who has worked on indicators for peace building produced some interesting recommendations that benefited this discussion. One of the first gender-sensitive early warning indicators was used in famine early warning where the weight of girl babies was used to anticipate food-crises. If the weight of babies of both sexes had been used, the warning might have come too late as in many cultures boys are favoured in nutrition and care.

16   It needs to be re-emphasised that this does not imply a sole focus on women, rather the development of indicators that distinguish the different needs, impacts on and positions of men and women.

17   Although sex-disaggregated data was not widely available until about 10 years ago.

18   The Human Development Index is currently 'a composite of three basic components of human development: longevity, knowledge and standard of living. *Longevity* is measured by life expectancy. *Knowledge* is measured by a combination of adult literary (two-thirds weights) and mean years of schooling (one-third weight). *Standard of living* is measured by purchasing power, based on real GDP per capita adjusted for the local cost of living (purchasing power parity, or PPP)' (UNDP 1994, p.91; original emphasis).

19   'The first cluster of variables is chosen to reflect economic participation and decision-making power. It includes women's and men's percentage shares of administrative and managerial positions and percentage shares of professional and technical jobs. ... The second variable is chosen to reflect political participation and decision-making power. It is women's and men's percentage shares of parliamentary seats. ... The variable we choose to reflect power over economic resources is unadjusted real GDP per capita, which is used in both the HDI and the GDI ... As the final step, we simply add the indices for each of our three clusters of variable sand divide by 3. This gives us the overall GEM' (UNDP 1995, pp.132-133).

20   Clark strongly benefited from the work of the late Fred Cuny; see also Gordenker (1986, 1989a, 1989b, 1992); Kanninen (1990), Schmeidl (1995, 1997), and Schmeidl and Jenkins (1998b).

21   'The data on women in politics worldwide, however, make me wonder how close we are to a critical mass. In the 1980s, women made up about 5 percent of heads of state, cabinet ministers, and senior policy makers worldwide, and about 10 percent of

members of national legislatures and senior officials in inter-governmental organisations. In the United States, fewer than 10 percent of legislators were women. Norway had the highest percentage of women legislators in the world, but over 98 percent of chairpersons of the powerful municipal councils were men, as were nearly 90 percent of Norwegian judges. (The ten countries with most women in legislatures were all either communist or Nordic countries, where legislatures held little real power.) In Sweden, men made up 90 percent of senior government officials. In China, 67 ministries were headed by men and the other five were vacant. Among the top 4,000 executives of Fortune 500 companies, fewer than half of one percent were women. In the past 15 years, this data has changed only incrementally. By 1997, women still held only 15 percent of seats in national legislatures in developed countries and about 10 percent in developing countries. As of 2000, women's seats in legislatures worldwide stands at 14 percent (and only in 6 small Northern European countries does it exceed 33 percent). In 1995, the world's UNITED NATIONS delegation heads were 97 percent male' (Goldstein 2001, p.30).

22   http://www.american.edu/academic.depts/sis/goldtext/wargendr.htm

23   Given that currently very few states even reach above the 30 percent threshold which is argued to create a 'critical mass' in terms of policy impact, it is perhaps fair to suggest that this variable may become more powerful as women are increasingly included in political positions.

24   China might be an exception since the government controls the low fertility rate.

25   Even though women have been active as fighters or within the ranks of the military, the overwhelming ethos so far has been male dominated. 'With notable exceptions, past and present, women have not made decisions about wars, women have not fought in wars, women have not even written about wars, and women certainly have not been present to judge war's aftermath. Women are war's victims, often its supporters, and usually its symbolism, but waging war is male territory' (Niarchos 1995, p.669). 'Most wars have been fought with the acquiescence and support of women' (Ferris 1992, p.6). Angola, El Salvador, Eritrea, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka, Uganda, and Vietnam all had female fighters, in some cases even holding high level positions (Kanogo 1987, Bennet et al. 1995 in Sorenson 1998, p.182).

26   Researchers point to the generally held opinion that whatever happens to a man is considered to occur in the public sphere and whatever happens to a women happens in the private sphere (see e.g., Kelly 1993, Giles 1993). And, international organisations are only allowed to intervene in the public sphere while the private sphere is still considered a 'hands-off-topic.'

27   Observations made during a Spring 1999 Swiss Peace Foundation workshop in Kyrgyzstan.

28   In the latter case, it might be beneficial to provide an overview of existing peace initiatives (internal, regional and international) and assess the feasibility of these

initiatives and their chance for success or failure, and list and assess also other major initiatives and policies (multilateral, bilateral, track 1,2,3 diplomacy, civil society, aid community etc.).

29 This section in particular benefited from commentary and discussions with Esther Schaufelberger from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

30 This came out very strongly from all three consultations held so far in Nairobi, Kenya, Berne, Switzerland, and London, UK.

31 'Women's peace activism has a long history.... Peace was an important plank of the suffrage program, and pacifist women during World War I organised the Women's Peace Party' (Goldstein 2001, p.31).

32 Most micro-level responses also tend to emphasise long-term prevention of the structures that can lead to and/or accelerate armed conflicts. It also increases sustainability of positive factors.

33 This may also apply to men in some situations.

34 The real challenge is not simply in realising the problems and creating program guidelines, rather the difficulty lies in the subtle issue of implementation of guidelines and programs that have already been developed (in the case of UNHCR and refugee women since 1988). Thus, field and relief workers need to be sensitised to the needs of vulnerable groups and trained to recognise such needs. Gender mainstreaming can slowly produce these changes.

35 Ultimately however, there is still insufficient data to prove if and how increased numbers of women in relevant decision-making posts would alter the responses of multi-lateral organisations or military operations.

36 The Platform for Action of the 1995 Beijing United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women argued that women's absence from decision-making related to peace, security, and conflict resolution hinders the achievement of the goals of equality, development and peace (United Nations 1996, paragraphs 23, 134, 181).

37 For an example of such a system see Mwaûra and Schmeidl (2002).

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