



I. What is it about?

Militarization, Gender and development cooperation

Points of intersection of militarization, gender and development cooperation can be found at all those places where development cooperation teams work in an environment marked or threatened by violent conflicts. A gender analysis of militarization processes helps to discover how women and men are affected differently by such processes. On the basis of this analysis, development cooperation employees are able to organize their work in a gender-sensitive manner.

- At the expense of social funds, women are more strongly affected by increasing military expenses than men, as they receive less pay or work only part-time. They then have to take on additional social tasks such as nursing the sick and the elderly or babysitting.
- In violent conflicts, gender specified pictures and discussion of gender issues become militarized. Men are often seen as fighters and heroes whereas women are portrayed as defenceless victims in want of protection and as nurses and guardians of the cultural heritage.
- Under the intermingling forces of war, violence and sexuality, women are reduced to objects. The presence of soldiers or military forces primarily increases the sexual violence used against women. Parallel to this higher level of militarization, a noticeably higher level of violence prevails in the families of a given society (e.g., USA).
- Marginalization of alternative gender-specific pictures: Civil conceptions of masculinity (cf. studies on page 2) and alternative ones of femininity become depreciated. For example, feministic activists in Croatia were denounced as witches or whores to ban them from the public, or to have their behaviour dismissed as „abnormal“, i.e. undesirable and unworthy of imitation. During the peace talks in Northern Ireland newspaper cartoons characterized women sitting round the peace table as

Editorial

Dear Readers,

The current second issue of the Gender and Peace-building Newsletter examines the points of intersection of militarization, gender and development cooperation. It takes issue with the changing pictures and roles of women and men in militarization processes, prior to, during and after violent conflicts, relating them to the practical work of SDS and their partner agencies. How can a weakening of rigid gender stereotypes be made sustainable and used as a peace potential? How can civil peace forces be strengthened within the scope of development cooperation? How can measures of demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) promote the empowerment of women and men? The work of development cooperation and humanitarian aid employees may influence the conflict as well as the position of the different actors and groups, i.e. the fighters; children, boys and girls, acting as soldiers; women and men in civil population and the women's peace NGOs. Therefore, it is of central importance to actively deal with these issues.

Patricia Barandun & Yvonne Joos

What is „militarization“?

Militarization is a process in which a person or a thing is increasingly controlled by a military organization whose ideas heavily affect their well-being. The more an individual or society as a whole changes in the process of militarization, the more the individual or society tends to view military thinking/military needs not only as important but even as normal. Militarization encompasses cultural, institutional, ideological and economic changes: budgets, euphemistic use of language, memories of history, idolatry, pictures (e.g. cinema), sex industry, etc. Thinking the way military do becomes a matter of course. (cf. Enloe 2000)

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frightened chickens. Similarly, men refusing to become soldiers, or women wanting to go to the army are reproached with not being „manly“ or not being „womanly“.

– Increasing militarization and the

Studies on gender in militarization processes/armed conflict:

Chris Dolan (Norduganda): <http://www.acord.org.uk/r-pubs-CollapsingMasculinities.doc>

Marina Blagojevic (Vorkriegs-Serbien): http://www.beotel.yu/~marina.blag/gender_and_survival.htm

resulting insecurity often push women into a sort of „interior space“, whereas the „exterior space“ is dominated and controlled by men („disempowering effects“). For example, women in occupied Iraq often no longer dared to go out into the street for justified fear of being raped, kidnapped, or becoming the objects of acid attacks or even murder.

However, there are also women who

in similar situations break out of their roles, e.g., by joining a military organization or taking over political or economic responsibilities in traditionally „male“ roles („empowering effects“). In Nepal, for example, the ongoing conflict opened up new opportunities for women, though of short duration, such as wearing non-traditional clothes or taking on activities in the fields of trade and agriculture.

II. What impact will it have?

Integrating the issues of „militarization and gender“ in development cooperation

Employees of development cooperation and humanitarian aid organizations are confronted with a militarized environment in the areas of conflict. The presence of soldiers of both conflicting parties and international troops often make the work of humanitarian organizations more difficult.

Gender-sensitive DDR

It is important that development cooperation employees gather information about the needs of women and men at daily work in different situations in a militarized environment. Only in this way can DDR measures (demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration) be fashioned in a gender-sensitive manner.

Examples:

- > In Burundi, women who had had a sexual relationship with men of the hostile conflict party – even if this relationship had been forced – were excluded from their community. They then often had no choice other than prostituting themselves or engaging in other marginalized or insecure economic activities.
- > In Columbia, more than 11,000 child soldiers fight in the conflict between

the government forces, paramilitaries and different guerrilla warfare. With the guerilla forces, we find a high female share: it is about one third with the Farc. These women are exposed to the omnipresent risk of sexual exploitation (partly also by the guerillas themselves).

Gender relations

Employees of international agencies or military exercise their sexual powers to considerably influence gender relations at work.

Examples:

- > The presence of international organizations heightens the demand for well-educated and correspondingly well-paid employees. It is mainly men who meet this profile, which has certain repercussions on gender roles and gender conceptions. Men who work for the „Internationals“ are in high esteem, whereas women working together with „international“ men get into disrepute for prostituting themselves.
- > Military and civil personnel alike support prostitution by participating in women's exploitation. The UNIFEM report on „Women, War

and Peace“ states that women are forced in conflict – they may have no other possibilities – to become sex workers or exchange sex against food, shelter etc. Soldiers, government officials and civil authorities as well as development cooperation/humanitarian aid employees and their own families sexually exploit women and girls.

Empowerment

Development cooperation employees can draw public attention to unequal treatment of women and men, to their differing situations, needs and problems by making an issue of this through discussion in their project work. Their knowledge about the correlations of gender and (de)militarization processes allows development cooperation employees to develop women- and men-specific projects. It also enables them to foster the empowerment of women and men and strengthen civil peace forces, i.e. to use gender- and peace-mainstreaming as complementing strategies (cf. appendix 2 in the GTZ Guidelines on (women's) NGOs, resources and projects within the „peace field“ as well as the checklist in chapter 7).

Link to UNIFEM report

http://www.unifem.org/index.php?f_page_pid=149

Link to GTZ Guidelines

<http://www.gtz.de/crisisprevention/download/reimann.pdf>

III. What are the hurdles?

Lessons Learnt

The presence of military structures in conflict areas particularly affects the civil members of society. One example of this is the Palestine/Israel conflict, where the Israeli army is gradually introducing ever new formalities and criteria. This prevents development cooperation people from moving about freely, thus restricting civil manoeuvres.

Gender-insensitive DDR

> In Namibia, the female guerilla fighters returned home after war, exchanged their military uniforms with civil clothes and were then sent to refugee camps instead of demobilization centres. There they received – in contrast to their male ex-fighters in the demobilization centres – no support, psychological counselling or vocational retraining, which would have facilitated their reintegration into civil society.

Gender relations

> Before the war there was a sex industry in former Yugoslavia as well. With the stationing of more than 50,000 international military forces, development cooperation employees and diplomats, the demand for sexual services multiplied. Since the presence of international reconstruction forces, Bosnia-Herzegovina has



Foto: Daniel Hernández-Salazar, Guatemala.

become an important target country for the trafficking of human beings, mostly women and girls from Ukraine, Moldavia and Rumania, who are kidnapped for forced prostitution.

Disempowerment

The participation of women in wars and armed conflicts is often ignored since stereotypes of „women’s work“ are taken up again as soon as a society becomes „normal“ after the end of the fighting.

> In Zimbabwe, public opinion, with its popular conception of women as wives and mothers, nurtured the belief that women contributed most to the war of liberation by fulfilling these roles. Women who opposed the

restitution of patriarchal authorities were disparaged, and those who participated in the combats became objects of shame.

> In Sri Lanka, NGOs promoted income-fostering projects for women such as chicken breeding, horticulture and sewing workshops. In contrast to men, women were motivated to become nurses or secretaries, not medical doctors or business women. In this way, the stereotyped gender roles for women were strengthened, with the women being prepared for those professions that granted just a small income.

IV. Has there been any progress?

Gender-sensitive prevention, demilitarization and reintegration

Empowerment

The empowerment of women and men, the promotion of equal rights and participation opportunities for women and men alike, as well as strengthening peace forces in the local civil society, are important components of crisis prevention, demilitarization and peace-building.

As a result of social conflicts or violent confrontations, the traditional gender roles often change in turn. Keeping a critical eye on these changes caused by the breaking up of the formerly rigid

gender stereotypes may help women and men after the war not to be forced back into their traditional roles.

- > In the conflicts and wars of Africa, women act in different roles: as mediators, social workers, politicians, nurses or armed combatants. With the foundation of „Femmes Africa Solidarité“ in 1996, the need was recognized to foster the participation of women in crisis prevention, conflict management and peace-building processes and to promote their networking.
- > In South Africa, women standing before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) spoke only about their male partner and relatives. Only after a group of women activists had requested TRC that hearings be held for women alone did women's stories become known.

Gender-sensitive DDR

The legal basis for gender-sensitive demilitarization and reintegration measures is to be found in the UN SC Res 1325, point 13: „... encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-

combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants“. The correlation found between (de)militarization, gender and development cooperation contributes to the design of DDR in a gender-sensitive manner by considering the needs of the female ex-combatants and the „wives“ of combatants as well as those of the widows who have lost their husbands in the war (cf. checklist in the appendix of BICC paper 20).

In demobilization processes, former female combatants are even more marginalized and excluded from decision-making positions than other women are, as their former role cannot be brought into alignment with the prevailing gender ideologies. They receive, other than male ex-combatants, no access to land or to vocational retraining; thus, when trying to return to their pre-war life conditions, this partly gives rise to fears and distrust among their society.

> When the Eritrean army carried out its first demobilization programme in 1993, the principle of equality was valid for male and female combatants. As part of demobilization measures, women received special training in traditional women's professions. However, these measures did not achieve the desired results.

- Women who passed through the „standard demobilization programme“, along with men, could not implement the new skills as fast as the men did, which led to their discrimination on the labour market.
- Women were often less flexible on the labour market than men were, as they had to look after their children, or they had no driving license, for example.
- Traditional gender standards, which made their choice for taking on customary male professions more difficult, became more rigid again in the immediate post-conflict phase.
- Ex-combatants who chose a traditional woman's profession after passing through the women-specific demobilization programme did not get sufficient work for securing their livelihood.

The demobilization programme was therefore modified by introducing special training units for women in non-traditional women's professions. This was aimed at improving the chances of the ex-combatants on the post-conflict labour market and discarding the prevailing gender stereotypes. A long-term objective is to change society's mind with regard to the roles of women and men in the Eritrean post-war society.

Link zum BICC-Paper 20

<http://www.bicc.de/publications/papers/paper20/paper20.pdf>

V. How can we help?

Tips for working on the connection between militarization, gender and development cooperation

SDC has numerous possibilities for actively supporting and strengthening civil conflict management, peace-promoting gender relations and exerting its influence against militarization within the scope of bilateral and multilateral development cooperation. Part of these endeavours is crisis prevention, human rights work, and the empowerment of marginalized population groups as well as safeguarding the life foundations for all:

- SDC can induce the UN and their member states to fully utilize their power in civil conflict prevention and management. It can also use its influence to foster civil measures of development cooperation, of humanitarian aid, demilitarization and peace-work (the strengthening of local peace forces in civil society) by systematically redistributing the

financial means meant for military strategies. Part of this redistribution is to provide sufficient means for DDR processes.

- SDC can clearly communicate to the participants involved and to the civil population that it aims at a civil management of the conflict and that it works together with military organizations exclusively for the sake

- of DDR measures.
- SDC can train experts and send them to UN missions to help organise more gender-sensitive DDR processes in support of the treatment of the traumas of war (e.g., rape of women and men, domestic violence, forced prostitution, etc.). At the same time, SDC can ensure that their supported DDR programmes engage women experts to work on cases of sexual violence directed against women.
 - SDC can also consult and collaborate with experts from civil society in the planning, implementation and assessment of demining and DDR programmes.
 - SDC can ensure that its early-warning system works in a gender-sensitive manner by collecting its information also from gender-sensitive sources. Furthermore, it can consult local gender experts about the analysis and interpretation of information and write its reports from a gender perspective.
 - SDC can see to it that its projects for reintegration/retraining and for income-promotion do not use any gender stereotypes and do not disadvantage women against men. SDC can consciously foster professions in medicine or carpentry for women, for example, or nursing for men, in its projects while considering the existing demand and supporting individual self-initiatives.
 - SDC can assess the needs of female ex-combatants in DDR processes, make an issue of them and integrate them in its programmes and projects, respectively. It can refer to UN SC Res 1325 (point 13), thereby putting pressure on the respective participants in case of need.
 - SDC can facilitate the return of child soldiers into civil life by providing them with job training. In so doing, attention must be paid to girls and boys having the same options and chances to take up a vocation that does not necessarily correspond to a traditional woman's or man's profession.
 - In cases of psychological treatment of the combatants' war experiences, SDC can offer separate specialized programmes for women and men, thus regulating their gender-sensitive needs in overcoming war traumata. By means of psychosocial work it can strengthen violent-free forms of conflict management.
 - SDC can see to it that programmes and projects supported by it do not reinforce any militarized gender conceptions but support and foster alternative conceptions and roles of women and men.
 - SDC can strengthen and promote local women's groups such as women's NGOs that take action against trafficking of human beings, champion the basic rights of sex workers or establish shelters for battered women.
 - In its projects, SDC can analyse the new roles that women have adopted in crisis situations and define them as civil roles. This will contribute both to the empowerment of women and men and help solidify the changes of gender roles beyond the immediate conflict situation.

VI. Checklist

- In planning, implementing and assessing programmes and projects of development cooperation/humanitarian aid, I consider their possible impact both on the situations of women and men in local conflicts and on the course of the conflict (Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment, „Do No Harm“). In so doing, I collaborate with women and men taken from the local civil society as well as with all participants working on site, and also with local NGOs/networks of the women's and human rights movement.
- I check that the projects scrutinize militarized gender roles (men seen as leaders/heroes, women as victims/sex objects) and put up alternative gender roles for discussion (e.g. in training programmes and reintegration projects).
- I make sure that projects and programmes will strengthen the civil society on location – particularly peace groups, women's and human rights agencies, independent media, trade unions, etc. – and that civil society will be incorporated into the planning, implementation and assessment.
- I am aware of the fact that young men and women often join an army for lack of any alternative future perspectives. Therefore, I incorporate the development and promotion of professional and social perspectives for young women and men into crisis prevention projects and those of demilitarization and reintegration.
- I assess the different needs for treating war traumata, and – together with the corresponding organizations and gender experts – I work out measures on site, taking into consideration the different situations of women and men, girls and boys, ex-combatants and civil society.
- Also in my own environment and/or my particular organization, I make an issue of the negative effects (sexual exploitation, prostitution, unequal treatment of „locals“ and „internationals“) which the presence of military, IZA and HA employees in conflict areas may cause, and if needed, I suggest measures for eliminating them.

- Literature** Anderson, Mary B.: Do No Harm. How Aid Can Support Peace – or War. London 1999.
- Bonn International Center for Conversion (Hg.): Vanessa Farr: Gendering Demilitarization as a Peacebuilding Tool. BICC paper 20.Bonn 2002. (Link: <http://www.bicc.de/publications/papers/paper20/paper20.pdf>)
- Caritas: Allianzen für den Frieden. Ein Positionspapier der Caritas Schweiz zu Krisenprävention, Konfliktbearbeitung und Friedensförderung in der Internationalen Zusammenarbeit. Luzern 2000. (Summary: http://web.caritas.ch/pdf/shop/Allianzen_d.pdf)
- Enloe, Cynthia: Maneuvers. The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives. London 2000.
- GTZ (Hg.): Towards Gender Mainstreaming in Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management. Guidelines for the German Technical Co-operation. Eschborn 2001. (Link: <http://www.gtz.de/crisisprevention/download/reimann.pdf>)
- UNIFEM 2002 (Hg.): Rehn, Elisabeth / Johnson Sirleaf, Ellen: Women, War and Peace: The Independent Expert's Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building.

Links **Militarization, gender and development cooperation**

- Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) (numerous studies, e.g. on DDR, gender und development cooperation)
<http://www.bicc.de>
- Women War Section of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
<http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/html.women!Open>
- The Collaborative for Development Action, Inc. (CDA): Do No Harm: «Indications» for Assessing Aid's Impacts on Conflict
http://www.cdainc.com/dnh/archives/2001/07/indications_for_assessing_aids_impacts_on_conflict.php
- UNIFEM/UNICEF: The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children (Kap. 2: Child Soldiers)
http://www.unifem.org/index.php?f_page_pid=97
- id21-study: Fused in Combat: Gender Relations and Armed Conflict
<http://www.id21.org/society/s6ajeb1g1.html>
- BRIDGE report: Gender an Armed Conflict
<http://www.ids.ac.uk/bridge/reports/CEP-Conflict-Report.pdf>
- NGO-Evaluationsbericht der NGO-Koordination post Beijing Schweiz zur Umsetzung des Aktionsplans der Schweiz «Gleichstellung von Mann und Frau» (s. v.a Kap. E: Bewaffnete Konflikte) in German and French
<http://www.postbeijing.ch/aktionsplan/evaluation.pdf> (g), http://www.postbeijing.ch/aktionsplan/evaluation_franz.pdf (f)
- Informationsstelle Militarisierung e.V. (Analysen, Statements etc.)
<http://www.imi-online.de>
- UN SC Resolution 1325 im Original (Englisch) und in deutscher Übersetzung
http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

Organisationen

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| BDIDGE development – gender
http://www.ids.ac.uk/bridge | KOFF – Center for Peacebuilding
http://www.swisspeace.org/koff/default.htm |
| cfid – Christlicher Friedensdienst
http://www.cfid-ch.org | Kosova Women's Network
http://www.womensnetwork.org |
| Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS)
http://www.fasngo.org | NGO-Koordination post Beijing Schweiz
http://www.postbeijing.ch |
| glow-boell – Global Center for Women's Studies and Politics
http://www.glow-boell.de | swisspeace – Swiss Peace Foundation
http://www.swisspeace.org |
| ICRW – International Center for Research on Women
http://www.icrw.org | UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women
http://www.unifem.org |
| International Alert
http://www.international-alert.org | WILPF – Women's Internat. League for Peace and Freedom
http://www.wilpf.org |
| International Women's Tribune Centre
http://www.iwtc.org | Women in Black
http://www.womeninblack.net |