



Gender Guidelines for Employment and Skills Training in Conflict-Affected Countries

Preface

The alarming number of armed conflicts in the world today, and the devastation and gender differential impact caused deserve serious consideration not only in general development but also skills training and employment promotion programmes. Such skills training and employment programmes also constitute an integral part of the comprehensive strategy required for reintegrating the large numbers of conflict-affected groups, reconstructing their societies and building sustainable peace. Taking into account the special gender concerns in the conflict context in designing, implementing and evaluating skills training and employment promotion programmes is a challenging task which requires investment in time, energy and resources.

As a contribution to the required effort and also to supplement the ILO Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries by the ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict (1996/97), the ensuing Gender guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries have been formulated. They are geared to facilitating the mainstreaming of the complex gender issues in policies and programmes in the specific context of conflict. They, thus, constitute an essential tool for action. The Gender guidelines can be used by themselves or with other materials on the conflict-affected issue. The Gender guidelines are perceived here as dynamic and should be updated at regular intervals and adapted to specific countries and situations. We would thus appreciate receiving feedback from users in different parts of the world. It is hoped that the Gender guidelines will also contribute to advance discussion, advocacy and action at different levels with regard to this major problem area of conflict in the current world. They have also been prepared as a contribution to the implementation of the Fourth World Conference's Agenda for Action, especially its Strategic objective E: Women and armed conflict.

I would like to place on record my appreciation of (a) the efforts of Martha Walsh, an external ILO consultant, in the preparation of drafts of this work, (b) comments of various ILO staff within and outside the ILO Action Programme on Skills and

Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict and (c) the external consultants - Sally Baden, Sean Loughna, Naila Nauphal, Gema Vicente and others - who undertook country studies in 1996/97, under ILO external collaboration contracts, to generate the required gender data for the preparation of this and other products.

Finally, I would like to point out that the ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict was implemented with a view to generating relevant empirical data, preparing appropriate tools and innovative strategies - such as policy framework, guidelines, training materials for capacity building, a compendium of relevant initiatives - as well as effective technical assistance follow-up proposals for effective action by the ILO and its constituents. In more specific terms, the programme was aimed at:

- strengthening the capacity of the ILO, its structures, constituents, conflict-affected countries and other relevant actors for planning and implementing effective reintegration, reconstruction and sustainable peace-building programmes;
- promoting labour-related institutions' contribution and active involvement in peace negotiations, reconciliation and peace-building, elaboration and implementation of programmes for productive reintegration of conflict-affected groups and general rehabilitation and development of their countries;
- empowering the diverse conflict-affected groups; and
- promoting appropriate social and labour policies underpinned by relevant international labour standards, such as those that emphasize gender equality and social justice.

Using these Gender guidelines and other products of the Action Programme will greatly contribute to the attainment of the above objectives and, above all, to the conflict-affected countries' harnessing of all their human resources - female and male - for tackling the mammoth economic, social, physical and political reconstruction tasks faced by them.

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Table of contents

Preface i

Executive summary iv

1. Introduction 1

2. Key concepts and issues in gender and conflict 3

2.1 Glossary of relevant terms 3

2.2 Key issues in gender and conflict 3

2.3 Summary of issues and impacts 12

3. Guidelines for gender aware planning 16

4. Gender guidelines for programmes 19

4.1 Principles 19

4.2 The labour market 23

4.3 Employment-intensive works programme 25

4.4 Vocational training 25

4.5 Promoting small and micro businesses and entrepreneurship 28

4.6 Social security and protection 29

5. Guidelines for the ILO 31

5.1 General principles 31

5.2 Programme guidelines 31

References 34

Annex 36

Executive summary

This document outlines the gender impacts of armed conflict and the implications for employment promotion and skills training programmes in conflict-affected countries. Men and women experience and respond to conflict in different ways. It is thus essential to consider such responses in programme design and implementation.

The gender impacts of conflict are multi-faceted. The type of conflict, demographic changes, the disruption of the economy and the labour market, and the peace process, *inter alia*, have profound implications for women and the structure of gender roles during and after conflict. Economic hardship, physical insecurity, and women's unequal access to resources can combine to increase their vulnerability during conflict, particularly due to the increased numbers of women who become heads of households. At the same time, however, women are seen to step out of their socially ascribed roles to respond to crisis. This fluctuation of gender roles can facilitate women's entry into previously male-dominated sectors and contribute to the breakdown of gender stereotypes which impede their advancement in economic, political and social spheres. As such, it is an opportunity emerging from conflict that can be capitalized upon and strengthened through gender-sensitive employment promotion and skills training programmes.

The planning process is central to ensuring that the gender implications of conflict are fully considered and reflected in programming. It is here that the use of gender analysis, gender disaggregated statistics, and community-based participatory methodologies can help to bring out the distinct impacts of conflict on women and men. They will also serve to point out past imbalances and disparities that should be corrected. In order for these tools to be used to their full potential, planners themselves should be trained in gender issues and analysis, especially with reference to the conflict-affected environment.

Programmes in reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building should be guided by the overall principle of contributing to a more just and equitable society in which previously marginalized groups, particularly women, become full players in the redevelopment of the country.

However, the exigencies of conflict pose numerous challenges to the establishment of stability and prosperity. The scarcity of resources, poverty, and distrust are legacies of conflict which produce competition between and within communities, hindering prospects for holistic reintegration. At the household level, men and women have difficulty adjusting and readjusting to the change in roles which occurred during the war. Yet, as noted above, there are opportunities which can also be drawn upon such as new skills learned, the cessation of violence, and new market possibilities.

The challenge therefore is to maximize opportunities and overcome constraints. Adopting a community-based inclusionary approach has proved central to reducing competition within and between different groups. Using artificially constructed categories of war-affected populations masks the multiple and differential impacts of

conflict on individuals experience and can create rather than minimize conflict within communities. This was found to hold true for womens projects which excluded men. Segregating women and men often has the effect of reinforcing assumptions of womens vulnerability and victimization, as well as creating gender conflict and competition.

Gender-based assumptions also need to be challenged in the context of demobilization programmes which primarily target men to the exclusion of female ex-combatants and kin of demobilized soldiers. As efforts focus on channelling male aggression into productive activities, the particular needs and issues of female veterans are often left out of demobilization programmes and packages. Moreover, the implications of demobilization for the family are seldom considered.

While conflict intensifies vulnerabilities among households, communities, and individuals, the capabilities which people and communities possess are less apparent. These capabilities should be identified, and programmes should seek to strengthen them so as to improve the present situation and reduce the risk of crisis in the future. Recognizing womens capabilities, in particular, may well contribute to a greater acceptance of their expanded role in society.

Interventions in the labour market should also seek to acknowledge womens potential and abilities by redressing past imbalances and gender inequalities. Labour market information systems, institutions, and legal and regulatory frameworks are key areas where progress can be made. Increasing the gender sensitivity of labour market information systems and personnel will work toward ensuring a more accurate representation of women. Labour ministries could benefit from training in gender awareness, as well as the establishment of gender focal points in bureaux responsible for labour and economic policies and increased participation of women professionals in policy development. Civil society groups, including labour unions and womens organizations, have an important role to play as advocates for policies and practices which promote gender equality. Here too, statutes and legislation which have hampered womens access to more productive livelihoods such as property rights and eligibility for credit should be considered.

The rehabilitation of physical infrastructure is critical to women in their productive and reproductive capacities and therefore requires womens involvement at all levels and sensitivity to the constraints posed by their gender roles such as child-care obligations, time pressures, health concerns, etc. Skills acquired through these programmes may also serve long-term interests of expanding womens entry into non-traditional, more lucrative professions.

Vocational training can offer women the opportunity to enhance prospects for employment and increased income earnings. There are, however, a number of constraints to womens participation in and benefits from these programmes which are set out in this document along with measures for addressing them. Life skills can be an important value-added component to vocational training courses. Basic literacy,

numeracy, health-care information, etc. can be made available through instructors. Importantly, information on health, child care, and other such topics should also be provided to male trainees, for gender roles will not change unless efforts are made to extend knowledge of "female responsibilities" to men.

Micro enterprise and micro credit also offer women the opportunity to earn an income. There is thus a clear need to invest in business training, advice and information, as well as flexible and creative micro-finance institutions and provision which will form the basis for more profitable enterprises and the increased economic empowerment of women.

As conflict increases the number of vulnerable people, the need for social security and protection systems is accentuated. For women, expanded social insurance packages and basic living allowances could prevent their adopting dangerous coping strategies, such as sex work, which increase their vulnerabilities in the long term. Thus, women must have the same access to social support as men.

With a historic mandate in both peace-building through employment and in gender equality, the ILO is well placed to demonstrate the integral link between them by advocating and promoting the visibility and participation of women in reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building. In its advisory capacity, monitoring the application of labour rights standards and through technical assistance such as employment promotion and skills training, the ILO can play an important role in acknowledging, accounting for, and tackling the problematic gender impacts of conflict, with a view toward creating a more equitable and just society. These guidelines are an effort to assist in this process.

1. Introduction

- This document brings together the key issues concerning women and gender in conflicted-affected countries and sets out guidelines for dealing with them within employment promotion and skills training in such contexts. It draws largely from five studies, prepared under the auspices of the ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict, which focus on the situation of women and the gender impacts of conflict. It is intended to facilitate the integration of gender concerns into reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building programmes and to enhance the capacity of the relevant actors promoting skills training and employment in conflict-affected countries. This document should be regarded as dynamic and flexible. It should be reviewed regularly, together with the Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries (ILO, 1998) and the Framework for ILO policy and action in the conflict-affected context (ILO, 1997).
- The users of these strategies are peace negotiators, policy-makers, planners, and implementers from governments, employers, workers' organizations, other national actors, and donors - bilateral, multilateral and international.

- The purpose of this document is to provide a tool to facilitate the integration of gender issues into policy and programme development, turning the rhetoric of gender into reality.
- While the ILO recently produced gender guidelines for the world of work, this document specifically addresses the particular issues arising out of conflict, emphasizing the need to consider the different ways in which men and women experience conflict; the impact of conflict on gender relations and identities; the constraints and opportunities created by conflict; and the resulting implications for reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building.
- Moreover, these strategies view women not merely as victims of conflict but as survivors and protagonists. In the context of programme development, this document seeks to define women not just as beneficiaries, but as active agents and contributors to the socio-economic development of their countries. Equally, it considers how implications for men in turn impact on women and gender dynamics in the household and community. Additionally, this document recognizes the diversity among "war-affected women" and the programmatic challenges posed by acknowledging and accounting for these differences.
- Though gender considerations are increasingly being adopted in development contexts, they remain largely absent from practice in emergency and relief operations. However, as the relief to development continuum is now seen to represent not sequential but simultaneous and overlapping processes, the way in which gender issues are addressed at the outset of intervention, i.e. at the emergency and relief stage, has significant implications for sustainable development and hence must be taken into consideration from the start. The evidence from the four country case studies and an overview report on women and gender concerns undertaken for the Action Programme clearly illustrates this (see Baden, 1997; Date-Bah, 1996; Loughna and Vicente, 1997; Nauphal, 1997).
- The countries surveyed (Guatemala, Lebanon, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Mozambique) are in various stages of recovery from conflicts which vary in their root causes, duration, implications, targeted populations, etc. However, there are identifiable trends and commonalities which are elaborated upon to serve as guiding principles to inform future activities in reintegration, reconstruction, and peace-building processes. These processes should be seen as mutually reinforcing and synergistic. The integration of a gender perspective throughout is essential to ensure sustainable development and peace.
- To provide the background and context for these guidelines, an overview of key concepts and core issues surrounding gender and conflict is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 sets out guidelines for incorporating gender into planning, emphasizing gender sensitive approaches and tools, information gathering, participatory methodologies, community, focus and coordination. Chapter 4 then moves on to gender guidelines for programmes addressing the labour market, employment-intensive works projects, vocational training, and business and entrepreneurship promotion in the conflict-affected context.

- With its original mandate rooted in the promotion of social justice, the ILO is well placed to take the lead in advocating the incorporation of gender issues across coordinated national and international strategies. Previous efforts to advance gender issues - more specifically those for women - follow from arguments of economic expediency or efficiency. It is also essential to recognize gender equality as a central element of social justice and hence to building "universal and lasting peace."

2. Key concepts and issues in gender and conflict

- Prior to outlining specific gender strategies for the phases of conflict and programmes within them, it is essential to review key concepts and issues relevant to gender and conflict. Too often programmatic errors have been made resulting from a misconception of key definitions.

2.1 Glossary of relevant terms

- **Gender** refers to the social differences between men and women which are learned and change across place and time, as opposed to "sex" which refers exclusively to biological differences (ILO, 1994:3). Hence, gender should not be considered coterminous with "women."
- **Gender identities** are the roles and behaviours designated to one gender or the other, largely culturally created, and are subject to shifts, changes and manipulations (Byrne, 1995:13). Roles are **productive** and **reproductive**:
- **productive roles**: tasks undertaken for production of goods and services for the market, workplace or home based, formal and informal;
- **reproductive roles**: e.g. child care, fuel, wood and water fetching, etc, usually unpaid and excluded from national employment and income statistics.
- **Gender relations** are the connections and divisions between men and women, such as the sexual division of labour, and are defined by gender identities and power structures.
- **Gender analysis** is a tool which seeks to understand gender relations, identities, and the needs of a target community. It thereby increases the visibility of women, taking into account the division of labour, access to and control over resources and composition of decision-making structures.
- **Practical gender needs** are needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. They are practical in nature and are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment (Moser, 1993:40).
- **Strategic gender needs and interests** are derived deductively, i.e. from analysis of womens subordination and from the formulation of a more satisfactory set of arrangements than those that exist (Molyneux, 1986:284). In other words, strategic gender needs and interests are those vested in the transformation of womens position and structural inequalities between men and women (Kabeer, 1994:90).

2.2 Key issues in gender and conflict

- The role men and women play in conflict is often considered in binary and oppositional terms: men as aggressors, women as victims. However, a more careful examination reveals a complex dynamic where both men and women gain and lose as the result of conflict and shows that war is experienced differently between and within the genders. The following issues are presented to highlight the characteristics and changes which occur during conflict, bearing in mind implications for the implementation of programmes in reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building.

Type of conflict

- The conflicts which plague so many countries today vary greatly in intensity, cause, and nature. Few, however, can be reduced to one source. Multiple variables such as competition over economic and property resources, inequitable distribution of wealth, poverty, high unemployment, social exclusion and the collapse of the state can combine to propel a country into violent upheaval, hence the term complex emergencies used to describe many recent and ongoing conflicts.
- It is important to realize that gender is inseparable from the complex web of power relations which creates conflict. For example, in liberation struggles, the rhetoric of gender equality can be bound up in the fight against generalized oppression (e.g. colonialism, wealth distribution). In such instances, women may be drawn into the armed forces in large numbers and experience nominal equality. However, experience from Eritrea and elsewhere demonstrates that war-time slogans often fail to yield genuine equality in peace time. In an ethno-nationalist conflict, on the other hand, the traditional role of women as cultural guardians and keepers of the hearth can be reinforced. In ex-Yugoslavia, this contradicted pre-war notions of the "idealized working woman of socialist rhetoric" (Bracewell, 1995:27). Still, women who embrace this role may gain in position and status and may acquire power over men where they can exhort them to fight and accuse them of failing in their roles if they do not do so (Byrne:17).

Demographic change

- Through death, migration, and fluctuating birth rates, conflict-affected countries undergo demographic change, the gender impacts of which are manifold. For example, a decrease in the adult male population during and after conflict has three principal effects. First is the obvious increase in female-headed households (FHH). However, statistics usually only account for de jure female-headed

- households, i.e. through death or divorce, and do not consider de facto headship where adult males migrate, separate, become disabled or go into hiding.
- Second, land and labour arrangements are usually negotiated through men. In their absence, women may lose access to both. Even where women maintain control over land, the lack of male labour may result in having to forfeit the land and move to a new community.
 - Third, single, widowed or divorced women may find it much more difficult to find a marriage partner and hence the means, as perceived by some, to a more secure livelihood. Moreover, in some societies, unmarried adult women are socially stigmatized and refused access to community resources.
 - Additionally, higher dependency ratios resulting from an increase in the number of children, disabled persons, elderly or other family members taken in increases the burden on women who must look after extended households, in many cases as the sole provider with limited resources.
 - The most dramatic and visible change in demographics is large-scale refugee exodus and internal displacement. It is commonly assumed that women and children constitute the majority of refugees. However, it may be that women are more visible in refugee settlements, as men maintain greater mobility as combatants, migrant workers, etc. Nevertheless, the trauma and disorientation which accompanies displacement can have a devastating effect on households and communities (as noted below). This is compounded when forced migration dislodges communities for political purposes as seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, and Lebanon.
 - There is a growing body of literature on the experience of refugee women, which indicates that the refugee experience can yield both positive, empowering effects or expressly negative and disempowering consequences. For example, women refugees from Afghanistan are reported to have had their rights and freedoms dramatically curtailed by their Pakistani hosts (El Bushra and Piza Lopez:29). On the other hand, a number of Guatemalan refugee women in Mexico profited by learning Spanish, acquiring skills (e.g. literacy), and forming organizations (Loughna and Vicente:40).

Change in community and household structures

- One of the primary characteristics of modern conflict is the destruction of the social fabric of society, increasingly seen in many conflicts as an intentional military and political strategy. Fear-mongering campaigns as well as intimidation tactics (including rape) serve to divide communities and households, which at the same time dislocates traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, healing processes, trust and cooperation structures.
- The way in which communities reconstitute themselves often reflects the type and exigencies of conflict. New forms of social organizations which emerge may reveal a more ethnically or confessional "pure" or homogeneous community, as in Lebanon and Bosnia where political and military leaders created "cleansed"

areas. While this arrangement may present security in the face of upheaval, for women in mixed marriages or born of them, they will have to "confront dual loyalties and the loss of their families" (Byrne: 45) or may be subjected to rejection from both sides. By contrast, a society may become more diversified, as in Guatemala, resulting from the mixing of ethno-linguistic groups in certain refugee camps in Mexico and in hiding internally in Guatemala (Loughna and Vicente:16). In Somalia, as displacement necessitated forging new social networks, women were able to create cross-clan links, particularly in relation to economic activity, when men were unable or unwilling to do so (Powers-Stevens, 1995:100).

- Household structure and composition have been seen to change radically as well. As noted above, the average size may increase as nuclear households of the same family may come together for support and protection during the conflict, and vulnerable relatives may be taken in (particularly orphaned children). Again, the increase in de facto and de jure female-headed households is common. Where adult males are absent for extended periods, some women may seek to establish a relationship with local men to increase the economic and personal security of their families and themselves (Baden, 1997:18). While this may satisfy short-term needs, in the long term women may have to choose between partners and, as this strategy is often socially unacceptable and also risky in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, it may increase a woman's vulnerability in the long term.

Health

- The status and conditions of public health deteriorate dramatically during conflict. Diseases spread rapidly as sanitation and water facilities break down under the weight of overcrowding. Malnutrition and deficiency-related illnesses also increase, particularly among women and girl children, given the shortage of food supplies and arable land and food price increases.
- In emergency situations, women's reproductive health needs are rarely given priority (Byrne:35). As a consequence, the incidence of both maternal and infant mortality usually rise during conflict. Long-term effects of lack of treatment and preventive care can be detrimental to women's economic potential. Women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe, for example, reported a number of untreated injuries, including effects on reproductive organs which in turn will affect their marriageability and thus their livelihoods (Maramba, 1995:56).
- In addition, gender roles dictate that women are the primary health care providers for their families, a responsibility made more difficult by lack of services and funds to pay for treatment. The time required to look after ill household members restricts women's mobility and detracts from time dedicated to productive activities. Also, as clinics, hospitals, and other facilities are usually concentrated in urban areas, access is restricted for those in rural areas for whom transportation costs may be prohibitive. And, in general, preference for medical treatment when resources are lacking is reserved for men and boys.

- In many countries, landmines will continue to pose a serious threat to life and limb long after the cessation of hostilities. In developing countries where women are responsible for field work, collecting water and firewood, they may be more at risk of suffering landmine injuries.
- Services for disabled persons, in many cases, are found to be severely lacking. Few conflict-affected countries are equipped to address particular health and social needs of disabled persons, though war-injured veterans may be prioritized for assistance. Evidence from Cambodia illustrates the gender dimension of disability as disabled men relied on their wives for support, while disabled women were abandoned by their partners or had difficulty in finding one (Marcus, 1995:11).
- Mental health has, in fact, only recently been addressed in conjunction with other assistance programmes. Yet, where psycho-social programmes exist, they mainly target women and children focusing on conflict-related trauma. However, stress and trauma may intensify in the months or years after a conflict has ended. Indeed, the trauma experienced during exposure to violence is often compounded by the break-up of support networks, the loss of livelihoods, and other factors. In Bosnia, for example, unemployment among women was considered a mental health issue, as it was seen to be the root of depression and angst for many women (Walsh, 1995:22).
- The failure to address trauma in the context of the family, particularly the lack of services for men, has been identified as one of the factors behind an increase in domestic violence. ⁽¹⁾

While both rape and domestic violence obviously exist outside of conflict, their exaggerated occurrence during situations of generalized violence may make it easier to discuss these taboo subjects more openly. However, western approaches to therapy and counselling may be wholly inappropriate, and where traditional approaches are available they should be supported.

Sexual violence

- Rape can be both systematic and endemic during conflict. As noted above, it has been a strategy deployed to weaken communities. It is also a product of normalized violence and brutal expression of power. The physical, social, and economic consequences of rape are long term. In addition to the increased risk of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS, women suffer from unwanted and dangerous pregnancies and torture. In many cases, rape brings shame not only to women but to their families and community from which survivors may be subsequently ostracized. This will bear strongly on a woman's ability to draw from resources, find a marriage partner, and generate a livelihood.
- It must be remembered, however, that men are also, though to a lesser extent, subject to sexual violence which "adds weight to the interpretation of rape as an exercise in power, domination, and humiliation, rather than a purely sexual act"

(El Bushra and Piza Lopez: 21). In addition, the subject of male rape remains taboo, rendering it more difficult for men to speak about their experiences and seek help.

Education

- Conflict often disrupts education through the destruction of educational facilities, the death and migration of educators, and restrictions on mobility. For girl children, the exigencies of hostilities such as additional constraints on household budgets and increased demands on their time due to changes in the household structure can exacerbate already unequal access to education. At the same time, it may also present new opportunities. In Lebanon, for example, "the war provided an opportunity to improve their girls education in the rural areas deserted by men. In the absence of appropriate suitors, girls sought higher education" and hence the participation of girls increased at an age where it usually decreases (Nauphal, 1997: 32). Refugee women and girls may also be provided with education they may not normally have had access to, as in the case of some Guatemalan and Mozambican refugee women.
- Despite positive examples, the gender gap in literacy significantly constrains the ability of women to take advantage of assistance programmes in reconstruction and development. Hence, across the case studies there was a recognized need to build up basic education levels of women coupled with life skills in assertiveness and confidence.
- Where gender bias in curricula and textbooks existed before the conflict, this is often reinforced in the redevelopment of education programmes. At the same time, the transitional period presents the opportunity to update educational materials, for example by reflecting positive gender role changes which occurred during conflict.
- The type of training courses provided for women during and after conflict often reflect their domestic functions (sewing, knitting, cooking). The skills in which they are trained are linked to occupations which are the least prestigious and are poorly paid, maintaining women as underclass. Rarely do courses take account of skills women may have gained during the conflict. However, there are positive examples of women breaking out of such moulds.

Economic collapse and transition

- Destruction of capital stock and infrastructure, flight of capital and human resources, soaring inflation, and disruption of internal and external trade can cause economic collapse and paralysis in conflict-affected countries. Industrialized sectors are hit by devastation to factories and production facilities as well as transportation and communication networks. Meanwhile, agricultural sectors, including subsistence farming, suffer from loss of livestock and equipment, shortage of seeds and fertilizers, widespread use of landmines, and

disruption in market routes. Unemployment and poverty levels rise significantly as a result.

- Both the formal and informal sectors are disrupted by conflict, and the informal sector is often seen to expand as the formal sector contracts. In the developing world, women tend to predominate in the informal sector, given their lower levels of education and the discrimination and gender bias barring their entry and advancement in the formal sector. The informal sector also offers more flexible working conditions which can be combined with domestic obligations. Problems faced by operators in this sector after conflict include lost capital as well as lack of access to credit and business support services and markets for their products. In addition, the informal market is also gender stratified, and women's incomes are usually lower and more insecure. Profits are further restricted by the limited range of goods produced by women. In addition, when male unemployment increases, men, who often have advantages of higher skill and education levels, may enter into the informal sector, competing with women entrepreneurs.
- Conflict-related impoverishment is often compounded by stringent macro-economic policies. The country studies, as well as other research, illustrate that women are likely to suffer disproportionately from measures such as adjustment policies to put national economies back on track. Commercialization and privatization of agricultural land can rob women of their livelihoods, as found in Cambodia (Date-Bah, 1996:13) and Mozambique (Baden, 1997:36).
- Significant cuts to the social sector restrict access to services such as health clinics, schools and welfare benefits which are necessary for women. Adjustment programmes often adopted to rehabilitate the economy after conflict lead to downsizing of the public sector which increases unemployment, thereby reducing household income. At the same time, price rises and user fees are introduced. High unemployment may encourage men to seek work elsewhere, increasing the incidence of de facto female headship. In some ways, households may find themselves worse off after the conflict when international aid dries up.
- Households employ a number of strategies to cope with crises. Adapting normal habits, such as modifying consumption patterns by reducing or substituting scarce or expensive staples, is often the first step. Usually it is women and girl children who reduce their rations and are consequently found to have higher levels of malnutrition (El Bushra and Lopez:26). Families may sell off valuables to raise money for basic necessities. Women may enter paid work for the first time. Labour migration is also a key strategy employed primarily by men. In the absence of a male breadwinner either resulting from migration, disablement or death, women assume previously male-dominated activities as a means to provide for their families. Sex work and other illicit activities are also undertaken in dire circumstances.
- Some of these strategies, such as earning an independent income over which women have control and breaking down gender segregation in tasks, may be empowering for them. They may also, sometimes simultaneously, be

disempowering when the actions they take cause them to be rejected by their communities or cause conflict in the household.

Labour market

- Large-scale unemployment and the breakdown of pre-conflict economic structures yields a restructuring of labour supply and demand. As mentioned above, a shortage of male labour may necessitate or facilitate women's entry into paid work. However, the terms and conditions of work are usually unequal, as women are generally paid less and work more.
- Moreover, entrenched gender bias is likely to restrict the demand for women's labour to gender-stereotyped occupations such as sewing, knitting or typing, which are low paid. As a result, women are more likely to be under-employed than men. This often prevents women from taking advantage of opportunities arising out of reconstruction activities. In agriculture, this may entail the maintenance of a gender division between subsistence farming (women) and commercial farming (men), despite the actual work women perform, further restricting women's entry into more profitable activities.
- Overall, women's participation in the workforce is usually underestimated. In many conflict-affected countries, women work in the informal sector or in the home where their activities are not registered or defined as work. They are therefore thought to constitute a smaller portion of labour supply. This in particular affects women in rural areas where their farming activities are unregistered. Their lack of visibility in this area may prevent them from receiving assistance to increase their productivity.

Gender issues in emergency relief

- In the emergency phase, consideration of gender and community participation methodologies are often put aside for the sake of expediency (Date-Bah, 1996:13). Yet the systems for delivery and distribution of aid have significant impacts on gender dimensions in development. Male authority may be reified if men become the sole distributors of aid, making women dependent on them, thus opening the possibility for exploitation. Conversely, male authority may be undermined if not included in the process of distribution, which may provoke intra-household conflict including domestic violence.
- However, a number of the case studies illustrated that where women, particularly refugee women, were encouraged to achieve personal growth and progress through humanitarian assistance (income-generating activities, literacy, organizing in groups) their experiences were positive. Later, however, they were frustrated as the gains they made were thwarted by lack of follow-up support and male resistance.

Demobilization

- Demobilization of ex-combatants can take place in a variety of forms. In some situations, former soldiers are placed in camps where they are disarmed and provided with training, stipends, and other services. In other cases, there is no formal process. Regardless, however, male ex-combatants are seen as a threat to the peace and security of countries emerging from conflict and thus are targeted with special reintegration assistance. These efforts focus largely on men, without regard for female kin or female ex-combatants. Family issues and post-traumatic stress remain largely unaddressed.

Gender and peace accords

- Peace negotiations and agreements are commonly gender blind and therefore fail to establish a framework for mainstreaming gender into reintegration and reconstruction of all aspects of society (Date-Bah, 1996:14). In large part, the neglect of gender considerations stems from the noticeable absence of women at peace negotiations, though exceptions include Guatemala, South Africa, and Sierra Leone. Even there, the follow-up and concrete results of participation are nebulous. Consequently, gender issues are not put on the political agenda or seen in relation to conflict. Women are rarely found in decision-making structures or transitional governments in countries emerging from conflict, and thus their influence in forging policies is constrained.

Legal and institutional frameworks

- Law-making bodies are another key area in which women are largely absent, despite the fact that newly constituted governments revise statutes and laws on matters ranging from taxation to labour rights, all bearing significantly on the material condition and legal rights of women.
- Housing and land rights are extremely sensitive issues and among those which must be re-examined. Women, who are less likely to own title to property, may face serious difficulties in obtaining rights to property where patrilineal and customary laws are in force.
- Even where women may have a statutory right to buy, own, or inherit property, access to legal redress is often limited when their rights are violated. For poor women, lack of formal education and access to information may hinder knowledge of their rights. When women are informed, potential costs in both time and money of a legal battle may be prohibitive. Legal literacy programmes together with an increase in provision of women's legal advice centres and counsellors will work towards ensuring more equitable access to justice.
- The codification of customary laws may be seen as a way to unify the country around traditional ways. Often, however, customary laws are biased against women, undermining their rights and freedoms, and stand in contravention to national legislation as well as international instruments.

Heterogeneity of women affected by conflict

- It is essential to remember that gender is but one variable which cross-cuts populations which have been affected by conflict. As all of the case studies illustrated, class, race, religion, ethnicity, age, and ability are equally important when considering the impact of conflict on both women and men, whether ex-combatants, refugees, displaced, disabled persons or single-headed households.

Change in gender identities

- Underlying the changes noted above is a constant fluctuation of gender roles and identities. This reality may be in conflict with imposed notions of gender roles and relations, particularly where belligerent states seek to make gender identities more rigid by promoting polarized notions of masculinity and femininity as a means of exerting control. Where ideals of masculinity call for men to take up arms and be the protectors, "women become the bearers of the culture that the men are fighting to defend" (Byrne:14). Such glorified roles place additional stress on men and women who may not be willing or able to conform to the models. Indeed, the inability of men to live up to ideals of masculinity may lead to a loss of power and influence as well as self-respect. This will affect the ability of men to reintegrate into society, which in turn may have negative consequences on domestic life.
- The fluctuation of gender roles and identities during conflict does offer women transformative potential to advance their status. Yet renegotiating the sexual division of labour may well lead to an acceptance of an increased workload for women without a "parallel redefinition of male identities" (El Bushra and Piza Lopez:24).

2.3 Summary of issues and impacts

	Characteristics	Positive gender impacts	Negative
Type of conflict	Various: e.g. struggle against oppression (including wealth distribution, separatist or anti-colonialist struggles, etc.) Ethno-nationalism	Gender equality bound up in fight for freedom Women gain status in accepting roles	Lip service does not m assume tra equal statu Identity as imposed on Women be
Demographics	Increased household size	Breakdown in gender division of labour	Increased b on time. m

	<p>Decrease in male population</p> <p>Forced migration</p>	<p>New opportunities in education, rights, organizing</p>	<p>Fewer marriages, loss of labour, sale of land</p> <p>Dislocation, restriction of movement, exploitation</p>
<p>Community/ household structures</p>	<p>Breakup of communities</p> <p>Fear, mistrust</p> <p>Increase in FHHs</p>	<p>New autonomy and control in household decision-making</p>	<p>Loss of support</p> <p>Reticence in decision-making</p> <p>Rejection of traditional roles</p>
<p>Health</p>	<p>Focus on emergencies, general decline of health</p> <p>Uneven distribution of services, user fees</p> <p>Widespread trauma</p> <p>Increased disability</p>		<p>Unattended maternal and child health</p> <p>Increased burden of disease</p> <p>Constraints on reproductive choices, male preference</p> <p>Focus on women's trauma</p> <p>Unmarried women</p>
<p>Education</p>	<p>Interruption of education</p> <p>Gender gaps in literacy rates</p> <p>Destruction of schools, lack of teachers</p> <p>Costs</p> <p>New training</p>	<p>More opportunities for girls in absence of boys</p> <p>Opportunity to redesign less-biased textbooks and curricula, rebuild schools with girls in mind, increase quality and quantity of women teachers</p> <p>More opportunity for girls'/women's advancement</p>	<p>Ineligibility for social assistance because of displacement</p> <p>Continuing schooling</p> <p>Gender-stereotyped courses in health</p>
<p>Sexual violence, exploitation</p>	<p>Used as an act of war</p> <p>Abuse of power in the home</p>	<p>May lead to discussion of taboo subjects such as domestic violence</p>	<p>Trauma</p> <p>STDs and HIV/AIDS</p> <p>Ostracized</p>

			community Increased p economic in
Economy	Increased impoverishment from inflation, structural adjustment, disruption of domestic international trade markets	Women's entry into male-dominated activities	Loss of income Adoption of strategies Increased c
Labour market	High unemployment Shift in labour supply and demand Under-representation of women in labour market statistics Expansion of informal sector	Breakdown in gender-typed occupations Women may have comparative advantage	Male ex-com preference Opportuniti limited by g Women not labour supp Few safegu exploitation Men may u trades
Emergency relief	Rapid implementation Lack of participation not linked to development	Emergency care provided	Misundersta of gender r Mistakes di
Demobilization	Return of combatants to civilian life	Family reunification	Female ex- neglected Trauma and
Peace accords	High level Address conflict but not reconciliation	Cessation of violence Increased security	Women abs Gender issu related to c
Legal/institutional	Male-dominated institutions New constitution and laws Lack of enforcement mechanisms	Equality enshrined	Absence of issues Discriminat Restriction/ rights

	Customary laws		
Heterogeneity	Mix of identity markers	Holistic understanding	Competing
Gender identities	Competition between ideal and actual	Opportunity to change Different roles become acceptable	Change in r women ost

3. Guidelines for gender aware planning

Box 1: Planning principles

- Gender sensitivity
 - Information
 - Participation
 - Community
 - Coordination
- Any planning exercise must be grounded in a thorough understanding of the causes and nature of the conflict. This should include an application of the political, economic and social changes, consequences of the conflict and their impacts at the household, community, and national levels (Baden, 1997:81). Implicit herein are the gender dimensions as set out in the previous section.
 - For gender to be integrated into planning, planners themselves need to be sensitive and aware of gender issues. Where necessary, training should be provided to all staff and counterparts involved in the process to enable them to effectively mainstream gender concerns throughout the programme design, implementation, and evaluation.
 - Gender disaggregated statistics, gender analysis and assessment of gender needs are the tools employed by gender-sensitive planners and are essential in the information gathering stage of planning. Providing technical assistance to governmental bodies in the collection of gender-sensitive data can serve as an entry point for building up local institutions to more effectively identify and address gender issues and imbalances.
 - While there are numerous modules of gender analysis, Box 2 provides a useful tool in the form of a checklist for gender-sensitive information gathering, taking into consideration the constraints posed by conflict situations.

Box 2: A gender perspective in assessing needs in conflict situations:

a ten-point checklist

Even if there is little time to carry out full-scale research, avoid making the assumption that everybody's needs are the same.

Recognize that women may be relatively invisible and that conflict may keep them inside their homes more than at normal times. A determined effort may need to be made to seek out their opinions.

Recognize that psychological, social and cultural needs may be just as important in ensuring people's survival as the physical needs for food and shelter, and that meeting these can save lives too.

Seek information from a variety of different people, women as well as men, individuals as well as organized groups, etc.

Use simple flexible methods of research that do not require advanced skills or special equipment to implement, identify a small but manageable number of key indicators.

Identify how people are surviving through their own efforts and try to support these, rather than imposing an outsider's view of what is needed.

Identify the mechanisms that the community has itself put in place to assure that basic functions, including the protection of the most vulnerable, are carried out. It is normally best to work through these mechanisms, without necessarily offering them unquestioning support.

Identify a small number of particularly vulnerable families to monitor through regular in-depth interviews.

Write up your experiences and ensure that this information is shared and discussed with others addressing similar situations.

Adopt a disaster-preparedness strategy whereby all staff, including those working in areas not affected by conflict, have access to training that will strengthen their assessment, decision-making and management skills.

Source: El Bushra and Piza Lopez, 1993: 40.

- As stressed in the ILO Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries (1997) and in the checklist above, utilizing participatory strategies to gather information is an important means through which gender

issues are brought forward. It also offers the opportunity for women as well as other marginalized groups to have their knowledge recognized, thereby increasing their voice and visibility.

- Adopting a community-based focus for planning has gained currency among practitioners, as it is seen to be both developmental and gender sensitive (Voutira, 1995:21). It is also more holistic and responsive to needs of different communities; a conflict is likely to affect different regions of the same country in different ways. This approach is favoured over targeting assistance at constructed categories of war-affected populations, as will be discussed below.
- At the same time that consultation is occurring with local communities and the conflict-affected groups, discussions should be taking place with donors, local and international NGOs, international organizations, and governmental bodies to secure collaboration and cooperation rather than duplication and competition. The country studies demonstrated how the existence of similar projects funded by different donors further constrained already limited opportunities for women.

4. Gender guidelines for programmes

4.1 Principles

Box 3: Programme principles

- Information opportunities and constraints
- Inclusion
 - Community
 - Capabilities
 - Sustainability

- The processes of reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building aims to re-establish a kind of normalcy and stability, reconstituting community structures and reconstructing the physical, economic, political and social infrastructure. Thus, in the course of transition, there is the potential to create a more just and equitable society in which the role of employment and training can play a significant part in increasing the visibility and participation of previously marginalized groups, particularly women. A participatory planning and information-gathering exercise can be the first step toward reintegration programming through building consensus around priority projects.

- However, the inevitable scarcity of resources and the poverty arising from conflict are likely to breed further conflict between and within communities. In addition, communities may be re-created in a way which excludes certain groups. In the wake of nationalist or confessional struggles, for example, communities may become more homogeneous, rejecting non-members. Chapter 2 presented examples of the ways in which women can be ostracized from communities during a conflict, thus constituting major barriers to their reintegration.
- It should also be noted that gender role changes can render reintegration a difficult process for men, as they must find a role for themselves in households which survived without them (Byrne:21). The same is true for disabled and unemployed men or those who otherwise could not fulfil ideals of masculinity. As it is in the reintegration process that gender roles are first renegotiated in the household and community, the extent to which changes in gender roles are accepted will impact significantly on the ability of both men and women to reintegrate.
- While there are numerous constraints to the holistic rebuilding of conflict-affected countries, there are also opportunities which emerge through conflict. Both need to be weighed and considered. Box 4 below presents some examples.

Box 4: Constraints and opportunities to holistic rebuilding	
Constraints	Opportunities
Lingering tensions	Cessation of violence
Competing interests and priorities	Common goals around peace and prosperity
Exclusive community organization	Inclusion of new groups
Scarcity of land, employment, natural resources	New skills learned
Obstructionist authorities	New markets
War weariness, trauma	Democracy
Reified polarization of gender roles	Enthusiasm, hope
	Gender role changes

- As stressed in the ILO Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries, in order to overcome constraints and maximize opportunities, it is important to emphasize the salience of adopting an inclusionary community-based approach rather than focusing on target groups. All of the country studies

as well as related documentation (see below) concluded that the artificial construction of target groups is more damaging in the long term, both to individual beneficiaries and to communities as a whole. This is particularly the case where returning refugees are given priority.

Box 5: Excerpt from OECD DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace, and Development

"The selection of specific geographical areas for programme implementation allows the programme to avoid making artificial distinctions among population segments and to address the needs of displaced persons, refugees, demobilized former combatants and other victims of war without discrimination. The programmes also promote the participation of vulnerable populations in local development initiatives, ensuring an appropriate balance between the interests of the most active and organized local groups and those of lesser means."

Source: DAC, 1996:58.

- Moreover, there is evidence that projects which had target groups may be less successful: "Credit programmes that target specific groups have seldom become financially and institutionally sustainable and have often caused considerable distortions of the financial sector" (Nagarajan, 1996:9).
- From a gender perspective, as the case study from Lebanon points out, "categorizing women into displaced, widows or ex-combatants blurs the complex reality of their experiences during conflict" (Nauphal:71). Hence, it may not reveal the true source of their vulnerability or, conversely, it may assume helplessness and vulnerability which does not exist.
- Past practice has been to implement women-specific projects in an effort to guarantee benefits for and participation of women. This may in fact be most appropriate in certain circumstances, especially if advocated by women beneficiaries/participants themselves. In a tracer study of female ex-combatants, for example, respondents stated that they were only comfortable participating in projects with other women veterans (Maramba:25).
- However, other evidence suggests that programmes which involve both men and women are integral to strengthening the position of women and reducing gender conflict. In Guatemala, for example, women felt that "any initiative which fails to improve the position of men as well as women will, in their view, create greater rather than less gender conflict" (Loughna and Vicente:48). This is echoed by experience from elsewhere revealing that women have had to surrender their incomes to male kin or, worse, have been beaten by partners for earning an income.

- Interventions which segregate men and women are also likely to reinforce traditional roles, whereas the opportunity exists in the fluid context of conflict to find accommodation for role changes.
- However, this opportunity is missed in demobilization programmes which primarily target men. The focus of demobilization initiatives has been to channel male aggression into productive paid work. Post-traumatic stress syndrome is seldom addressed, nor is the stress of reuniting with the family. Concerns of women receiving their husbands after conflict also are unattended. Nor are the circumstances of female combatants fully considered. Even where women were able to attain a degree of equality with male colleagues (e.g. Tigrayan rebel forces) whilst serving in the armed forces, this is commonly reversed upon demobilization, disempowering and demoralizing women ex-combatants and compounding the hardship many are likely to face in other aspects of their lives. In Zimbabwe and a few other situations, such women have mobilized themselves into a group (Women Ex-combatants Association) to be able to empower themselves and to put pressure on the authorities to obtain the same treatment as their male counterparts, such as in access to demobilization benefits. This demonstrates the importance of group mobilization as a strategy.

Box 6: Challenges faced by female ex-combatants in Mozambique

In Mozambique, the level of distress experienced by female ex-combatants was reported to be higher than that of their male counterparts. Reasons for the discrepancy were cited as the reluctance of men to admit psychological problems, the higher degree of social isolation of women in urban areas (of whom 85 per cent are living away from their areas of origin and a higher percentage with no family support), the difficulties faced by urban women in enacting traditional purification ceremonies, leading to increased feelings of marginalization or the fact that male roles in war are socially sanctioned (whereas female roles are not), causing a sense of alienation and lack of acceptance among women combatants (Baden, 1996:65).

- Often ignored also are the skills and education women obtained while in the military. In Lebanon, women were encouraged by their female troop leaders to further their education, which assisted them in the transitional period and gave them an advantage over their male counterparts (Nauphal:47). In Zimbabwe as well, women in the armed forces were given informal training as nurses during the struggle. However, the lack of formal training and secondary school education prevented army nurses from qualifying to join in the civilian nursing profession (Maramba:21). These examples highlight the need to recognize and capitalize on positive achievements of women veterans.
- It is obvious that conflict creates or intensifies vulnerabilities. Less apparent are the capabilities individuals and communities possess. A helpful framework was

developed in the context of disaster-preparedness based on the notion that "Even if [people] have lost all their possessions, they have their own abilities to work and the skills and knowledge with which to produce" (Anderson and Woodrow: 47). The capabilities and vulnerabilities matrix is a useful tool in identifying individual and community-based strengths and weaknesses. It was later adapted (see below) to take gender into account.

	Vulnerabilities		Capabilities	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Physical/material				
Social/organizational				
Motivational/attitudinal				

Source: Anderson and Woodrow, 1989; adapted in Oxfam Gender Training Manual, 1994.

- Thus, projects should seek to identify existing capacities and strategies (as noted in the checklist) and those developed during the conflict, strengthening those which were effective. Recognizing womens abilities may facilitate greater acceptance of non-traditional roles. Care must be taken, however, to ensure that initiatives do not create additional hardship for women in terms of additional workloads or socially unacceptable practices. Some capabilities may emerge in participatory planning discussions or in labour skills analysis. Often, however, skills acquired or utilized by women are not recognized as formal skills, or women may not want to admit to having extended their skills during conflict. Yet, this is an opportunity to turn the negatives of conflict into positives in peace. In Lebanon, for example, some women "expressed pride in the fact they were able to feed their family and pay their childrens school fees" (Nauphal:45). Capability strengthening is more likely to lead to a sustainable situation and assist in mitigating risk to future shocks.
- For programmes to succeed, information about available opportunities must reach the widest possible audience. Again, there may be some members within the community who are excluded. Where consultations are only held with elders or local councils, women miss out as they are rarely part of formal community structures, and there may be resistance to the inclusion of women in programmes. Moreover, language and literacy present obstacles for women with little or no formal education.

4.2 The labour market

- The ILO Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries states that the labour market can either be inclusive or exclusive. For

marginalized sectors of society, women among them, the labour market can also be a source of empowerment or exploitation. As a major constraint to women's economic advancement has been the vertical and horizontal segregation in the workforce, restructuring of the labour market after conflict should seek to avoid recreating this pattern. Working towards a more equitable arrangement will require long-term and continuous changes in all sectors and at all levels. Important first steps should be taken in the development of labour market information systems, the institutional level, and legal and regulatory frameworks.

- The personnel and methodology involved in data collection are vitally important in ensuring that women are accurately represented and therefore have access to greater opportunities. The problems associated with the under-representation of women and under-estimation of their productive capacities have already been highlighted. Capacity building of local partners and institutions should therefore contain a component in gender awareness in data collection and analysis. Simple steps such as declassifying job openings by gender where that occurs can be one way in opening up the labour market and reducing bias. Similarly, key informants, among whom should be women and women's organizations, should have a proven understanding of gender issues and acceptance of gender-sensitive methodologies.
- There are a number of ways in which institutions can be supported and be supportive of a more inclusive and just labour market system. Labour ministries could be provided with training in gender awareness. This could be reinforced by including indicators of acceptance and application of gender aware practice in performance appraisal reviews. Sufficiently resourced gender focal points could be placed in bureaux responsible for drafting labour laws and economic policies. It may also help to increase the profile and status of women lawyers, economists, and other professionals. Given usual institutional resistance to mainstreaming gender, it is also critical, as suggested in the ILO Guidelines for employment promotion and training in conflict-affected countries, to include and support civil society groups such as labour unions and women's organizations in promoting policies and practices which will correct past imbalances. Civil society groups can also serve an important "watchdog" and advocacy function. Strengthening the position and capacity of women within trade unions will provide more effective representation of women workers. This does not entail the artificial promotion of women within trade unions, but a recognition of the equality between trade union members and the acceptance of the importance of women's contribution to the trade union and the labour force.
- These groups should also play an important role in the redrafting of laws and regulations. As noted above, the labour market can be a source of exploitation, discrimination and marginalization of women. Hence, the drafting and promulgation of a new labour code, such as after conflict, should move toward

reversing past imbalances. Equality in hiring, promotion, and remuneration must be guaranteed. Provisions for family leave (as opposed simply to maternity leave) are also key. Over-protective legislation, however, can maintain exclusion of women from "male" sectors of work. It should also be noted that labour legislation rarely covers the informal and rural sectors. Thus, women - who constitute the majority of workers in these areas particularly prone to exploitation - remain unprotected by standard statutes.

- As domestic property is the place of employment for many women in conflict-affected countries, the determination of property rights can be seen as an issue related to correcting past and preventing future injustices in the labour market. With lives and livelihoods at stake, property rights are among the most contentious issues to be addressed and may have even been a prime catalyst of the conflict. The situation is worsened when property has been expropriated and illegally redistributed. In many conflict-affected countries, women's access to land/property is determined through male relations, thus restricting the ability of single women and female-headed households to full ownership rights (in many cases, the means of production).
- A diverse range of women's organizations should also be supported in monitoring the application of justice to the different constituencies they represent. As women's groups like other "special interest groups" are marginalized, efforts must be made to bring their voices from the periphery to the centre. These measures will work not only toward securing the protection of women's legal rights and advancement of their status, but will impact positively on the creation of a social structure which is a building block of democracy and sustainable peace.
- The "new environment" to be created offers tremendous potential for the advancement of women. It should be one which seeks to correct structural imbalances between men and women in the home, workplace, and community through an acceptance of changing gender roles and relations. In other words, the new environment must be one which sees gender justice as inseparable from social justice and thus a key to lasting and durable peace.

4.3 Employment-intensive works programme

- The ILO Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries points out that infrastructure rehabilitation and extension are considered vital to the social, economic, and political cohesion of a society. In this respect, they should also be seen as critical to improving the situation of women. The construction of pit latrines, bore holes, schools and clinics alleviates the burdens of women deriving from their roles as health-care providers and child minders. Removal of landmines will reduce the risk for women who work in fields and collect wood and water. Repairing roads and bridges will improve access to markets and facilitate family and community reunification.

- While these practical needs may be met, women's strategic interests in reconstruction of infrastructure may not necessarily be served if they are not included as full participants in the decision-making, planning, and implementation of public works projects. Bringing women into the planning, design, and construction phases of physical rehabilitation will better serve their long-term interests as they are made active agents in the decision-making apparatus. Moreover, encouraging an inclusive process which will produce benefits accruing to the whole community is also likely to consolidate the reintegration process and contribute toward peace-building.
- There are a number of positive examples of the active participation of women in public works and construction projects (e.g. Cambodia and India). Where participation rates have been low, reasons extend beyond cultural constraints, as found in a gender analysis of the feeder road project in Mozambique. There, steps toward increasing the rate of women's participation included:

sensitization and training of staff in relation to gender issues; plans, strategies, indicators for improving women's participation; coordination with women's organizations in project areas; preparation and distribution of guidelines for recruitment; improved information and opportunities available to women; resolution of problems faced by women including health, child care, and acquisition of food stuffs; avoiding site camps; and action to recruit more educated women.

(Baden, 1996:33-34).

- The skills acquired and used in public works programmes are more diverse and have greater market value than traditionally "female skills." They also challenge notions of gender-typed occupations. Increasing women's participation in these initiatives has the potential to improve both the condition and position of women.

4.4 Vocational training

- Vocational training presents another opportunity to build on or develop skills in order to enhance prospects for employment and increase income earnings. Yet, training opportunities for women are also often narrowly constrained to low-paid gender-typed occupations, despite inevitable changes that have taken place in the labour market and the roles women assumed during conflict. It is therefore likely to maintain the exclusion of women from more productive sectors in the economy and reinforce stereotypes and discrimination in the workforce.
- There are a number of shortcomings of vocational training programmes which can inhibit the participation of and benefits for both men and women, though women may be more adversely affected, given their gender roles and disadvantaged position in society. These shortcomings include:

time and place of training may restrict the participation of women who are unable to travel distances (given domestic obligations, cultural constraints, travel costs); lack of crèche facilities; lack of job placement assistance and interview coaching; lack of follow-up and refresher courses; high education eligibility requirements/assumption of no skills; training periods too short to achieve a level of competence; training in fields unrelated to economic growth sectors; shortage of women trainers, principals, and planners; and not using a wide range of training providers as required in the exigencies of conflict.

- Overcoming these obstacles does require more time in programme planning and implementation. However, undertaking measures to address these problems would enable women to profit from both increased earning potential and enhanced confidence. The ILO Guidelines for employment promotion and skills training in conflict-affected countries stresses that training provision should be demand driven. As noted, this principle has not been seen to apply to programmes targeting women.
- Prior to initiating a training programme, it is necessary to identify both employment opportunities and existing skills. Again, the skills that women possess are often not recognized or valued, even by women themselves. This would seem to call for a broader interpretation and understanding of skills. Skills identified should be evaluated in relation to the market and economic viability of those abilities. From there, in consultation with participants, decisions could be made as to whether upgrading skills or retraining is the best option for providing the means to a more profitable livelihood. Literacy and basic education should be included in the available training package.
- This process will also help to draw out abilities for upgrading, which may be bypassed as a result of gender bias. In Mozambique, for example, "formal training in agriculture is provided to men, whilst women are the major producers, so that extensionists have limited access to women farmers" (Baden:50).
- The organization of training is also a key to success. Flexibility in times and locations should be maintained and established in consultation with participants in order to respond to the constraints on women's time and mobility. Community-based programmes and on-site child-care facilities will also facilitate the participation of women who have responsibility for child care and may be otherwise restricted from travelling outside their localities. Establishing crèches at training centres with a largely male participant base is a bold step which would further challenge entrenched gender roles. Recruiting female trainers, particularly in non-traditional fields, is also important as they may serve as a positive model for trainees as well as making women participants feel more comfortable. Moreover, trainers should be gender aware, and gender sensitivity should be a key component of training of trainers' courses. The inclusion of women in the planning and design stages will serve to highlight these and other relevant issues.

- As skills not only need to be learned, but also practised, it is important to consider the tools and methods used for teaching. Advanced and expensive machinery, fertilizer, etc. which participants do not have access to outside the course or which may break down will limit the practical application of the skills acquired. This is particularly so when courses are too short to achieve full competency. Refresher courses should be made available for participants who have not been able to practice or employ their skills. To ensure that training will lead to improved livelihoods, assistance should be provided in job placement, on-the-job training should be arranged, and follow-up visits should be made by extension workers.
- Training in non-traditional areas may seem a daunting challenge, but is not impossible. In fact, the lack of male labour and the necessity of taking on male tasks can ease the entry of women into formerly gender-restricted areas. This was evidenced in Mozambique: "In the Active Employment Promotion Centre in Inhambane, a number of women are being trained in panel beating, plumbing and other non-traditional skills. This is because of the high proportion of female-headed households in the area and because women participants themselves have spread the word about the courses rather than a result of active attempts to recruit more women." (Baden: 51)
- A gender-sensitive approach to training can also help to reduce conflict in the household. In Lebanon, the René Moawad Foundation provides training to destitute women in sewing and in agriculture, recognizing the importance of women in this sector. It has adopted a family-integrated approach whereby the programmes aim to address the needs of women both in relation to men and to society. Moreover, the Foundation has taken on the issue of men's negative attitudes towards women by including the relevant groups in participatory development projects (Nauphal:77).
- Strategies for alleviating poverty and providing necessary services at the community and household levels should again draw on and strengthen existing resources. Here, training and skills upgrading can play a central role. Given the shortage of health-care facilities, upgrading the skills of midwives and traditional healers can help to fill the gap. Training and resource support for local teachers can provide education that may be otherwise inaccessible. Community-run day-care centres and child-care arrangements between households could also be explored. Training needs will emerge through discussions with affected communities. At the same time, social welfare departments need strengthening to cope with a heavy case load. Developing a cooperative relationship with informal providers, such as women's organizations, may lead to more effective service provision.
- Training programmes also provide a space for transferring life skills. Information on nutrition, primary health care, family planning, AIDS awareness, etc. can be

made available through instructors or referrals. Introducing legal literacy and gender awareness for self-assertiveness would add value to the course. It is vital that all such issues are discussed with male and female participants. While it is true that women are generally the primary health care providers for their families, gender roles will not change unless efforts are made to extend knowledge of "female responsibilities" to men. Additionally, research has shown that AIDS programmes directed toward the whole community are more effective than those which only target women. Training programmes can impart life skills indirectly through community-building activities including problem solving and consensus building.

4.5 Promoting small and micro businesses and entrepreneurship

- Micro enterprises and micro credit can provide opportunities for income generation in the absence of a formal economic structure. As women are less likely to earn income in the formal sector and more likely to be impoverished and dependent on aid, these interventions have frequently targeted women with a view toward increasing their economic autonomy and self-sufficiency.
- However, the level of success in achieving these objectives is negligible. From the country studies as well as other literature, there appear to be two related flaws in business programme design which have restricted success. Though they are common among other programmes, they were found to be particularly pronounced in business promotion and entrepreneurship.
- First is the short-termism associated with the programmes. Although initiatives are designed to provide a source of income in the shortest possible time, the broader objective should be long-term sustainability. At the same time, as programmes are focused on meeting immediate or practical gender needs (income for food, clothing, shelter, etc), the longer-term objective of realizing strategic gender interests is not fully taken into account (e.g. structural inequality). These combined factors found across the country studies have produced the following results:

gender-stereotyped business promotion (sewing, knitting, handicraft production); over-saturation of the market of gender-typed goods; inadequate and unrealistic assessment of market conditions; insufficient income; use of credit/loans for maintenance; lack of training; poor management; lack of local input; restrictive eligibility criteria.

- Amazingly, in all four country case studies, sewing projects predominated as income-generating schemes. This is a common denominator not of women's abilities, but of programmes where there has been little effort invested in finding locally marketable and diverse business opportunities. And while women may opt for gender-stereotyped trades, that may be more reflective of cultural norms and a lack of encouragement in pursuing other non-traditional areas than their own

interests and ability to generate income. While gender-typed businesses may also be preferred as many can be combined with reproductive tasks, notably child care, the expansion or development of crèche facilities and other measures to alleviate domestic obligations can be introduced. In addition, gender-typed businesses are more likely to be poorly paid in the informal sector with little opportunity to transfer into more profitable sectors of the economy.

- In agriculture, women's activities are construed as reproductive rather than productive. As a consequence, access to extension services and credit to improve productivity and marketing of farm products is constrained. Women in rural areas are further neglected by lack of accessibility to urban areas and lack of outreach to remote areas where the poorest sectors can be found.
- Regulations pertaining to credit and other formal financial services may be biased against the poor in general and women specifically. Collateral may necessarily exclude women who do not own anything of value in their name. Additionally, high interest rates may further restrict women's access to credit. While informal financial services may address the gap in formal lending, altering the structure of formal banking systems to acknowledge small lenders as important economic actors would break down marginalization.
- Where efforts have been successful, terms have been flexible, and a realistic market analysis has been conducted with full training and support. Other measures, such as informal savings mechanisms, have also been found effective in enhancing the economic autonomy and viability of women entrepreneurs (Baden:84).
- Credit programmes implemented through solidarity groups have also been more successful in increasing repayment rates. It is also a mechanism that can strengthen trust within communities. Where possible, solidarity groups including both men and women should be experimented with to emphasize equality.
- Similarly, the provision of resources to a community can present "an opportunity to initiate a process of rebuilding trust and reciprocity ... such processes need to be built into the design of interventions to ensure that women are represented on local management committees" (Baden, 1997:85). Such a strategy, if implemented as above, would serve to address practical needs in providing necessary resources while moving toward identification of strategic interests by increasing women's role in decision-making within community structures.

4.6 Social security and protection

- The ILO Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries makes the important link between social justice and social peace, emphasizing the need for effective social security protection mechanisms in

countries emerging from conflict. The key social security mechanisms laid out in the ILO Guidelines as critical for consolidating peace are of course applicable here. These include:

guarantee of access to medical care; guarantee of basic resources; and guarantee of an effective right to social integration and reintegration.

- At the same time, there are particular gender issues linked to social security and protection. In this document, it has been illustrated that poor women often have disadvantaged access to resources necessary for basic survival. In some cases, this has compelled them to adopt dangerous and damaging livelihood strategies. The guarantee of basic resources for living may prevent women from having to undertake unsafe or socially unacceptable practices that may make them more vulnerable in the long term.
- Similarly, the importance of a broadly defined social insurance package is highlighted by the fact that unemployment insurance, as the only form of income support, does not reach many of the women who are most in need. In developing countries, women predominate in the informal sectors where they are not included among the registered employed. They do not contribute to unemployment insurance and therefore do not benefit from employment-related social benefits or support.
- With regard to eligibility for social benefits, definitions should be made with care and should consider particularities of new groups of vulnerable created by conflict. One category often neglected is that of women whose husbands remain missing. As their husbands have not been declared dead, these women are not entitled to support or services available for widows. This difficulty compounds the emotional and economic stress they endure.
- Additionally, it has also been illustrated that households can expand to absorb orphan children and elderly relatives for whom women have principal responsibility. Consideration should be given to provision of caretaker benefits that would ease the pressure on household resources.
- The expansion of a network of child-care facilities under the social service sector would contribute immeasurably to women's ability to generate an income. The increased availability of supported or subsidized crèches would increase women's mobility and allow greater access to work opportunities outside the home. Simultaneously, it would signal the recognition of women's important role in and contribution to the productive sector.
- Social insurance which includes access to basic medical services is key to women as the primary health providers for the family. Costs often inhibit poor families to

seek medical attention, which may prevent conditions that could lead to long-term disability or death from being treated.

5. Guidelines for the ILO

5.1 General principles

- The International Labour Organization Recommendation No. 71 on Employment (Transition from War to Peace), 1944, expressed a commitment to gender equality:

"The redistribution of women workers in the economy should be organized on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, without prejudice to the provisions of the international labour conventions and recommendations concerning the employment of women."

- This commitment should be seen as inseparable from constructing a just society, as the active inclusion and participation of women in the processes of reintegration, reconstruction, and peace-building is integral to constructing a more just and equitable society which constitutes the foundations of lasting peace.
- Mainstreaming gender throughout the key products of the ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict and the production of gender guidelines reflect this commitment. The latter reflects a more profound understanding of the gender dimension of conflict that now exists and the implications for reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building.
- As the earlier chapters have indicated, men and women respond to and experience conflict differently, both benefiting and suffering from its impacts. The challenge therefore for ILO programmes is to recognize and capitalize on positive changes which have emerged, while mitigating the negative consequences.
- Although women may be at greater risk of impoverishment and forms of physical violence, their ability to adapt and take on new roles demonstrates a survivor mentality presenting opportunities to be built upon. It is thus necessary to recognize women as active agents in the redevelopment of their communities, not just victims and beneficiaries of aid.

5.2 Programme guidelines

Labour market

- In its advisory capacity, the ILO is well placed to assist governments, the social partners and labour-related institutions to create a framework for a more equitable labour market structure after conflict.
- Attention should be paid to past discrimination and inequalities in the labour market so as to rectify and not repeat imbalances. At the same time, it is necessary to support the positive gender role changes which have occurred. Toward this end, steps should be taken which include an analysis of the previous structure of the labour market, labour laws, income disparities, hiring practices, etc. Womens bureaux in labour unions as well as other womens groups should serve as key resources.

Employment-intensive works

- Efforts being made by ILO labour-intensive programmes to include women should be strengthened. Women should be included not only as labourers, but as planners, designers, and engineers in labour-intensive projects. The reconstruction of physical infrastructure is of great value to women whose productive and reproductive tasks were made more difficult by conflict-related damage and disruption. Their input into the various phases is valuable as members of the community and primary users. To facilitate greater participation of women, measures such as flexible working hours and the provision of child-care facilities should be taken to alleviate their other burdens.

Vocational training

- The ILO should contribute to building the capacity of training providers to avoid at all costs gender biases and assumptions. During conflict, women demonstrate their ability to step out of socially ascribed roles to respond to crises confronting them. Vocational training programmes should capitalize on this by offering courses in sectors which are likely to be more profitable and responsive to emerging demands for skills than traditionally feminine fields. Value can be added to the courses by including components on confidence building and assertiveness skills. At the same time, mixed-sex training, in addition to skill diversification, should be explored where appropriate as it contributes to the breakdown of gender stereotypes.
- Barriers to womens participation in training programmes should also be addressed, including the provision of basic education, flexibility in the location of facilities, time of classes and child-care arrangements. Extending and expanding vocational training to women will improve the overall quality of the workforce while offering women increased opportunities to acquire the skills necessary for socio-economic advancement in the challenging conflict-affected context.

Promoting small and micro businesses and entrepreneurship

- Business services, marketing advice and credit should be extended to women entrepreneurs with a view toward helping them develop or expand businesses and increase profits. The ILO should support programmes in small and micro business promotion which view their objective as the long-term economic autonomy and empowerment of women, rather than as short-term poverty alleviation. As one of the principal impediments to increasing profits of women entrepreneurs has been the concentration of less profitable gender-typed products, efforts should focus on assisting women to identify and develop market niches for more valuable goods. The ILO could provide advisory services and technical assistance in developing micro-credit schemes that pay sufficient attention to the specifics of the conflict-affected contexts in order to reach those, including women, who are in greatest need.
- Other relevant roles the ILO could play are fully spelled out in a concise form in the Draft ILO policy on conflict-affected countries, adopted by the International Seminar on the Reintegration of Conflict-Affected Groups through Skills Training and Employment Promotion, November 1997. In addition, they are also put forward in detail in Towards a framework for ILO policy and action in the conflict-affected context (ILO, Geneva, 1997). The ILO could play a critical role in advocacy to draw attention to the importance of skills training and employment promotion in reintegration of the diverse conflict-affected groups, reconstruction of their societies and building of sustainable peace. In addition, it could highlight the crucial relevance of integrating women workers rights and also gender concerns into these processes. Monitoring the application of international labour standards, such as ILO Convention No. 111 on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation), 1958, and Convention No. 100 on Equal Remuneration, 1951, remains particularly relevant in relation to conflict-affected countries.

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Outputs

Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict (1996/1997)

(a) Key products:

ILO: Towards a framework for ILO policy and action in the conflict-affected context: Training and employment promotion for sustainable peace (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

ILO: ILO policy on conflict-affected countries, draft statement adopted by the ILO Interregional Seminar on the Reintegration of Conflict-Affected Groups (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

ILO: Guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

ILO: Gender guidelines for employment and skills training in conflict-affected countries (Geneva, ILO 1998).

ILO: Employment for peace: The ILO's comprehensive programme of technical assistance to conflict-affected countries (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

ILO: Compendium of employment promotion initiatives in the conflict-affected countries (Draft, Geneva, ILO).

ILO: Capacity building of employment promoters in conflict-affected countries: A training package (Draft, Geneva, ILO).

ILO: Quick access to recommendations and findings of the "Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict" (Geneva, 1998).

(b) Working papers, reports and other materials

Baden, S.: Post-conflict Mozambique: Women's special situation, population issues and gender perspectives to be integrated into skills training and employment promotion (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

Bryant, C.A.: Training and employment programmes for war-affected populations: Lessons from experience in Mozambique (ILO, Geneva, May 1997).

Cramer, C.; Weeks, J.: Analytical foundations of employment and training programmes in conflict-affected countries (Geneva, ILO, Dec. 1997).

Date-Bah, E.: Sustainable peace after war: Arguing the need for major integration of gender perspectives in post-conflict programming (ILO, Geneva, May 1996).

---: ILO experiences in rebuilding conflict-affected communities through employment promotion, paper presented at Round Table on Rebuilding Communities Affected by Armed Conflict (Philippines, June 1997).

Dilli, D.: Handbook - Accessibility and tool adaptations for disabled workers in post-conflict and developing countries (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

Gassama, M.: Role of the Ministry of Labour and other labour institutions in reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building processes: The case of Sierra Leone (Draft, Geneva, ILO, 1998).

Hakemulder, R.: Promoting local economic development in a war-affected country: The ILO experience in Cambodia (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

ILO: ILO and conflict-affected peoples and countries: Promoting lasting peace through employment promotion (Turin, ILO, 1997).

---: Towards a model for dynamic training support of ILO constituents: Promoting employment in conflict-affected countries (Geneva, ILO 1997).

---: Trade unions in conflict-affected countries: Experiences and roles in peace negotiation, social healing, reconstruction and development, Report on a meeting for workers' delegates (Geneva, June 1997).

---: Report of the ILO Interregional Seminar on Reintegration of Conflict-affected Groups through Skills Training and Employment Promotion (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

---: "From war to work: Giving peace - and people - a chance", in World of Work, No. 20, (Geneva, ILO, June 1997).

---: "Employment generation," chapter in Role of the UN system in post-conflict recovery (Geneva, ILO, 1997)

---: Challenges for skills training and employment promotion in a country emerging from armed conflict, Report on an ILO Seminar, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, October 1997 (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

---: The role of the ILO in reconstruction of conflict-affected countries, in Proposal for the agenda of the 88th Session (2000) of the International Labour Conference, GB. 270/P (Rev.2) (Geneva, ILO, November 1997).

L'OIT et les populations et pays affectés par un conflit: Promouvoir une paix durable par la promotion de l'emploi (BIT Genève, 1997).

La OIT y los pueblos y países afectados por conflictos: El fomento de una paz duradera mediante la promoción del empleo (OIT, Ginebra, 1997).

Lobner, S.: Life skills for the world of work: Experiences in South Africa (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

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Muhumuza, R. (with Poole, J.): Guns into ox ploughs: A study on the situation of conflict-affected youth in Uganda and their reintegration into society through training, employment and life skills programmes (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

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Walsh, M.: Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina: Integrating women's special situation and gender perspectives in skills training and employment promotion programmes (Geneva, ILO, 1997).

(c) External seminars/meetings organized

Interregional Seminar on the Reintegration of Conflict-Affected Groups through Skills Training and Employment Promotion, 3-7 November 1997, Turin, Italy.

Seminar on Challenges for Skills Training and Employment Promotion in a Country Emerging from Armed Conflict, 7-10 October, 1997, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Consultative Meeting for Workers' Delegates on the Trade Unions' roles in Peace Negotiation, Social Healing, Reconstruction and Development, 17 June 1997, Geneva.

Other outputs

ILO: Database on employment promotion in the conflict-affected context (Geneva, ILO, December 1997).

Under preparation

Date-Bah, E: Employment for reintegration, reconstruction and sustainable peace-building: Analytical synthesis (Geneva, ILO).

Date-Bah, E.; Walsh, M: Conflict, gender and jobs: Challenges for reintegration, reconstruction and peace-building (Geneva, ILO)

1. ¹ However, the increased number of reported incidents may reflect the availability of services and a changed environment in which the issue can be discussed, which did not exist before the war.

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