

Literature Review on Gender and Fragility¹

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Introduction

Gender and fragility is a very new area of development policy indeed the ERD will be one of the first reports to take into account the findings that are now emerging. There is very little literature that directly addresses the link between gender (in)equality and fragility, or gender equality in fragile states, although more attention is being paid to the subject. There is an interesting body of literature focusing on gender and different elements of fragile states though it focuses on conflict and reconstruction after conflict and not on the gendered dimensions and characteristics of fragile states. However, the general debate on state fragility does not take into account the gender dimension, even though most of the 'characteristics' mentioned in this literature, have important gender dimensions.

This review sets out to provide the background literature on which the emerging analysis of gender and fragility builds with reference to the literature on gender and economic development, gender indicators and gender responsive budgeting, gender and peace, gender and conflict and gender, governance and citizenship. The review places gender and fragility as an emerging new theme in gender and development literature and as an important component of the current policy debate around peace and security and aid effectiveness in fragile states.

The review is divided into three sections. The first section looks first at the literature and policy approaches on gender and development as the general setting for current approaches to gender and fragility. The second section looks at the two main clusters of topics which inform the newly emerging interest in gender and fragility: citizenship and governance and peace, security and conflict. The third section highlights the evolving gender and development policy approaches and new research which explicitly refers to gender and fragility with a focus on African states.

Section One

Gender Equality in Development Policy Frameworks

Gender and development approaches have evolved over a complex set of policy negotiations and research processes along two main lines: Women in Development (WID) and Gender and development (GAD).

Women in Development (WID) evolved in the early 1970s and called for women's needs to be integrated into development policy and practice. (Miller and Razavi 1995) The WID (or Women in Development) approach according to Reeves and Baden (2000) approach

¹ The views expressed in this paper are those of the author, and should not be taken to be the views of the European Report on Development or of the European Commission DG Development.

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calls for greater attention to women in development policy and practice, and emphasizes the need to integrate them into the development process.

WID highlights that women should be active agents of development underlining women's productive role. Women's exclusion from the market sphere, and limited access to and control over resources are the key issues, and WID policies address women's development needs by creating employment and income-generating opportunities, improving access to credit and to education.

Gender and development (GAD) focuses not only economic needs but also questions of power between women and men. (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1996) GAD 'focuses on the socially constructed basis of differences between men and women and puts emphasis on the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations' (Reeves and Baden 2000) ³

Gender analysis looks both at the gender division of labour and gender as a relation of power embedded in institutions. (Cornwall et al 2007) Gender and development policy aims to meet women's practical and strategic development needs by challenging existing power relations. (Moser 1993) Gender and development policy today includes elements of both WID and GAD perspectives, though the reference is now largely to GAD and as Reeves and Baden point out 'There is often a slippage between GAD policy rhetoric and a WID reality where 'gender' is mistakenly interpreted as women.' (Parpart et al 2000)

A major reference point that sets out the GAD approach for policy is the Platform of Action agreed to in 1995 at the UN World Conference on Women referred to in the literature as 'Beijing 1995'. (UNDAW, 1995) The Platform for Action stated aim is the:

'Eradication of poverty based on sustained economic growth, social development, environmental protection and social justice requires the involvement of women in economic and social development, equal opportunities and the full and equal participation of women and men as agents and beneficiaries of people-centred sustainable development; (Platform for Action Resolution, Point 16, A/CONF.177/20, UNDAW 1995)

The 12 critical areas of concern as set out in the Platform of Action which have set the ground rules for gender and development policy since are:

- The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women;
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training;

³ Baden and Reeve present some useful definitions of terms used in gender and development literature. For example they define Gender Analysis as 'The systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender 'and Gender Mainstreaming as 'an organisational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all aspects of an institution's policy and activities, through building gender capacity and accountability'.

- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services;
- Violence against women;
- The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation;
- Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources;
- Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels;
- Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women;
- Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women;
- Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media;
- Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment and
- Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl child.

In each critical area of concern, the problem is diagnosed and strategic objectives are proposed with concrete actions to be taken by governments in order to achieve those objectives. The strategic objectives are derived from the critical areas of concern and specific actions to be taken to achieve them cut across the boundaries of equality, development and peace.

Beijing remains the core document for gender and development policy on which subsequent development and aid cooperation has been built, for example the Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Declaration. Its concerns with gender, peace, equality and development make it an important policy reference point for gender and fragility. (UN 2005)

Another critical document for gender and fragility is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly. It is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination.

The Convention defines discrimination against women as "...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." (UNDAW 2007)

By accepting the Convention, States commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:

- to incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;
- to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and

- to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises.

The Convention provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life -- including the right to vote and to stand for election -- as well as education, health and employment. States parties agree to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women can enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Paris Declaration of 2005 on the effectiveness of aid flows has been a key policy document to take up gender equality as a strategy to improve aid effectiveness reflecting also the Millennium Development Goals particularly Goal Three on gender equality. (Grown et al 2005; Menon-Sen 2005) The Paris Declaration requires the incorporation and evaluation of gender equality in the disbursement of aid and associated aid modalities. A recently completed joint initiative between the UN and the EU conducted a set of mapping studies to identify the relationship between gender equality agendas and aid effectiveness and their findings were that there was a gap between the rhetoric and the practice of the Paris Declaration (Concord Gender Working Group 2007, Chiwara and Karadenizli 2008).

After this brief review of some of the general tenets of gender and development theory and policy that underscore the discussion on gender in all aspects of development we now turn to some main themes in gender and development that relate closely to gender and fragility.

Gender and economic development

As stated above a major focus over the last two decades of WID and GAD policy and analysis has been to underline women's important contribution to economic production as way to combat economic poverty. Since the first study on women's economic role in development by Ester Boserup in 1970 there has been a huge amount written about the women's work in development (Elson 1991; Agarwal 2004, Kabeer 2003; 2001; Beneria 2003) that has established the importance of women's work in developing country contexts.

Fennell 2009 ⁴ in her review of the literature on gender and economic growth in development argues that gender has emerged as a significant factor to sustaining economic growth, for reducing poverty and increasing development effectiveness. Her review examines how gendered social relations impact on the achievement of economic development. She points to the large gender and development literature that has aimed to remedy unequal gender relations on economic development through more

⁴ The following discussion refers to the literature review of Shailaja Fennel (2009) on the gender indicator in the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) for the World Bank made available to the author in April 2009.

appropriate conceptual, methodological and measurement approaches to gender inequality.

A key area has been in the labour market and adapting the bargaining models within the New Household Economics in the early 1990s (Pollak 1985) where resources and labour allocations were undertaken on gendered lines, based on intra-household conflict rather than cooperation. Added to these economic approaches was the work in other disciplines on the social construction of gender within household and community and the inequality of power relations. (Kabeer 1999). Empirical work on labour markets identified a pattern of discrimination of women within informal and social spheres of exchange, in relation to employment, wages, conditions of work (Beneria and Roldan 1987; Standing 1989) as well as with regard to social status, rights to communal resources, and decision making (Tinker 1990).

As Fennell points out the literature underlines that unequal gender relations lead to women not being able to take up market opportunities nor to participate in public and political life: 'This large opportunity cost of foregone economic growth on account of building a national economic system based on prevailing forms of gender inequality is not immediately discernable in the conventional model of macroeconomics. This is because the model does not regard gender relations as having any relevance to economic growth and has written such relations out of the analysis.' (Fennell 2009)

Gender and development literature challenges the apparent given that economic growth strategies are gender neutral, Dianne Elson (1991) in her landmark book pointed to the gender blindness policy in relation to the impact of gender relations on macroeconomic conditions of growth.

The negative consequences of gender blind institutions in economic policy for women's lives and livelihoods has led to some important challenges to macroeconomic thinking within the field of development. (Goetz 1998, UNRISD 2005, Rai 2008, U) Gender and development programmes have aimed to remove gender discrimination against women in labour markets and in their exclusion for opportunities offered by development. Feminist economists have proposed ways to counter the gender blindness of institutional framework by bringing in the social construction of gender into economic policy. (Sen 1999, Seguino and Grown 2006)

The negative impact of gender inequalities on the ability of women to gain from economic growth became evident in the structural adjustment programmes that were adopted by economies during the 1980s, based on economic rationalisation and opening up trade markets with no attempt to analyse specific impact on women's lives and livelihoods in these economies (Cagatay, Elson and Grown 1995). The consequent 'feminization of labour' in these economies, led to new jobs for women but with shorter contracts and less social security (Standing 1989) resulting in further poverty for women in the context of a macroeconomic restructuring of the economy.

Women have provided a supply of cheap labour for the new industries. In rural economies, alongside farm work or paid formal work, women supplemented incomes through a whole range of informal work. Increasingly women had to move to find paid work outside the

home and community. This necessitated them travelling long hours to work or moving to urban areas or migrating to other countries. In the drive to compete in the global economy huge numbers of women were employed in export manufacturing sectors and filled the semi skilled and lower level tasks in production processes and expanding service sectors.

The conditions under which poor women entered national and global economies in such large numbers have been a major focus of gender and development policy, feminist movements and feminist economists. (Sparr 1994; Razavi 2002, Kabeer 2003, UNRISD 2005; Rai 2008) Case studies have shown how women absorbed the shock of structural adjustment and shifts in agricultural and global manufacture by working longer and harder in and outside the home. The export production was made at expense of women's time, their health well-being and household security. Health, education and social security were privatized with the dismantling of welfare provision and labour market regulation. Where these markets did not exist provision of these services devolved to women adding to women's work burden. (Young, Wolkowitz and McCullagh 1984, Sassen 1998, Cagatay 2003, Kabeer 2007)

As British feminist economist Ruth Pearson in her study on the globalization of women's work (Pearson 2008) points out there is an increase in intra-regional trade- between higher and lower wage economies; and between East and West Europe and most new jobs for women in an unregulated informal economy. Pearson and others (Wichterich 2007) argue that the rise of China and the other BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China) has created lower cost competition for many sectors which employ women to produce for export markets. The global demand for agricultural and mineral products has pushed developing economies away from producing food and wage goods for their own people, increasing the burden of women to find basic food stuffs for their family. This situation which has led to a focus on survival, a search for wages is part of what Pearson calls 'the reproductive bargain' for public provision of education, wages, housing, sanitation and utilities and pensions all vital to people living in poverty.

A picture of systematic discrimination by economic and social institutions against women, in relation to resources, production, and labour allocation has emerged from microeconomic studies of rural households in many developing countries (Udry 1996, World Bank 2001). The 2001 World Bank policy research report 'Engendering Development - Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice' on gender issues and their broad economic and social implications in developing and transitional countries shows the conceptual and empirical links between gender, public policy, and development outcomes. It sets out how societies that discriminate by gender tend to experience less rapid economic growth and poverty reduction.

Fennell argues that while the impact of gender inequality, in relation to lower access to land, land fertility and rural credit, on household poverty results in lower female productivity it is difficult to disaggregate household poverty by gender. Income based measures of poverty do not take account of the existence unequal of forms of gendered negotiation in the household whereby men are able to claim more resources and a better work allocation than women. She points out that there is some evidence that the greater probability of female headed households are more vulnerable to external shocks

appeared to be a consequence of their nature of gender relations in the household and community (rather than their income earning ability) that kept women out of the labour market, largely operating either in the informal economy or agricultural non-market activities, and constrained by social and cultural controls (Moghadham 1997). Fennell proposes that there is the need to look not at household or individual levels of poverty but at income generation opportunities for women at the community levels. The expansion of microcredit schemes for women has been one response (UNIFEM 2007). However there are concerns that the provision of credit to women does not overcome structural forms of discrimination as the men in the household and community often control the funds raised. Bernheim (2008: 4) points out that 'social and institutional conditions dominate the effects of microfinance initiatives and microfinance projects need to be accompanied by measures for institutional capacity building that promote the rights and role of women in society.'

The literature on gender and economic development and gender and poverty spells out the importance of measuring and acknowledging women's reproductive and reproductive work and the social construction of gender and how it informs economic institutions. The literature points to the negative consequences of gender blind institutions in economic policy for women's lives and livelihoods challenges macro economic research and policy to take into account gender analysis.

Gender Indicators

An important instrument for gender and development policy has been the development of gender indicators and indexes. To advance gender equality and equity, accurate and relevant data on the status of women and men and gender relations have been compiled in accordance the need for sex-disaggregated data agreed to in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. A gender-sensitive indicator captures gender-related changes in a society over time. (Beck 1999) In defining a gender indicator main sources of gender equality data are reviewed, including censuses and labour force surveys, household surveys, time-use studies, system of national accounts and unpaid work, and CEDAW reporting. Some key work on gender sensitive indicators by the UN and donors are the UNDP Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The Gender Gap analysis of the World Economic Forum (WEF) is the another ambitious project that tries to capture the situation of women. (Beck and Stelcna 1997)

The discussions on gender and poverty concede that poverty is difficult to measure because it requires using a multidimensional range of gender-sensitive indicators which give attention to the nuances of gender relations and the dynamics of power at both the household and societal levels. The lack of sex-disaggregated data on spending and consumption within the household perpetuates an assumption that income is distributed equally among household members. This fails to account for the influence of gendered power relations and bargaining in the intra-household distribution of resources (Moser 2007).

The concept of 'time poverty' is sometimes has been proposed as an alternative methodology to capture the social and economic dimensions of poverty. Time poverty is measured primarily through time-use surveys, which ask men and women to record how they spend their time during a 'normal' 24-hour day, including productive activities, as well

as various forms of unpaid labour, and leisure and educational activities. Time-use studies are especially important for measuring women's unpaid care work, or their provision of services within households and communities (Moser 2007), which often limits their ability to participate in paid employment. (Blackden and Wodon 2006)

Another way forward lies with the proposal of a Gender Poverty Index (GPI) based on: time use (labour inputs versus leisure/rest time); the value of labour inputs (in the paid and unpaid sectors) versus earnings; and sex-differentiated expenditure and consumption patterns (Moser 2007).

The most visible gender-sensitive indicators are at the national, regional and international levels. They enable comparisons of gender equality across countries and regions translating complex data into accessible messages about achievements and gaps. There is an ongoing debate on whether the current indices cover major gender indicators such as domestic violence and land ownership. (UNDP 2005, Schuler 2006)

Innovative initiatives are working to develop new indices which include a broader range of dimensions and indicators (such as Social Watch's Gender Equity Index). Other important developments include the adaptation of international indicators to better represent gender equality regionally (such as the African Gender and Development Index), initiatives to develop harmonised sets of gender indicators, and efforts to track donor and government commitments to gender equality in the context of the new aid architecture. Improving the production and dissemination of sex-disaggregated data is fundamental to achieving success in these initiatives. (Human Development Report Office, 2005; Moser 2007)

A new composite measure of gender discrimination is The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) based on social institutions. It measures gender inequality in five areas: Family Code, Physical Integrity, Son Preference, Civil Liberties and Ownership Rights in 102 non-OECD countries. The OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) offers a tool to measure these hidden instances of gender discrimination. Drawing on 12 innovative indicators, the index captures the underlying reasons for existing gender gaps. SIGI indicators are based on an in-depth assessment of the situation of women and men in 124 low- and middle income countries, 102 of which are ranked based on their performance in social institutions. In 2009 SIGI shows that women in many parts of the world face high discrimination in social institutions. Inequalities are particularly pronounced in sub-Saharan Africa and the world's worst performers are situated in the belt that stretches from Mali to Pakistan, with Sudan, Afghanistan and Sierra Leone at the bottom of the ranking.

In relation to gender and fragility there has been important work on indicators of women's empowerment, gender based violence and gender and conflict and post conflict. (Moser 2007, African Center for Gender and Development, 2005)

There are many approaches to measuring women's empowerment (Klasen 2006, Pradhan 2003). Naila Kabeer's approach involves three inter-related dimensions: access to resources (the preconditions for empowerment), agency (the ability to use these

resources to bring about new opportunities) and achievements (outcomes) (Kabeer 1999, 2001). Gender based violence (physical, sexual, or psychological abuse inflicted on the basis of a person's gender) is another key gender indicator. A better understanding of who experiences gender based violence (GBV), where, and with which associated causal factors (alcohol abuse, cultural practices, armed conflict, etc.), will enable planners and policymakers to better target interventions to reduce GBV or assist survivors. The World Health Organization (WHO) has developed ethical and safety guidelines for researching domestic violence against women, highlighting issues such as guaranteeing privacy and confidentiality of the interview and providing special training for researchers (WHO 2001)

Gender equality or gender empowerment is hard to measure in situations of peace and stability but even more difficult in a conflict-prone context of rapid change but they are considered major tools in gender and development programming particularly in fragile states. Increases in gender inequality, for example increasing rates of domestic violence, can be indicators of the escalation of conflict. Gender-sensitive indicators can help to warn and perhaps even avoid escalating conflict. They can monitor change towards long-term gender equality in the critical post-conflict period. Attention to gender can therefore strengthen the effectiveness of analytical and preventative models such as risk assessments and conflict early warning systems, as well as highlighting the different capabilities of women and men to engage in conflict prevention. (Caprioli 2000, Caprioli and Douglas 2008)

UNIFEM has piloted a number of projects to develop gender-sensitive indicators which can be mainstreamed into conflict risk assessment and early warning systems. Gender-sensitive indicators are also important for tracking progress on gender equality in post-conflict settings. According to Moser 'The post-conflict context provides a critical window of opportunity for setting the foundation for long-term gender equality; it is the time when new constitutions and legal frameworks are set up, when elections are held, when development and reconstruction activities lead to new employment opportunities, when the desire for transition to 'democracy' can allow for discussion of equal rights for women and men. It is crucial to ensure that women as well as men are able to take advantage of these opportunities.' (Moser 2007, 9) Data regularly gather can 'monitor the effectiveness of development and reconstruction efforts in relation to gender equality.'

Gender Responsive Budgeting

Along with gender indicators gender responsive budgeting has emerged as a major instrument to correct the discriminatory gendered dimension of development policies. Gender budgeting undertakes to measure the work, paid and unpaid women contribute to the economy in order to advocate for a more equal share of the national budget and aid budget to support women's work in homes, communities and paid work places. While government budgets allocate resources in ways that perpetuate gender biases, budgets also offer the potential to transform gender inequalities.

Elson (1999) in her study 'Gender-neutral, gender-blind, or gender-sensitive budgets: Changing the conceptual framework to include women's empowerment and the economy of care' describes budgets as as gender blind rather than "gender-neutral".

National budgets fail to take into account the fact that men and women have different roles, responsibilities and resources in society. This failure leads to further discrimination and disempowerment of women. One of the major failures of budgets is the neglect of the unpaid "care economy" and recommendations are made by Elson and others as to how this work could be valued or measured, and included in the budget. Gender budgeting involves new ways of collecting and presenting data, and focusing on economic areas outside those more traditionally associated with budget work. What has been proposed is re-thinking the relationships between different areas of economic life such as the public and private sectors, the domestic, and the formal and informal economies. Gender budget initiatives have set up a parallel budget or "satellite accounts" that focus on measuring and trying to quantify the value of unpaid output in the care economy. Data is collected on variations in income, expenditure, and government spending within and between households and businesses, and within government committees and departments. (UNIFEM 2000, Latigo 2002, UNRISD 2005)

In recent years gender budget initiatives (GBI), both inside and outside government have tried to mainstream gender into the criteria that determine the planning, formulation and implementation of the budget. (Hofbauer Balmori 2003) Gender-responsive budget initiatives (GBIs) ultimate goal is to lead to more effective policy design and outcomes, however, the technical nature of much gender budget work can obscure the political nature of the budget process and hence the need for advocacy strategies. The case studies in this literature show that political support is crucial, particularly from finance ministries and officials in key sectoral ministries. Budlender et al (2002) point to ministers responsible for women's affairs are important advocates but often lack political influence to mobilise support and lack the capacity to address macroeconomic issues. Recommendations include the need for broad-based coalitions, sex-disaggregated indicators, the development of tools for revenue analysis, and more work at the sub-national level. (Budlender et al 2002)

There is now a robust literature that outlines the political lessons learned from gender budgeting, setting out the concepts, tools and approaches; country-level experiences; and advocacy and mobilization in countries such as South Africa and Tanzania. (Judd 2002) Key to current discussions on GBI is how to make budgeting accountable to citizens. Bakker (2002) sees GBI as a policy strategy to bring broader public accountability for fiscal policy to be sensitive to the needs of poor women and men. GBIs also seek to widen governance and accountability structures by strengthening women's capacity for effective participation, and government's capacity to undertake gender analyses and engender macroeconomic policies. Norton and Elson (2002) and Sharp (2003) argue that budget processes can be used to claim rights and call governments to account. They see gender responsive budgets as ways to address human rights, entitlements, political accountability and citizenship through the budget process. They link GBIs to a clear framework of policy goals, aligned to a vision of society with respect for gender and social justice, and monitoring of policy goals by citizens and an active engaged civil society able to access information, produce analysis and hold government to account. (Bridge 2003)

Gender Budgeting Initiatives present an important approach for discussions on gender and fragility. They raise major policy considerations about how to link budget considerations to gender concerns as well as raise an important way to promote a broader reform agenda aiming to strengthen citizen participation, promote more

democratic decision-making, and change the assumptions on which budget calculations are based.

Section Two

Gender, citizenship and governance,

Bringing about change in relation to governance and citizenship in particular women citizens is critical for fragile states. According Brody (2009) governance institutions shape perceptions of the roles that women and men play in society, as well as determining their access to rights and resources. The literature examines the GAD policy approaches which have aimed to include more women in decision-making, from the household up to the highest levels of government. The assumption is that if more women shaping the governance institutions then these institutions will be more responsive to the different needs and situations of both women and men.

The literature varies on how governance institutions should include women but the agreement is that effective or 'good' governance is the route to reduced poverty and more equal, democratic, corruption-free societies and that governance should promote social justice and gender equality, and further the realisation of the rights of all citizens. (Rai and Waylen 2008)

What is also agreed is that government decisions can create and perpetuate gender inequalities – but governments remain a crucial part of the solution as do global governance institutions like the United Nations. Civil society organisations and citizens also play a key role in holding governments accountable for the commitments made. (Basu 2003, Social Watch 2005)

A set of requirements for gender sensitive governance structures has been developed by UNDP. The first strategy in gender and governance policy has been to bring more women into parliaments through electoral quota systems and the establishment of women's ministries. For example, at 56.3 per cent, the Republic of Rwanda has one of the highest figures in the world for women's representation in national assemblies – in large part due to a quota system. The number of women in parliament has to be 30% in order for some difference to be felt. But the literature points out that bringing women into parliament is not enough. Effective governance requires according to studies (UNDP) and to the latest report by UNIFEM on accountability to women (2008) changing the governance institutions themselves to uncover attitudes, behaviour, thinking and policies that are discriminatory or gender blind with stronger systems of accountability for honouring international commitments such as CEDAW. Establishing clear, gendered understandings of the principles associated with effective governance is important for development. (Brody 2009). With such principles, putting in place policies that are responsive to all citizens, identify the different needs of women and men and with mechanisms that ensure governance processes are transparent and accountable, with governance institutions publicly assessed on their efforts to address gender inequality and ensure women's equal participation in governance.

In relation to fragility the literature on governance and gender is important. The intensive state-building processes that are undertaken in fragile and post-conflict states have the potential to transform the structures of the state and its relationship to its women and thereby to improve greatly the nature of women's citizenship. Though as the Rwanda example has shown, if women are to make the most of the opportunities which governance reforms present, investing time and resources to build their capacity is also vital.

However, according to the studies now being undertaken (FRIDE 2009) in practice, issues related to women's rights, participation and relationship to the state are often overlooked or inadequately addressed within state-building processes and opportunities to strengthen women's citizenship are lost. This is due both to lack of political will and lack of knowledge among policy makers on how to integrate gender issues into state-building strategies.

Although the research is not yet complete FRIDE together with ODI are now gathering country level evidence and cross country analysis on women's citizenship and relationship to the state in various fragile state contexts in order to analyze the impact of different state-building processes on women. The project aims to recommend policy options on how to promote women's citizenship within state-building processes for international actors and national policy makers so that they can strengthen women's citizenship through their state-building strategies.

Key to the research is to set out how to support state-building processes in fragile state settings that result in capable, accountable and responsive states. The intensive state-building activities that take place in post-conflict and fragile state settings allow for changes in power relations, state structures and institutions, and the relationship between state and citizens. In the process of moving out of fragility there are important opportunities for the international community to support national actors to build a more accountable state. These often include constitution drafting, democratisation, establishing or reforming executive institutions, establishing oversight mechanisms, legal and justice reform, security sector reform, decentralisation of governance, and support for civil society to exercise voice and hold the state to account. These processes all have the potential to significantly strengthen women's rights, participation in governance and relationship of accountability with the state.

According to Castillejo (2008), in many fragile state contexts women's relationship to the state is fundamentally different to that of men. Their relationship to the state is often mediated through family, community, religious or customary institutions. Women face a larger gap between their formal and substantive citizenship, as well as greater economic, social and cultural barriers in accessing their rights and participating in decision making. Moreover, in many fragile state contexts, the domestic and personal issues of most concern to women (such as family law, inheritance, land access or security) are delegated to customary institutions or non-state actors, making women unable to hold the state accountable for rights in these areas. All these factors mean that women face specific barriers in claiming their rights, participating in governance and holding the state to account – in effect acting as full citizens – and that measures to re-build or reform the

state will impact them differently. Castillejo suggests that despite the potential of state-building processes to provide women with new rights and opportunities, the international community's approach to state-building has been largely gender blind. Until recently, international support for state-building has focused almost entirely on building the administrative capacity of the state, and any attempts to strengthen rights and accountability has generally not been gender sensitive. However, she does suggest that some donors are increasingly recognising the value of adopting a more comprehensive approach to the role of politics and power in development processes, including in fragile states such as the DFID project Drivers of Change.

FRIDE and ODI suggest that donors have largely ignored gender issues in their work on state-building because the state-building theories which inform much governance programming in fragile states are mostly gender-blind. These theories tend to model an abstract relationship between the state, elite groups and an undisaggregated 'population' without questioning how this relationship is different for men and women, who is represented within each set of actors, or how these relationships operate at different levels. The strong body of knowledge on women's citizenship, rights and relationship to the state that comes from the field of gender research on state-building has not yet been examined.

Gender, conflict and development

Along with citizenship and governance, gender and conflict is emerging as critical in development analysis and policy. (Bridge 1996a 1996b, Bouta 2004, Caprioli and Douglas 2008, Hudson 2008) The gender dimensions of conflict have been the subject of study in the last years organized around themes such as female combatants, gender based violence, formal and informal peace processes, the legal framework and the rehabilitation of social services and community-driven development. Other aspect of conflict have also been the subject of studies such as UNFPA's study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls (UNFPA 2001) which covers reproductive health, trafficking, domestic and sexual violence, peacekeeping operations and the role of NGOs. The general policy approach has been to move away from women as victims of conflict and to use the post conflict period has a moment to encourage change and build more inclusive and gender balanced social, economic and political relations in post-conflict societies.

The Bridge Report on [Gender and armed conflict](#) summarizes this approach in its overview report by Amani El Jack (2003). El Jack points out that the ways armed conflict negatively affects women is not always understood in the mainstream understandings of conflict and reconstruction. Essentially gender inequality reflects power imbalances in social structures that exist in pre-conflict periods and are exacerbated by armed conflict and its aftermath. The popular perception is that men are soldiers or aggressors and women are wives, mothers, nurses, social workers and sex-workers. But even if men make up the majority of the aggressors women make up the majority of civilian casualties and their role as caregivers are undermined due to a breakdown of social structures. However, women are also combatants, as evidenced in Sri Lanka and Liberia, and men are also victims.

The impacts of armed conflict on gender relations are profound. Forced displacement and gender-based violence (GBV) are two deliberate strategies of war that destabilise families and communities. Physical and sexual violence, particularly towards women and children, occur with greater regularity during and after armed conflict. Women experience rape and forced pregnancy, forced sex work and sexual slavery.

El Jack underlines that gender differences are equally entrenched within public and private institutions that intervene to end armed conflict and build peace. Often women are not involved in post conflict negotiations and the impacts of armed conflict such as forced displacement and GBV are not understood as human rights violations, but rather as cultural or private issues. Lack of the reinforcement of international commitments designed to protect the human rights of women and girls during and after armed conflict prevents real progress towards gender equality.

‘Mainstreaming gender awareness into the structures that govern armed conflict and post-conflict reconstruction requires better cooperation between international institutions, states and NGOs ... [involving] women’s organisations at the decision-making level in the formation of political and legal structures ... Indeed, the all-encompassing upheaval caused by armed conflict creates the potential to redefine gender relations in the post-conflict period in more gender equitable ways. But without greater support for organisations and interventions that promote gender equality in all sectors, there is a high risk that long-standing patterns of oppression will be re-established.’ (El Jack 2003: 8)

There is an interesting set of literature which links directly the security of women with the security of states. Caprioli (2005) argues that a domestic environment of inequality and violence—structural and cultural violence—results in a greater likelihood of violence at the state and the international level. She sets out evidence to show that states with higher levels of gender inequality are more likely to experience intrastate conflict. Hudson et al (2008) argues that there is a significant linkage between the security of women and the security of states when examining issues of state security and conflict. They quote the former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan, “The world is . . . starting to grasp that there is no policy more effective [in promoting development, health, and education] than the empowerment of women and girls. And I would venture that no policy is more important in preventing conflict, or in achieving reconciliation after a conflict has ended.” Their article concludes that there is a strong and statistically significant relationship between the physical security of women and the relative peacefulness of states. (Hudson et al 2008: 35)

The independent research group Gender Action (2007) tests this approach with an examination of the gender dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction in the World Bank (Zucherman, Dennis with Greenberg, 2007 and Greenberg and Zucherman 2009). They examine World Bank post conflict reconstruction investments for gender considerations. They argue the Bank has failed to pay attention to women-specific needs and rights in its work to transform violent environments into peaceful and equitable societies. They argue that given the correlation between gender inequality and the likelihood of conflict

promoting gender equality is an essential contribution to lasting peace. Their research suggests that the Bank missed huge opportunities to promote gender equality through its vast financial and technical investments in human resources and public and private infrastructure in PCR countries. They conclude that few donor post-conflict reconstruction projects identify or address gender discrimination issues. World Bank PCR investments hardly reflect Bank research recognizing that gender inequality increases the likelihood of conflict and gender equality is central to development and peace.

These findings are still to be thoroughly tested but there is burgeoning new literature and policy that is showing the importance of gender in security policy (Gya 2007 and 2009) and in peace building (Koen 2006; Lyytikainen 2009). The major argument in relation to developing countries in particular African countries is that in the process of democratising states and societies there are periods of transition, often from violent conflict situations. These transition periods provide opportunities for reorganization of political institutions that lead to greater security particularly for women and girls. Particularly in Africa armed conflicts that have been predominantly intrastate, the civil population including women and children have been involved in conflict and in cases deliberately targeted. Women and girls are been subject to acts of violence, from sexual and gender based violence to torture, death and injury from indiscriminate military attacks and death from being unable to support themselves and their families.

The literature argues that given these circumstances it is important to include women in peace negotiations, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. Using the international rights-based frameworks the political transition period if it includes women can establish greater gender equality and political representation of women. Koen 2006 argues that even given the uniqueness of each national situation the degree of security and confidence of the regime's elites, the presence or absence of financial resources, and the prevailing international trends that provide legitimacy to certain forms of transition – it is crucial that women are included in negotiations and decision-making structures.

Gender and peace building

Closely tied to the discussion on gender and conflict is the literature on gender and peace building which documents gender relations in post conflict situations and has built up a set of guidelines for organisations working in the field of conflict management, prevention, containment, resolution, reconciliation and reconstruction (Naraghi-Anderlini 2000). For example CIDA's Gender Equality and Peacebuilding: An Operational Framework (2001) looks at how to promote more equitable gender relations (political, economic, and social) and the differential impact of interventions on women, men, boys and girls in the post conflict situation. Whittington (2007) also takes up the issue in relation to women in peace negotiations and donor conferences. (CIDA 1996, Sorenson 1998)

Potter (2005 and 2008) writing for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue looks at the importance of sensitivity to gender in processes in Aceh, Kenya, Kosovo, Liberia, the Middle East, Nepal, Northern Ireland, the Sudan/Darfur and Uganda and outlines the benefits of gender aware strategies, reviewing the situation from both women and men's experiences. Her main argument is the draw back of not engaging women in the peace processes, as women have different experiences and different ideas to the solutions and

needs in the post conflict period. Her findings are confirmed and elaborated in several UN studies:

For example the Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post Conflict Societies by UNIFEM/UNDP (2007) and *UNDP's Eight Point Agenda for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality in Crisis Prevention and Recovery* (UNDP 2006). There are also a series of resolutions by the European Parliament in 2006 which 'stress' the need to mainstream a gender perspective into peace research, conflict prevention and resolution, peacekeeping operations, post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction and to ensure a gender component in field programmes [and] Highlights the positive role that women play in conflict resolution and requests the Commission and the Member States to ensure adequate technical and financial assistance in support of programmes enabling women to participate to the full in the conduct of peace negotiations and empowering women in civil society as a whole as well as welcoming the various initiatives to create gender-specific early warning and conflict surveillance indicators, see for example those taken by UNIFEM' (European Parliament 01 June 2006)

Key to gender and peace building has been the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on 31 October 2000. UN Resolution 1325 is considered a watershed for international women's rights and peace and security issues. (El Bushra 2003) It is the first formal and legal document from the United Nations Security Council that requires parties in a conflict to respect women's rights and to support their participation in peace negotiations and in post conflict reconstruction. The Security Council Resolution specifically addresses the disproportionate and unique impact of war on women, and women's special under-valued and under-utilized contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace. It urges women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security. The adoption of 1325 was initiated in 2000 by Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, then Minister of Women's Affairs in Namibia when the country chaired the Security Council. After lobbying by dozens of women's organizations and UNIFEM the resolution was adopted unanimously.

Among other recommendations to UN and national entities, the Resolution calls for:

- Prosecuting people for crimes against women (often such crimes are committed with impunity);
- Extra protection of girls and women in war zones as they are more often deliberately victimized;
- Appointing more women for peacekeeping operations; and
- Involving more women in negotiations, peace talks and post-war reconstruction planning.

As UK negotiator, Jeremy Greenstock recalled in 2005, 1325 was a direct outcome of the 'awful heritage of what had happened in Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo left us with a strong incentive not only to try to end the internal conflicts which ravaged these countries, but also to build a stronger foundation of

principle for the proper care of those civilians who so often became caught up in the violence through no fault of their own. As soon as 1325 was on our books, our work in Africa began to take on greater recognition of the part women could play in resolving conflict.'

Peace negotiations in Africa have been supported not only by UN and governments but also civil society networks and institutions. (International Alert 2005, International Crisis Group 2006) De Zwaan (2006) argues in her study on Angola and Congo that civil society initiatives are also important for state building. Cooperation between the state, civil society and the international community is important to establish stable peace constituencies and stimulating non-violent conflict resolution. Key to this strategy is the involvement of women and women's CSOs. 'Women can help to build peace across cultural divides and in (re) building civil society in unstable regions. Considering the high level of distrust and lack of capacities of civil society in fragile states gender-identities of women could be used to bridge other differences. Many examples from different countries show, that women's organizations worked to rebuild core institutions and services after violent conflict.'

The failure of state and international organizations to address gender inequalities in policy and programming in fragile states may undermine the effectiveness of strategies to address development and security. She suggests that although progress is made on some of the MDGs (for example on MDG1 on the reduction of poverty and hunger world wide), little or no progress has been made on MDG3, the equity of men and women in the equal representation of women in politics and social life. The problems addressed in the MDGs she suggests are most strikingly in fragile states. Poor people, and especially women, lack the resources to organize and influence unequal distribution and bad service delivery by the government. She concludes that 'Supporting and focusing on women can help to build peace across cultural divides and in (re) building civil society in unstable regions.'

Women are active in peace processes, primarily at the informal level, where women's organizations take on mediating and reconciling roles. Although Security Council Resolution 1325 calls for the mainstreaming of gender into peacekeeping operations, the realities are that women are still often marginalized in formal peace processes. Where they have participated, however, there have been important gains during the re building of institutions and legal frameworks in post-conflict situations, opportunities. (Koch 2008, Campbell-Nelson 2008)

As the women's civil society Network Akina Mama wa Afrika states (2009)

'When it comes to women's peace and security, Africa's current leadership is lagging behind in its accountability to women. In spite of the effects of armed conflict on women as victims and perpetrators, they have not meaningfully been involved in decision-making around peace-building, rehabilitation and reconstruction. It is therefore imperative that women are equipped with leaderships skills to enable them to ensure that government policies, programs and budgets protect women's rights, particularly in the context of

peace and security as stipulated in national, regional and international human rights standards such as UN Resolution 1325; UN Resolution 1820 the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Protocol), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Beijing Platform for Action. '

'Ogunsanya (2007) describes the work of The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution Disputes (ACCORD founded in 1992 a South African-based civil society organisation working throughout Africa to bring creative African solutions to the challenges posed by conflict on the continent. ACCORD's primary aim is to influence political developments by bringing conflict resolution, dialogue and institutional development to the forefront as an alternative to armed violence and protracted conflict. ACCORD works from SADC in the south, through the Great Lakes region to the Horn of Africa and in West Africa. ACCORD trains men and women in conflict resolution, negotiation and mediation skills to assist them present their issues, needs and interests at peace tables in The Sudan, Somalia, DRC, Sierra Leone and Guinea, Kenya, Burundi, DRC, Liberia, Rwanda, South Africa, Sudan and Uganda.

The United Nations has recognised ACCORD's approach of intervention, research, training and early warning as a viable model for conflict prevention and transformation on the continent. Ogunsanya reports that central to ACCORD's work is to strengthen mechanisms to incorporate women into governance and political processes in African states in post conflict situations. Their work points to the enormous gender inequalities and challenges to bring women into social, political and economic leadership positions in peace building and reconstruction processes and the importance of International Conventions and UN Resolutions 5 in underscoring women's important role in maintaining peace and security in their societies. Their work throughout Sub Saharan Africa indicates how peace building is a

⁵ Global Conventions, UN Resolutions & African Protocol on Gender, Peace and Security:

-The Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979

-Beijing Platform for Action 1995

-UN Resolution 1265 on "Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict" adopted on 17 September 1999

-UN Resolution 1261 on "Children and Armed Conflict" adopted on 25 August 1999

-UN Resolution 1296 on "Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict" adopted on 19 April 2000

-UN Resolution 1314 on "Children and Armed Conflict" adopted on 11 August 2000

-UN Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security" adopted on 31 October 2000

-"Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-first Century" New York, 5-9 June 2000

-Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, Maputo, 11 July 2003

continuous process in states moving out of fragility and gender equity is crucial to encourage good governance, transparency and accountability. (Meintjes 2001)

For example, ACCORD reports that in Liberia women civil society groups and national networks of Sierra Leone since the 1990s have acted as mediators between rebels and Government of Sierra Leone leading to cessation of hostilities. Mano River Women Peace Networks in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea (MARWOPNET) were signatory to the Lome Peace Accord, and awarded the United Nations Human Rights Prize for their role in peace processes in the West African region in 2003.

Section Three

Policy documents on Gender and Fragility

Discussions specifically on gender and fragility can be found from 2005 onwards with general policy documents on gender and fragility. The general argument proposed echoes the earlier gender and development literature on gender and conflict with most documents underscore that gender relations matter often more in fragile states than in other states. The policy literature underlines there is a gap between the promises made to put in place gender equality and the actions undertaken by donors and fragile states to do so. The literature points out that gender equality is too often ignored by policy-makers and that though conflict and restructuring impacts on women in different ways to men. At the same time the assumption is that reconstruction provides new opportunities for transforming gender relations in a positive direction.

Baranyi and Powell (2005 a, 2005b) outline the plan for the Canadian International Development to bring gender equality programmes to fragile states – defined as states that are unwilling or unable to guarantee the provision of basic human security, health care, education and livelihoods to most of their citizens. They mention other OECD countries and the World Bank's interest in gender and fragile states and the need to take into account the gender dimensions of state fragility, or the constraints/ opportunities for promoting gender equality in different states of fragility and the gaps in defence, diplomacy and commerce to take on gender. They report that CIDA aims to strengthen the gender equality dimensions in fragile states using key international instruments such as the Beijing Platform of Action and the DAC Guidelines on Gender Equality Work to develop a common understanding of the gender dimensions of state fragility across all relevant government departments, including Foreign Affairs, National Defence, Justice and International Trade as part of the CIDA 'whole government' approach.

Salahub (2006) outlines this further in the elaboration of CIDA's aims to incorporate gender equality into emerging fragile states strategies both in order to advance gender equality and to counteract state fragility. Such development policy is based on the approach that gender equality and women's rights will strengthen state capacity and/or mobilize political will to provide basic services and protect citizens. The argument runs that gender informs the power relationships and social bridges/divisions that are drivers of peace and drivers of conflict in specific contexts. It is therefore important to make the gender equality process and practice visible as both a cross cutting and stand alone theme.

Koch (2008) writing for the Danish Government argues that gender relations are affected in conflict and post-conflict situations in three areas in particular: health and education, employment and income, and violence. In relation to health and education Koch points to the weak administrative and institutional structures and insufficient basic infrastructural services of fragile states. Widespread poverty and violent conflict prevent groups of poor people particularly women and girls from accessing these services where they exist.

Fragile states have low economic growth high household poverty levels that push women into income-generating work and for longer hours, typically in the informal sector and in agriculture related activities. War industries developed to finance the conflict can be a new source of income, as in the cases of oil, diamonds and other precious metals in, for instance, Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, the DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan. Any advances Koch suggests are offset by the closure of other industries and a collapse of government structures and the corresponding employment losses. In Angola, Eritrea, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, women lost their formal sector jobs to returning men. During conflict, the absence of men often leaves women with the sole responsibility for maintaining the household. More than seventy percent of children depend entirely on widowed mothers to sustain them. These women are often not able to inherit or claim the property of their deceased husbands, causing severe poverty. Through displacement, both men and women lose access to land and other assets and take up alternative income-generating activities.

Conflict-affected fragile states experience or have experienced high levels of violence which is, as Koch points out gendered. Most combatants are men, and many are wounded or die in the fighting. Sex work and casual prostitution tends to increase in conflict situations, when women engage in prostitution as a means of survival, and a breakdown in law and order allows for increased trafficking. In many wars women are sexually violated. They lack the mobility to flee the violence and arms to protect themselves. Rape is used as a weapon in war aimed at humiliating the enemy, and it is seldom a random activity but rather a planned strategy of warfare. While it is mainly women who suffer gender-based violence, men also experience rape, though to an unknown degree due to the stigma involved. Evidence from different countries suggest that gender-based violence continues, but changes in nature in post-conflict situations. (Carment et.al. 2008)

A major Policy Report to take into account gender and fragility is the World Bank *Global Monitoring Report: Confronting the Challenges of Gender Equality and Fragile States on the Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs), 2007. The Report focuses on gender equality and the lack of opportunities for women as well as the vulnerability of fragile states. The Report highlights gender equality and fragile states as two areas that require greater international attention. It describes gender inequality as a lost opportunity for countries and citizens to generate and gain from economic growth. The Report underlines that women are disadvantaged in three major ways, through less access than men to rights (equality under the law), to resources (equality of opportunity) and voice (political equality).

The Report defines fragile states as countries with particularly weak governance, institutions and capacity and sees a major challenge in supporting service deliver and

post conflict recovery and reform. It calls for better aid resources (donors); sound, sequenced development strategies (developing partners); better technical support for strong strategies (the IFIs); and a more coherent "aid architecture" to reduce the costs of fragmentation.

The Report does not consistently bring together its work on fragile states and gender but it does offer a useful approach to gender equality in its critiques of the shortcoming of the MDGs in relation to gender equality. It states that 'the official MDG3 indicators only partially capture gender equality and empowerment in the areas they are designed to measure: education, employment, and political participation. Education enrollment rates say nothing about equality in learning or educational outcomes. The share of women in nonagricultural wage employment is of limited relevance for low income countries where wage employment is not a main source of jobs. It does not capture many dimensions of job quality nor does it quantify the serious barriers that may inhibit women from participating in labor markets: time burdens of domestic tasks; limited availability of child care; lower educational attainment (in some regions); wage gaps (relative to men); limited access to complementary inputs such as credit, capital, and technology; and the impact of law and custom on women's ability to work outside the home. And political participation is captured only at the national level, not at provincial or local levels where access to women's decision making is also important.' It goes on to observe that times of change and transition offer opportunities for improvement in gender equality when there is the political will and resources. It also underscores that laws and institutions and gender equality policies provide a level playing field but have no impact if they are not enforced with institutions and budgets and reliable information:

'The promotion of gender equality requires distinct institutional arrangements (for vigilance and accountability), as well as actions to mainstream gender issues across public sector agencies. Gender mainstreaming can work, but it requires high-level leadership as well as technical and budgetary resources'. The Report also applauds the use of civil society and the private sector in promoting gender equality.

Much of the material now available on fragile states and gender emerges in international development agencies and civil society reports on trainings and workshops dealing with ways peace building and reconstruction in fragile states providing practical hands on guidelines and materials. In these workshops cases and experiences are discussed for policy considerations. (See for example Hanson and McInturf, 2008)

Gender and fragility in Africa

As with the general literature on gender and fragility most of the work is now emerging and is based on case studies and lessons learned from policy success or failure. This final section of the Review briefly examines some of the best practices collected by donor agencies and civil society organisations working in fragile states as well as mentioning some new or planned research in this area.

Morton, A. (2005) report of the USAID Africa Bureau fragile states framework includes an interesting table of gender issues and best practice examples. Looking at policies to support specific gender needs in Africa where liberation struggles, low-intensity intra-state

conflicts, civil wars and genocide have occurred over the past two decades. The table based on country cases studies illustrates the gender issues and differences in situations of crisis and conflict situations. It covers peace processes, governance, economic recovery and social reintegration.

The table illustrates how gender cannot be treated like a programmatic sector such as agriculture, but rather relates to complex processes mediated by culture, ethnicity, religion and other country and region-specific variables that can change or may become rigidified in pre-crisis, crisis and post-crisis situations.

The Africa Report (2006) of the International Crisis Group 'Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peacebuilding in Sudan, Congo and Uganda' suggest that peace agreements, post-conflict reconstruction, and governance do better when women are involved. Women make a difference, in part because they adopt a more inclusive approach toward security and address key social and economic issues that would otherwise be ignored. But in all three countries, as different as each is, they remain marginalised in formal processes and under-represented in the security sector as a whole.

Another Report 'Enhancing Security and the Rule of Law: How can gender be better integrated into the priorities of the UN Peacebuilding Commission?' (International Alert 2007) describes the lessons learnt in Burundi and Sierra Leone on how to integrate women into national decision-making institutions and in national programs on peace, security and development taking into account discriminatory legislation, widespread poverty and the lack of equitable access to justice. International Alert (2008) in a further report brings together the experiences of civil society networks in order to integrate gender-related priorities into peacebuilding processes. Both reports point to discrimination in education and economic security, socio-cultural discriminatory practices and laws, sexual violence and harassment and the exclusion of women from decision-making within the security sector.

Overviews of gender and fragility in Africa confirm the difficult of women to overcome these rigidities. According to Ncube 2008 the state remains inaccessible and unaccountable to the majority of women. She sees however the intensive state building processes that are often undertaken in fragile states and post conflict states create an opportunity to transform not only the structures, institutions and processes of the state but also its relationship to its citizens. She sites evidence from observations made by a study of five post conflict/fragile countries Angola, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia and Mali by ACCORD that gives adequate examples that post conflict societies provide openings for women to improve their status as citizens (El-Brusha and Sahl 2005).

Her argument is that African States need to implement the legal instruments and policies that they have already adopted and committed to in relation to gender equality and women's issues such as CEDAW, AU Protocol on women's rights (2003). The problem as she sees it is to promote the political will for governments to allocate resources to gender and women's issues, with support by donors and the Regional Bodies, the UN as a major arbitrator of such instruments as CEDAW and Resolution 1325 and strengthening the role of regional and national parliaments is important for monitoring what the executive arm of

government is doing and increasing spaces of access by women. The work already being carried out in the Region to increase women's representation through quotas and affirmative action needs to be intensified and along side a strong women's movement to take proactive actions to engage with political, economic and social issues and processes beyond the traditional women's issues, refine strategies and tactics, re-articulating messages to adapt to a changing context and environment. (Abdullah 2008)

Abdullah (2008) also points to the importance of promoting women's citizenship in fragile states through a women's rights agenda based on legal reforms and increased participation of women in politics and decision-making spaces. This has required a constitutional review, putting in place gender responsive laws and mechanisms to reduce gender discrimination and intolerance against women. The problem that needs to be confronted here according to Abdullah is how to 'navigate the complex terrain of legal pluralism in promoting and defending women's rights. Many African countries have different legal systems based on statutory, religious and customary law. Each of these legal systems has different notions of what women's rights entails, thereby complicating the reform agenda. This is where the issues around patriarchal social relations, literacy and women's awareness and access to their rights come into play. In order to address these complexities and build new governance structures more resources that can put into place affirmative action policies are required.

There are some country studies on gender and fragility emerging. For example in Sierra Leone there are now some studies on the implications for women in the process of state-building now underway with as new institutions are being created and old ones reformed, and the boundaries of authority between the formal state and customary authorities are being redrawn. Castillejo 2008 shows that this process has profound implications for women's rights and participation in relation to the formal state, to customary authorities and to their communities, and has the potential to significantly reshape women's experience of citizenship.

Castillejo (2009) reports on findings of research undertaken by FRIDE and the Campaign for Good Governance in Sierra Leone in June 2008 in Freetown and Moyamba, Kono and Koinadugu. The research examines the forms of citizenship currently available to women in Sierra Leone, the challenges women face in claiming their rights and participating in governance, and the changes that are being brought about by the strengthening of the formal state. The main finding is that in order to realise the potential benefits to women's citizenship from the state-building process it is important that strengthening women's rights and participation are explicit aims built into all governance policies and strategies from the initial stages of peace-building, through to democratisation and institution-building and strengthening. It is also important that statebuilding processes fully engage with customary governance structures – which are central to most women's lives – rather than construct a formal state that lies "on top" of unreformed customary governance structures which continue to determine people's daily lives.

Physicians for Human Rights (2002) examine the prevalence and impact of sexual violence and other human rights abuses in Sierra Leone's decade-long conflict in order to understand the combined effects of prolonged conflict, pervasive human rights abuses,

and massive forced migration in one of the poorest countries in the world. It suggests that the health and well-being of the Sierra Leonean women and men need to be taken into account in the daunting process of rebuilding and reconciliation in the aftermath of such destruction requires. These findings concur with the Women's Commission for refugee women and children Report (2002) on 'Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration and gender based violence' in Sierra Leone which report examines the achievements and lessons related to the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of youth in Sierra Leone, with an emphasis on problems faced by girls and women seeking to reintegrate into society.

In Congo, Csete (2002) Report for Human Rights Watch "The War within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo" focuses on crimes of sexual violence committed by soldiers and other combatants. She reports that rape and other sexual crimes are not just carried out by armed factions but also increasingly by police and others in positions of authority and power, and by opportunistic common criminals and bandits, taking advantage of the prevailing climate of impunity and the culture of violence against women and girls. International Alert Women's Peace Programme also put out a Report (2005) on "Women's Bodies as a Battleground: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls During the War in the Democratic Republic of Congo." Revealing how women and girls have been exploited as producers and reproducers both in order to maintain the fighters and ensure their day-to-day survival as well as to provide them with sexual services.

Conclusion

The Review points to several messages emerging from the literature on gender and fragility.

1. Gender and fragility is embedded in the work of gender and development analysis and policy and needs to refer and build on established international agreements such as Beijing and CEDAW.
2. GAD tools such as gender indicators and budgeting and the frameworks developed around gender and governance, gender and peace building, gender and conflict can inform policy approaches to gender and fragility.
3. The experience of women of men in fragile states or countries are different due to the differential impacts of conflict on women and men, and the different roles of women and men in post-conflict reconstruction, state-building and peace processes.
4. There are opportunities to incorporate gender in post-conflict reconstruction and therefore to improve gender relations in processes where countries are moving out of fragility.
5. Less positively, what emerges from the review is that there is a considerable gap between the macroeconomic discussions on fragility and the work on gender and fragility.

A challenge for the ERD is how to bring together the research community working on fragile states with the research community working on gender and governance. The current thinking on fragile states and state-building is not engaging with the existing body of work on gender and governance and policy approaches would be greatly strengthened by cross fertilisation between the two sets of literature in order to produce more gender sensitive and informed theories and policy making on fragile states. Such a dialogue could help establish how aid effectiveness in fragile states needs to take into account issues around gender and citizenship and the challenge of gender-based violence and the extent to which poor women in fragile states are able to participate in the decision-making structures which are shaping the events and outcomes in their own lives.

There is little sufficiently gender-sensitive understanding of the theoretical and operational concept of state fragility. ⁶A more thorough, gendered understanding of state fragility is required in order to operationalise gender-sensitive approaches to fragile states and to make work focused on MDGs and gender issues more successful.

The ERD needs to point to the work currently being undertaken to review the linkages between gender and fragility in order to develop a conceptual framework that situates gender within current approaches to engagement with fragile states and/or state fragility by FRIDE and Dutch Knowledge Network on Peace, Security and Development which are undertaking empirical research to propose ways to put into operation a gender-sensitive approach to the problem of fragility. FRIDE is focusing on Gender and citizenship issues and The Dutch network is looking at to what extent gender has been incorporated in current discussions on fragile states, with specific attention to the issues of female leadership, reproductive rights and masculinities.

Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA), a Pan-African International non-governmental organization based in Kampala, Uganda launched in April 2009 a three year study to examine The Power of Women's Leadership and Movement Building: Gender Based Violence and Sexual and Reproductive Rights in Conflict and Post Conflict Africa. This regional project will be implemented in Central Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo) and Western Africa (Sierra Leone) and is supported by a grant from the MDG3 Fund, an initiative of the Netherlands Government. The overall objective of project is to contribute to improved formulation and implementation of gender responsive policies at national and regional levels that reflect African women's experiences in conflict situations.

These studies will provide important linkages between gender and fragility looking by looking at the gender dimensions of fragility, present an analysis of the linkages between gender and fragility, reviewing if the indexes of state fragility currently in use gender-sensitive and work towards a gender-sensitive understanding of fragile states.

⁶ For example UNU WIDER working papers on fragility such as Chauvet L., Collier P., Hoeffler A. (2007), Naudè., Santos-Paulino and McGillivray (2008) Balianoune-Lutz and McGillivray (2008).

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