ENGENDERING PEACEBUILDING

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by
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With each passing day the world is becoming more complex and interdependent. The problems we are facing cannot be resolved by the efforts of only half the population of the globe. Both men and women must work together as equal partners in order to ensure a sustainable future for the generations to come.

Perez de Cuellar - March 8, 1990 (Cited in Vickers, 1993:150)

On October 30, 1996 the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the establishment of a new Canadian Peace building Initiative as well as the creation of a new peacekeeping fund ($10 million annually).   Although Canada has been an international leader in the evolvement of the concept and practice of peacekeeping, the concept of Peace building is relatively new to Canadians and the international community alike. As a result, many aspects of Peace building have yet to be determined. This paper will address one essential aspect of Peace building that has hereto been neglected; gender. In light of a number of recent experiences in Rwanda and Guatemala, as well as the growing literature on the importance of gender in development processes, it will be argued that women play a critical role in the reconstruction of their countries. Moreover, given Canada's experience in peacekeeping, gender and development, and human rights, Canada is well placed to advance an integrative model of Peace building that will effectively respond to the needs of a reconstructing nation.

PEACE BUILDING - AN EVOLVING DEFINITION

In order to gain a firm understanding of how Peace building is presently being articulated and developed, it is important to examine the mandates of more traditional peacekeeping work. Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 *Agenda for Peace*, organizes United Nations security efforts into four distinct categories. **Preventative Diplomacy** is, "action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur," and **Peacemaking**, "action to bring hostile parties to agreement." Both preventative diplomacy and peacekeeping efforts require the expertise of formal political actors and organizations. **Peacekeeping** efforts, on the other hand, primarily require the participation of military actors (Bush,1996:83). According to Boutros-Ghali, "peace-keeping is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well." In the early 1990s, it was increasingly found, however, that with a rise in intra-state conflict, traditional peacekeeping operations were not able to resolve the

conflicts at hand without incorporating the need to rebuild civilian institutions of government as well. The concept of **Peace building** - action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict - was thus born (Boutros-Ghali,1992:11).

Despite Canada's recent pledge to support Peace building, the Canadian government is still working out the priorities of Peace building and how best to implement them. Fairly clear consensus has emerged around the ultimate goal: human security and the prevention of further violence. Moreover clear consensus has emerged around the constraints on Peace building: short time frame for initial action, volatile social conditions, weak civic and governmental institutions, and economic scarcity (Axworthy,1996;Bush,199;Ball,1996). What hasn't been firmly established, however, is how Canada may best assist another country in its transition to peace; nor how long assistance is required. **How do we define peace building: What does human security and the prevention of further violence mean to women in post-conflict regions?**

Several models have recently been considered by the Canadian government as possible approaches to effective Peace building. These models include **a)diplomatic mediation and conflict prevention** (whether carried out by governments, international organizations and/or NGOs **b)classic peace-keeping** as conducted by military and police forces, but adapted for civilians (e.g. the "civilian peace-keepers" model) and **c)development assistance**, adapted to meet the needs of demobilizing ex-combatants and rebuilding the institutions of government and justice. Both the approaches of "classic peacekeeping" and diplomatic mediation are essential to any mission at its outset and peak crises phase, however neither are capable of providing the support needed for effective governmental, societal, and economic reconstruction.

Kenneth Bush has argued that Peace building is primarily a development process with a security component rather than the other way around. Whereas peacekeeping missions tend to be military in nature, short in duration and self-sustaining, development projects tend to be process oriented, long-term, and focus on the communities capacities to identify problems and formulate solutions (Bush,1995:56-57). Moreover, a prolonged presence of peacekeeping forces may effectively lead to an "armed peace," which may invite a return to violence once the peacekeepers depart (Bush,1995:49-50). **Should Canada follow a development model for peace building rather than a diplomatic or military model? Which would best serve the needs of women?**

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has been exploring ways that it can support "good governance" and human rights for several years now. In its 1995 policy paper on Human Rights, Democratization and Good Governance, CIDA identifies the links between economic, social, and political development;

> CIDA's vision of sustainable development builds on the inherent link between political, economic, environmental, social and cultural processes in all societies and seeks to integrate this understanding into the Agency's efforts to promote development. Underpinning this vision is the recognition that the equitable distribution of power and resources within and between societies, and public participation in decision making, are critical to the success of CIDA's work (CIDA,1995a).

The Human Rights, Good Governance, and Democratization policy paper provides important insights for Peace building work, however, several further steps must be taken for the

formulation of an effective Peace building policy. As Nicole Ball points out, reconstruction efforts are not "normal development." In a situation of post-armed conflict, social and economic relations are in flux and there is a high degree of instability. In order that Canada may best support reconstruction, therefore, several conditions must be met. First, although it is true a window of opportunity for enacting change only exists for a short period of time, long term support is required for the successful maintenance of those changes (Bush,1996;Ball,1996). Second, Canadians assisting in Peace building efforts must recognize that reconstruction is first and foremost an indigenous effort. The term, "accompanamiento," or "accompanying the process," might be a useful starting point for thinking about the kind of partnerships of which Canada might be a part. "Accompanamiento," a term applied to a Canada-Nicaragua development project in the late 1980s and early 1990s, entails notions of collective empowerment and participation, as well as the understanding that it is Canadians who are "accompanying" reconstruction, rather than vice versa (Wilson & Whitmore,1995:61-77). What role should civil society play in peace building, both in the country concerned and in Canada? Is this involvement critical to the success of peace building? How important is this to women? Should this be a condition for Canada to become involved or provide aid to a peace building initiative?

Finally, in addition to adopting a long-term time frame and "accompanamiento," thinking, it is imperative that Canadian Peace building policy adopt an approach that is systemic in analysis and implementation. To this end, a combination of Canada's work in gender and development and human rights is most useful. As Canada's work in both areas has shown, addressing gendered differentials of violence and power leads to more prosperous and secure societies (CIDA,1995a,c). Moreover, in the social confusion and flux of post-armed conflict, evaluating the systemic impact of gender relations becomes even more critical.

During a time of limited resources, the Canadian government faces many difficult choices as to where to concentrate its energy within the peace building envelope. **How does Canada make the choices? What criteria should be used? a)Country size - is smaller better for a country like Canada? b)Country within the same hemisphere?**

The remainder of this paper examines the impact of gender in pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict settings. Through a study of the social construction of gender roles in relation to ethnicity and violence as well as the diverse ways in which war impacts upon women during and after armed conflict, a clearer understanding of the importance of gender relations in peace building will emerge. It is at this point that we can begin to formulate the necessary questions and call-on the best resources for the creation of a systemic and effective policy on Peace building.

WHAT HAS GENDER GOT TO DO WITH IT?

A 1995 report, "The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience," which evaluates the international response to the Rwandan genocide, makes two things clear. First, with women composing 60 - 70 percent of the Rwandan population, the role of women in peace building is not so much a question as a fact. Second, women's specific needs were not met but should have been. Not only were several thousand

women brutally raped during the war but in the war's aftermath in some areas between one-third and one-half of all women are widows. Indeed, one year after the genocide, there were no comprehensive national programs of family support for the survivors.

The humanitarian efforts initiated in Rwanda in the aftermath of the war and genocide highlight two very important, and inevitably linked, questions that must be addressed in Peace building policy. First, how can women support reconstruction? And second, how can reconstruction support women? In Rwanda, for example, given that the majority of the adult population is now composed of women, women are necessarily going to be vital partners in peace building. In order for Rwandan women to be fully effective, however, it is vital that women are free to act as autonomous agents. Among other things this means supporting women in their efforts to change existing laws so that they may inherit property. Women may also have specific health, economic, and/or security needs in the aftermath of violent conflict. The Rwandan women who were raped, for example, may require certain kinds of assistance in rebuilding their own lives prior to and simultaneous to rebuilding the livelihood of their country.

Before discussing the interplay between gender and peace building and the questions posed above, however, it is necessary to explore what is meant by gender as well as the gendered implications of violence, peace, and war. Only when a clear understanding of how gender and violence can be constituted during times of "peace" and "war," and how women identify security in their own lives, can we see what women bring to as well as require from peace building efforts.

VIOLENCE AND GENDER

The Canadian International Development Agency defines gender as, "the socially constructed roles and responsibilities of men and women."(CIDA,1995b) The term gender is a more useful analytical category than "women," because it not only takes the relationship between women and men into account but relationships among various groups of women or men as well. Similarities and differences between class and other social characteristics may thus be accommodated (Chowdry et al,1995.,Moser,1989:1800) Understanding gender as a system of relationships is particularly important when analysing situations of pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict.

When thinking about the relationship between women and war, and women and peace, it is important to understand that violence against women is a highly gendered phenomenon. The Platform for Action defines violence against women as;

> any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. Accordingly, violence against women encompasses but is not limited to the following:
> (a)Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

(b)Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;
(c)Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.

114.Other acts of violence against women include violation of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy (Platform for Action,1996:73-74).

Whether violence against women takes place during times of peace or war, whether in the home or on the street, whether by a spouse or an armed combatant, it is still violence. Furthermore, the construction of gender prior to and during armed conflict, the vulnerability of women to sexual forms of violence, both as civilians and refugees, as well as the opportunity to challenge certain gendered assumptions through armed combat and new economic roles, holds definite repercussions for post-conflict peace building.

The first question we must ask ourselves is: **In what ways do women experience violence differently than men? What does security from violence mean for women?** Four key areas can be identified; rape, refugees/refugee camps, land mines, domestic violence, and prostitution.

Mass Rape

Increasingly, modern-day wars are the result of civil and often ethnic conflict, rather than wars between states. Rwanda and Bosnia are but two countries in recent years that have experienced some form of civil war. The nationalist and/or ethnic views that gave rise to these types conflict, however, may have different implications for women than for men. Indeed, women may be cast as symbolic pawns in the period of pre-violence. Silva Meznaric, for example, has identified that gender served as an "ethno-marker," during a media campaign on rape in Kosovo in the late 1980s. In an attempt to more clearly demarcate ethnic lines between Serbians and Albanians in the pre-war period, the Serbian authorities not only reported cases of Albanian men raping Serbian women[1], but also distinguished the raping of Serbian women as "political" in the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia. According to Meznaric, "the violence of "ordinary rape" is less severely punished because victims and perpetrators are presumably not of different nationalities, whereas when a victim is of Serbian nationality, rape is qualified as a political act and penalized more severely." (Meznaric,1994:79)

In nationalist discourse, women may also be identified as the "mothers of the nation," with specific child-bearing responsibilities. As a result, the manner in which women are cast in the pre-war period deeply affects their experiences of war, as well as their post-war environment. In the case of former Yugoslavia, the notion of woman as ethno-marker carried over into the armed conflict. It is estimated that as many as 20,000 Muslim women were raped

[1]In fact, the majority of reported cases involved Albanian men raping Albanian women (Meznaric,1994:83).

as part of a systematic attempt to both humiliate the (male) enemy and wipe out Muslim ethnicity (Meznaric,1994:92).

The rapes that took place in Bosnia are by no means an isolated event. During World War II, the Japanese authorities forced Korean and Chinese women to serve as "comfort girls," for Japanese soldiers, and during the last weeks of the war in Germany it is estimated that over 100,000 women were raped in Berlin alone (Pietila & Vickers,1994:146). More recently, Vietnamese, Somali, and Rwandan women have also been subject to sexual assault during armed conflict.

Part of what makes women so vulnerable to sexual assault and other forms of violence during war is that modern-day armed conflict is not confined to a clearly marked battle field. Indeed, whereas in World War II civilians represented 50% of the casualties, they now average 80% (cited in Vickers,1993:24). During times of war, as most women are civilians, and often most civilians women, it should come as no surprise, therefore, that women also comprise the majority of refugees.

Refugees/Refugee Camps

A second are of specific relevance to women is the issue of refugees and refugee camps as the result of conflict. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the number of the world's refugees has increased from 17 million in 1991 to 27 million in 1995. As of 1995 there were also approximately 5.4 million internally displaced peoples. Refugee life for most is extremely traumatic;

> To become a refugee is to experience a deep sense of loss. When people go into exile, they are frequently obliged to abandon many of the assets which they had accumulated in their homeland, however meagre those might have been. Becoming a refugee normally entails a lowering of one's social and economic status. Even in countries with generous asylum policies, refugees are almost inevitably obliged to settle on the most marginal land and to accept the least desirable and worst paid jobs.
> The loss experience by a refugee also has important social, psychological and legal dimensions. When people are forced into exile, they are separated from a familiar environment and cut off from friends, family and established social networks. Not knowing when they will be able to return to their homes, or what they will find when they get there, many refugees live in a perpetual state of uncertainty. And while some refugees are able to settle down and integrate in another society, many find that they are obliged to live as second-class residents in their country of asylum, deprived of rights, freedoms and benefits enjoyed by ordinary citizens of that state (UNHCR,1995:26).

The loss and uncertainty described above is further compounded for women, who compose 80% of all refugees. In their flight from danger as well as upon their arrival in refugee camps, women remain vulnerable to discrimination and violence. According to Sima Wali;

> In the camps in countries of first asylum, the priority accorded to male refugees means that the needs of rape victims, widows, and the handicapped are especially ignored because men do not regard them as valuable or because they lack male protection. Women are often malnourished because they receive less food than male refugees. They are last to receive medical attention, and are among the first to starve to death. Rendered voiceless and powerless, refugee and

> displaced women are expected to defer their needs to the political and religious dictates of the male hierarchy. Unfortunately, Western and international assistance agencies often perpetuate this condition by granting food, relief assistance, and protection to male refugees. Often, they justify such action by claiming it "culturally appropriate." (Wali,1995:337)

What is more, sexual violence is rampant. In the host countries, local residents and gangs, military and immigrant officials, and even the local police often view women as targets of assault (Human Rights Global Report on Women,1995:102). As a result of great changes in the family including parent separation, parent and child separation, the new responsibilities of women, and changes in men's traditional status, violence against women also occurs in the family (Vickers,1993:30). Refugee Women in Development (RefWID), a non-profit organization in Washington, has documented the following types of violence against women refugees;

> multiple and/or gang rapes; abduction; trafficking, and forced prostitution of women and children; the demand for sexual favours in exchange for food, relief assistance, and documentation; sale of children; domestic violence; murder; torture; and forced childbearing. Forced childbearing is prevalent in refugee and displaced communities, as refugee women - though malnourished and heavily traumatized - are expected to bear numerous children to replenish male populations lost to war (cited in Wali,1995:337).

Women Somali refugees fleeing across the Kenyan border between 1991 and 1993, are but one group who were recently subject to sexual assault. According to Human Rights Watch, Somali women were repeatedly attacked by bandits surrounding the camps, by former Somali military men, as well as Kenyan police officers;

> Somali women as old as fifty years of age and girls as young as four have been subjected to violence and sexual assault. Most of the women whose cases we investigated were gang-raped at gun-point, some by as many as seven twice or three times in the camps. In the vast majority of cases, female rape survivors were also robbed, severely beaten, knifed or shot. Those who had been circumcised often had their vaginal openings torn or cut by their attackers (Human Rights Watch,1995:121).

Land Mines

Land mines pose an additional threat to the lives of women and children during times of armed conflict and in the aftermath of war. At present there are more than 100 million anti-personnel land-mines scattered in 64 countries globally. Because it is most often women who till the fields and carry out the majority of the productive work in the families of the developing world, women are particularly at risk to injury and death..

Domestic Violence

As wars draw to a close, violence against women may take a new form - much closer to home. The reworking of gender relationships that can take place during periods of armed conflict due to the simultaneous absence of men and the increasing economic/social

empowerment of women, may turn against women. In some post-conflict nations, domestic violence sharply increases in the immediate aftermath of war. This has been the case in nations as disparate as Mozambique (Chingogo,1996:233) and Guatemala. In Guatemala, women's groups have estimated that 75-85% of women suffer from physical and/or psychological abuse in their homes (Nuestra Voz,1997:3).

Prostitution

Violence against women may also take the shape of economic forces as well. Some women may find themselves turning to prostitution in desperation to care for themselves and their families - this in turn may feed the cycle of assault and disease. Moreover, foreign troops sent in to manage "the peace," may contribute to this particular form of oppression of women. During the Honduran military intervention, prostitution was encouraged surrounding the bases (Enloe,1993:115-116).   Prostitution is also reported to have steadily increased in Mozambique after the arrival of U.N. peacekeepers. Some U.N. personnel are reported to have solicited child prostitutes as well (as cited in Chingogo,1996:232).

Social Transformation

Despite the vast atrocities inflicted upon women in times of armed conflict, it would be a mistake perceive of women as only victims of war. Social chaos resulting from war creates new forms of relationships often times with complex results. Some women, for example, become armed combatants. In over twenty wars in recent years, including armed conflict in Mozambique, El Salvador, Guatemala, Israeli-occupied territories, and Sri Lanka, women have served as soldiers or military support forces (Vickers,1993:19). In Nicaragua women comprised fully one-third of the Sandinista army (Randall,1995:128). Although women rarely rise to the top ranks of the military, the presence of women soldiers can challenge traditional gender roles and provide a new form of politicization for women.

The majority of women caught in the cross-fire of armed conflict, whether as civilians or refugees, may also find themselves taking on new gender roles. With most men gone, due to fighting, forced separation, or death, many women must assume the entire responsibility for their family's welfare. In the process, the patriarchal family is weakened and women are forced to adapt new survival, and sometimes transformative, strategies which involve acquiring new roles formerly the preserve of men (Chingogo,1996:212). In Mozambique, "the fundamental impact of war on women has been through its undermining of the patriarchal family, the creation of economic opportunities and forced politicization/militancy."(Chingogo,1996:220)

A woman's experience during war is highly contingent on gender relations prior to the outbreak of armed conflict, the construction of gender roles during armed conflict, whether a woman is a civilian, refugee, or combatant, as well as her ethnicity/nationality, age, and economic status. Often times factors overlap and conflict. Thus one woman's experience may have included impoverishment, sexual assault, and politicization while another's may have entailed armed struggle and loss of her children. The contributions women have to make to Peace building, as well as the needs they must have met, thus reflect a complex range of evolving gender relations.

POST CONFLICT: GENDER AND PEACE BUILDING

The Need for Gender Analysis

A useful starting point for determining the interaction between gender and Peace building is CIDA's policy on Women in Development and Gender Equity. CIDA has recognized the important role women play in development for over twenty years. Since 1976, CIDA has been developing guidelines and policy that incorporates women as agents and beneficiaries of development. More recently, CIDA has also increasingly emphasised gender equity and women's empowerment. A recent CIDA document points to the importance of women's partnership in development efforts;

> In countries where the status of women has improved, faster economic growth and higher living standards also occurred, whereas in regions where women's rights and freedoms are denied, progress has been slow in coming. Where education levels for women have risen, infant mortality has declined, diet has improved and family size has shrunk (CIDA,1995c).

In order to more effectively implement development projects, CIDA has therefore devised gender analysis guidelines. The guidelines also provide the beginning of a framework for considering the contributions and needs of women in reconstructing societies;

> Gender Analysis: What to do
>
> -Gain an understanding of gender relations, the division of labour between men and women (who does what work), and who has access to, and control over, resources.
> -Include domestic (reproductive) and community work in the work profile. Recognize the ways women and men work and contribute to the economy, their family and society.
> -Consult with women -- individuals, women's organizations and gender experts.
> -Identify barriers to women's participation and productivity (social, economic, legal, political...)
> -Gain an understanding of women's practical needs and strategic interests, and identify opportunities to support both.
> -Consider the differential impact of the initiative on men and women, and identify consequences to be addressed.
> -Establish baseline data, ensure gender disaggregated data, set measurable targets, define indicators and define expected results.
> -Outline the expected risks (including backlash) and develop strategies to minimize these risks (CIDA,1995).

Should these guidelines also apply to peace building initiatives: should some of them be emphasized? 2)Is applying these guidelines culturally appropriate? 3)Are there any other problems with these guidelines? (See Appendix)
While these guidelines should be applied in all Peace building programs, for the purpose of this paper I will focus on two key aspects. One is the need to gain an understanding of gender relations, the other is to gain an understanding of women's practical needs and strategic interests.

The concepts "practical needs and strategic interests" are elemental to reconstruction efforts because they differentiate between what may be a woman's short term needs and long-term efforts for societal change. According to Caroline Moser whereas practical gender needs, "are usually a response to an immediate perceived necessity which is identified by a woman within a specific context," strategic gender needs involve an analysis of women's subordination and a feminist, "bottom-up" struggle (Moser,1989:1803). Moreover, "strategic interests," highlight the importance of equity and empowerment and thus introduces the key importance of human rights, and women's human rights. It is here that combining Canada's work on human rights, democratization and good governance with gender is most important.

In this final section of the paper, the interaction between gender relations and the practical and strategic needs of women will be applied to the three broad areas of economic growth, politic change, and health, healing, and security. Through a broad based approach, incorporating CIDA's gender guidelines and CIDA's policy on human rights, democratization and good governance the importance of gender in peace building will be revealed.

Political Change
Hearing Women's Voices

The presence of women at all levels of decision-making is crucial for the peaceful transition of war-torn societies. a recent United Nations Study on women in politics and decision-making in the late twentieth century outlines five basic reasons why the political participation of women in democracies is essential;

> 1)Women constitute at least half of any population and should be represented proportionally. The recognition of women's rights to full citizenship must be reflected in their effective participation at the various levels of political life. There cannot be true democracy where women are virtually excluded from positions of power.
> 2)Women's under representation can be dangerous for the legitimacy of the democratic system since it distances elected representatives from their electorate and more particularly from the women among their electors. The legitimate value of the outcome of political decision-making is thus not the same for both men and women. This may give rise to public mistrust towards the representative system.
> 3)Political participation involves articulating, providing and defending interests. Women are conditioned to have different social roles, functions and values. It is reasonable to believe that women are more aware of their own needs and are therefore better able to press for them. Women are more aware, for example, of the need to have control over their own bodies and therefore access to family planning; to have proper provision for the care of children and of others who are physically dependent; and to have more protection against sexual violence and harassment.
> 4)There are some indications that women politicians, if there are enough of them, can change the focus of politics. Women are more critical of the traditional definition of politics. An initial effect of women entering the political scene was the enlargement of the scope of politics. Issues, such as child care, sexuality and family planning, that were once confined to the private sphere are now seen as political.
> 5)No country can afford not to utilize all its human resources. Women comprise half the world's pool of potential talent and ability. The importance of their fundamental biological and social roles is clear, and, though their input is often unrecognized, they are major contributors to national economies through their paid and unpaid labour. Excluding women from positions of powers and from elected bodies impoverishes public life and inhibits the development of a just society (summary: United Nations,1995:XII-XIII).

What is true of older democracies is especially true for fragile democracies trying to establish political systems from the bottom-up; women must be involved. Peace building missions, however, often times serve to reinforce existing gendered power structures instead of seeking ways to empower additional actors. In Rwanda, for example, only men were being selected by foreign advisors to staff the new police force (Enloe,1994:29). **How can Canada help women's voices to be heard, help women participate, help women to network at all levels in peace building?**
> a) **locally**
> b) **NGO's to NGO's (in the South)**
> c) **NGO's to Canadian NGO's**
> d) **Women as delegates on Canada's peace-keeping; peace building missions**
> e) **UN and international agencies**

The Politicization of Women

Women are often politicized as a result of war. This politicization can take different forms. Some women may become involved at the grassroots level agitating for an end to the violence. In Sri Lanka, Argentina, and El Salvador women have protested against the 'disappearance,' of their husbands and sons, in Belgrade women have been prominent in demonstrations in calling for a cessation of the hostilities, and in the Middle East Israeli and Palestinian women have worked together for a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Vickers,1993:124-125,136).   On the other hand, women may become involved in a combination of representative and grassroots politics as a result of their war-time experiences. According to one female Rwandan politician;

> Women in my country no longer feel that political activities do not affect them, because they suffered the most. They have learnt that people who initiate conflicts often use women when it comes to fighting. So, as women politicians, we make sure we are present in the making of political decisions, to represent the needs of women. We are active in grassroots activities and understand the situations that women are living under. Women in Rwanda are now the majority and have no choice but to be actively involved in politics (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre,1995:14-15).

Indeed, as of 1995, four Rwandan women sat in a cabinet of twenty-two and there were fifteen female members of parliament out of seventy-seven parliamentarians (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre,1995:14-15).

One group of women who have been very active in the peace process of their country are Guatemalan activists. In Guatemala, women became organized early on in the peace accord process. Because of their effective lobbying, they were able to create a "women's sector," to provide feed-back to the government. Within two weeks, what had originated as a very divided cross-section of forty-five women's groups of all classes and backgrounds, emerged as a working sector ready to have its voice heard. Over the past several years the women's sector has lobbied for the rights of displaced women to own land, for women to be eligible for credit and training,

as well as recognition of violence against women. At present the women's sector, now grown to encompass 94 groups, is organizing to influence the implementation of the peace accords (Interview:Sandra Moran). **How do we support and use the political energy of women to build peace? Should any Canadian peace building team going into the country have a requirement that they meet with, tap into the women's network?**

Although some women have been able to effectively organize, the obstacles are still great. Indeed, for women in many countries the obstacles are almost too great. In nations undergoing the transition to peace there often remains the danger of a return to pre-war patriarchal practices. Just as some men feel threatened by the new economic potential of their partners, so may male political leaders attempt to push women out of decision-making roles as well. Cynthia Enloe describes how in the aftermath of the war in El Salvador, a former guerilla who spent most of her adult life fighting in the jungle, is now being encouraged to have her IUD taken out and become a good mother (Enloe,1993:1). While a number of Salvadoran women have been agitating for recognition of the rights of women, the battle has been up-hill (Lundoff,1992:8,25 & Sandra Moran:interview). In post-war Nicaragua, when the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN) held its first congress in 1991, there was a strong movement to include one woman on the directorate. The obvious candidate, the female commander of the attack to take the first city in the war, was overlooked. Another three years passed before women were included on the directorate (Randall,1995:128,150). Margaret Viki, a Zimbabwean, sums up her war contributions and subsequent post-war political marginalization in this way;

> I think if the women had not been there the freedom fighters would not have won the war.
> Women did a great job. Cooking and providing food for the freedom fighters was a way of
> fighting on its own. Women cooked, and were beaten by soldiers for doing this. Sometimes,
> while we were busy cooking, the soldiers could come and we had to run away and hide, leaving
> the pot burning. but now we, the women, the 'povo' as we are called, have been forgotten. The
> freedom fighters have forgotten us and how much we helped them (Viki,1990:156).

In addition to facing the forces of re-emerging patriarchy, many women also face the obstacle of their own "triple burden." Caring for children, working full-time, and struggling to contribute to the political consolidation of her nation is an extremely tall-order for any woman to fill. And yet, as pointed out above, the participation of women in civil society and in elected government is a necessity if democracy is going to take root in a nation. This is particularly the case in nations where the majority of its citizens are female. As women identify practical needs, such as child care plans, in order that they might become more politically involved, Canada must be able to pro-actively respond. Sandra Moran, for example, has stated that Guatemalan women are in need of conflict resolution and negotiation training. **Should every Canadian peace building team elicit from the Women's NGO's network in the country concerned a list of those things which they consider to be political priorities for the security of women (e.g. child-care facilities, legislation on domestic violence, etc.)?**

One of the priorities of any Peace building program includes providing governments with advice on 'good governance' and how to create a democratic constitution with a place for civil society. In Guatemala, the women's sector is trying to learn how to construct a constitution and legislation and most importantly how to create non-violent conflict resolution, which would

address the particular concerns of women and the groups that represent them in democratic society. **Should Canada consider the recommendation made by the UN Commission on the Status of Women that member states should consider establishing educational programmes for girls and boys to foster a culture of peace, focusing on conflict resolution?**

Finally, a priority of peace building in the political realm must also be technical support and training for the police and judiciary in a new democracy. There is an important gender angle to such reform. Judicial institutions must be prepared to handle cases of rape and domestic violence. Police forces, similarly must be trained to recognize and act on cases of sexual assault and family violence. Again, in Guatemala, domestic violence laws have just been introduced in the last year. Such laws require education and training for all people in the judicial system. These two areas of political and legal reform are examples of where the Canadian government and NGO's could be of assistance for technical support and information sharing.

Should any technical support, in the area of judicial, legal or police assistance from Canada insure that there is a capacity for gender specific issues?

Economic Growth: Conversion from War Economy to Peace Economy

The gender relations produced during a war are necessarily going to impact upon a woman's ability to contribute to economic reconstruction as well as her own practical and strategic needs. More often than not, women will be the primary heads of households at a war's end. To begin with, one-third of the world's families are headed by a woman (Vickers, Moser). This figure increases in the aftermath of armed conflict. In Rwanda and Cambodia, for example, women comprise over 60% of the surviving population. This condition, combined with the fact that women are responsible for 80% of agricultural production in developing countries indicates an even more prominent role for women in economic reconstruction than in times of peace. (Vickers,1993:91).

Some women may also have carved out new economic roles for themselves during the course of the war. In Mozambique, for example, a number of women began working in the informal economy;

> The collapse of rural economies as a result of war has undermined the power base of patriarchy and the hegemony of its legitimating ideology. Traditional social support networks have also broken down. In their struggle to counter-act their vulnerabilities occasioned by this break-down, some women have attained relative economic and political autonomy from male domination. This has primarily been through entrepreneurial activity in the grass-roots war-economy (Chingogo,1996:209).

While some women have found economic independence at the end of armed conflict, others face difficult obstacles. Likewise in Mozambique, violence against women in the family has risen as a result of women's new economic status (Chingogo,1996:233). Elsewhere, state and international forces have undermined the ability of women to care for themselves and their families. In Nicaragua in 1990, for example, the new government dismantled a number of social welfare programs such as sex education and health services (Wilson & Whitmore,1995:66). In addition, a new government anxious to provide employment programs for former combatants, may overlook the just as vital employment needs of (non-combatant) women in the process.

Structural Adjustment Programs

Many countries attempting to rebuild are simultaneously facing the pressure of foreign trade arrangements and structural adjustment programs. Structural adjustment programs have an impact on the ability of women to contribute to peace building. Jeanne Vickers argues that structural adjustment programs have a greater impact on women than men, "the impact is principally felt among food-deficit farming households, pastoral communities, the landless, the urban unemployed, and those with jobs that do not pay enough for survival (Vickers,1993:90). Moreover, when women are heads of households, the impact is even more dramatic. Vickers sums of the situation in this way;

> Because of social and gender discrimination, the strategies adopted for structural adjustment have tended not to take into account the vital economic role of women in agriculture, in industry and in the home. Instead of supporting women's productive roles, such strategies have created further obstacles to their economic participation and consequently reinforced the negative effect of such programmes on the most vulnerable (Vickers,1993:90).

Caroline Moser notes the structural adjustment programs additionally rely on women's unpaid labour to care for children, gather fuel, process food, prepare meals, and nurse the sick (Moser,1989:1814). a nutrition program in Tamil Nadu, India sponsored by the World Bank, for example, did not factor the labour of community women's volunteer groups into the project's successful efficiency rating (cited in Chowdry,1995:33). Most alarming for women in post-war economies, is the possibility of structural adjustment programs exacerbating already poor social and economic conditions. Indeed, the capacity of the household to shoulder the burden of adjustment can have detrimental effects in terms of human relationships, expressed in increased domestic violence, mental health disorders and increasing numbers of woman-headed households resulting in the breakdown in nuclear family structures (Moser,1989:1814). **What pressure can Canada bring to bear on Structural Adjustment Programs to make them more gender equitable?**

Land Reform, Education and Micro-Credit

It is clear that women play a vital role in the economies of reconstructing nations. Certain building blocks are required if women are to be part of the economic rebuilding of a society.

People moving back on to land is a critical part of many peace building initiatives. Gender is often overlooked. Recognition of seemingly ungendered factors such as zoning laws, for example, can contribute to the ability of women to provide for themselves and their families. Caroline Moser has pointed out that legislation that separates residential and business activities assumes the separation of productive and reproductive roles. This is problematic for women who have children and need to work near their homes (Moser,1989:1805).

Land tenure is an issue also if women are barred from owning property or can only own it with the permission of their husbands, as with property laws in Rwanda and Guatemala.

What can Canada do to help support land reform that will secure peace, create economic growth and empower women?

Finally, two key issues which must be addressed if women are to partake in the economic recovery of their country: education for girls and women and micro-credit and loans for women. **What role should education and micro-credit for girls and women be part of any peace building initiative?**

Health, Healing and Security

Cynthia Enloe has written;

> Feminist thinking about peace is not necessarily locked in this war/peace dichotomy. Perhaps because feminists start from the conditions of women's lives, and because they see how many forms violence and oppression can take, they are more likely to define peace as women's achievement of control over their lives (Enloe,1993:65).

Just because a peace treaty has been signed and the war declared over does not mean that the violence has ended for everyone. Indeed, for many it has only just begun. The aftermath of prolonged or even temporary displacement can be devastating and when compounded by the horror of sexual assault, it is even more damaging. Past and continuing injustice against women must be effectively addressed if a rebuilding society is to effectively heal.

To begin, in wars where groups of women were marginalized, discriminated against and tortured due to their gender, ethnicity and/or political affiliations several important actions must take place. In addition to ensuring that police and judicial training is gender-sensitive, and that indeed that women are being trained in these institutions as well, women's physical and psychological wounds must be tended. According to Human Rights Watch, the injuries that refugee and displaced women sustain from being raped persist long after the incident. Problems can include;

> miscarriages by women raped when pregnant; haemorrhaging for long periods; inability to control urination; sleeplessness; nightmares; chest and back pains; and painful menstruation. For women who have undergone the practice of female genital mutilation, the physical injuries caused by rape are compounded (Human Rights Watch,1995:102).

Additional health problems for women sexually assaulted may include the contraction of sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis, herpes, chlamydia and HIV. This matter is particularly urgent in Rwanda as even before the war, HIV infection among adults in the capital, Kigali, was estimated at 31% (Rall,1995).

Unwanted pregnancy poses another significant difficulty. In the main hospital in Kigali, one doctor estimated that by March 1995 he had seen 200 women aged 12-28 who were pregnant as a result of rape. Ten percent had already tried to terminate their pregnancies, while 80% were seeking abortions. According to Ann Rall, because of legal issues the doctors did not reveal whether or not they were able to comply with these women's demands (Rall, 1995).

Women do not just face potential health problems and unwanted pregnancy as a result of being raped, however, they also face the possibility of societal discrimination and ostracization

as a result of their experience. This discrimination may include the unavailability of abortion due to religious and legal reasons, as cited above, and it may also include societal rejection of women who have been raped. According to an investigation into the rapes committed in Rwanda during the genocide women felt the blame for the assaults rested in their hands;

> Some, it seems, fear losing the love of their families or spouses because they have lost their virginity or known a man other than their husband. They consider the rape to be a type of adultery because there has been no legal recognition of the crime. Others worry that their families will reproach them for having supposedly chosen survival through rape over death. The guilt of having survived the genocide at the cost of being raped is intense and reinforces their silence (Bonnet cited in Brunet & Rousseau, 1997).

As a result women may be reluctant to seek medical assistance as well as file police reports (Wali,1995:338).

As noted earlier in this paper, violence against women takes place in both public and private. In order for women to feel "secure," and in order for them to be able to contribute to the rebuilding of their families, their lives, and their nation, two important needs must be addressed. First their practical needs must be met. For displaced and refugee women, this may mean access to shelter for themselves and their family. Moreover, women must have access to daily items such as birth control and sanitary pads (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre,1995,14-15) as well as medical and psychological support to begin their healing. Second, and equally important, women's strategic interests must be met.   This means addressing the root sources of oppression against women manifested prior to, during, and after the armed conflict (Wali,1995:338). a society cannot heal if large sectors of its population are being cast as political symbols or objects of nationalist goals. Nor can it heal if the violence has retreated behind closed doors. **What specific needs could Canada address re: Women's Health?**

CONCLUSION

In nations rebuilding, it is women more often than not who head the households, who earn the money to feed their families, and who pick-up the pieces at a war's end. When responding to the question; how can women support reconstruction?   The answer is therefore clear. In order for women to effectively rebuild the nation, however, another question must be answered; how can reconstruction support women? As Kenneth Bush has noted, Peace building is not about assisting a return to the status quo prior to the conflict (Bush,1995). More often than not, the status quo is part of what led to the hostilities. When assisting nations rebuild, therefore, right from the peacekeeping phase to the Peace building process, Canada must effectively seek out and support women trying to enact change in their countries. In the majority of cases, these women will not be at the negotiating table, nor will they be the returning combatants. They will be the women in their homes, in the fields, in factories, and in small grassroots organizations.   Where possible, Canada must support the practical and strategic needs of these women as they identify where they need help and what must change. Peace building cannot be a process of supporting the power-holders only. Peace building, and the crucial notion of accompaniemento, must entail empowering those who have the resources and will to rebuild their nation from the bottom-up; on their own terms.

In addition, Canada must take the initiative to ensure the missions it sends to rebuilding nations, such as judiciary and police training forces, are sensitive to gender constructs and the lived experiences of groups of women in the country.   To be fully effective in this respect, a wide range of Canadians actors can be drawn on to support Peace building. Groups as diverse as human rights and development organizations to legal scholars and legislators could work with women and men in their efforts to create a more democratic society. These efforts must be coordinated, however, and responsive as needs change and conditions shift. Moreover, these efforts must be long-term.

Finally, two, related points must be made. When thinking about gender and peace building it is important to recognize the vast diversity of experience, and thus needs, of women in reconstructing nations. No two nations, nor even groups within nations, will likely be faced with exactly the same problems and opportunities. At the same time as keeping this is mind, however, it is important to recognize the ways in which women in different reconstructing nations may be able to assist one another. Sandra Moran has commented on the usefulness of meeting with other Central American women at a regional conference several years ago (Moran,interview). Likewise, Rwandan women have similarly benefitted from exchanging conflict and post-conflict experiences and strategies with women from Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre,1995). Canada must find ways to support this kind of cross-national networking between women.

Canada has an excellent international reputation for its work in areas of human rights and gender and development (Moser,1989 & Chowdry,1995).   In addition to formulating concrete policies in these areas, Canada has also sought change to create change for women in the international arena. At the Fourth World Conference on Women, for example, Canada took the lead in negotiations and won language that reaffirms that "rape in the conduct of armed conflict constitutes a war crime and under circumstances it constitutes a crime against humanity."(Platform,1996)   Canada not only recognizes the key role of women in development, but that the female experiences of violence and security must be addressed if a society is to progress. Moreover, Canada recognizes that women have inherent rights in and of themselves. To this end, it is vital that Canada incorporate its previous experience into Peace building policy. Only when the impact of gender is effectively assessed and when the needs of different groups of women and men are accounted for, can Canada best help other nations build a, "sustainable infrastructure of human security."(Axworthy,1996)   **What are the obstacles to focusing on gender; a)within the Canadian Federal government b)in a reconstructing nation? In what respects does incorporating gender fulfill the peace building mandate? In what respects does it undermine the mandate? How can different groups of women be engaged in the peace building process?**

APPENDIX

CIDA's Gender Analysis Guidelines

1)Who is the target of the proposed policy, program or project? Who will benefit? Who will lose?

2)Have women been consulted on the "problem," the intervention to solve the problem? How have they been involved in the development of the "solution"?

3)Does intervention challenge the existing gender division of labour, tasks, responsibilities and opportunities?

4)What is the best way to build on (and strengthen) the government's commitment to the advancement of women?

5)What is the relationship between the intervention and other actions and organizations - national, regional or international?

6)Where do opportunities for change or entry points exist? And how can they best be used?

7)What specific ways can be proposed for encouraging and enabling women to participate in the policy/program/project, despite their traditionally more domestic location and subordinate position.

8)What is the long-term impact in terms of women's increased ability to take charge of their own lives, and to take collective action to solve problems? (CIDA,1995b)

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