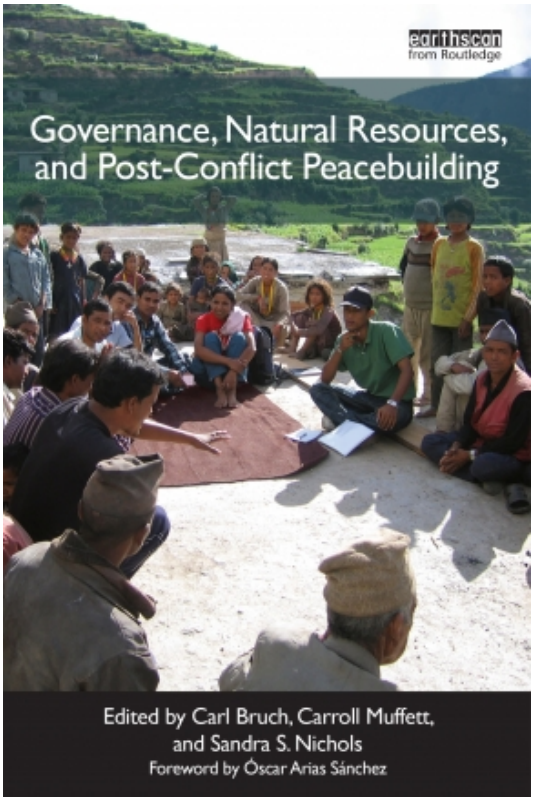

Integrating Gender into Post-Conflict Natural Resource Management

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Integrating gender into post-conflict natural resource management

Njeri Karuru and Louise H. Yeung

Natural resources are central to post-conflict peacebuilding: they make it possible for conflict-torn societies to meet basic needs, and they support many livelihoods that are essential to reconstruction and recovery. In many post-conflict situations, women have a unique relationship to natural resources because of the tasks that are traditionally assigned to them—collecting water, gathering fuel, and tending crops, for example. But this crucial nexus of gender and natural resources is rarely given the attention it deserves. That gender considerations are typically neglected in peace negotiations and peace agreements, which set the foundation for social, economic, and political recovery, is troubling.

In times of conflict, when men leave their communities to serve as combatants, traditional gender roles may shift: women may take over as heads of households, increase their participation in community decision making (Greenberg and Zuckerman 2009), and gain greater control over the management of land, water, and other natural resources that are essential to livelihoods. But when conflict ends and men begin to return home, it may be difficult for women to sustain the positions they held in the absence of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. To create and implement effective peacebuilding initiatives, the international community must recognize and understand such successive, conflict-driven shifts in gender roles. In addition, the hardships that women face in post-conflict situations must be addressed. These hardships often fall outside traditional conceptions of post-conflict security and may not be immediately apparent to men, who typically dominate the peacebuilding process.

The post-conflict period presents a unique opportunity to rebuild institutions in such a way as to redress social, economic, and political inequities. In particular, the increased funding and international attention that accompany peacebuilding can be directed to support not only gender equality and the improved management of natural resources, but also the connections between the two. Creating natural resource governance structures that reflect women's skills, experiences, and needs

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allows for a more robust recovery and the establishment of more equitable and sustainable institutions. When it comes to the post-conflict restoration of livelihoods, gender equity is not just a matter of basic human rights; practically speaking, it is also a critical aspect of economic revitalization: when women are not integrated into the peacebuilding process, the value of their perspectives and contributions to economic recovery.

This chapter explores the ways in which women, and their relationship to natural resources, can be integrated into peacebuilding, with particular attention to two issues: women's participation in peace negotiations and peace agreements, and the value of gender analysis in efforts to redress inequities. The chapter is divided into four major parts: (1) an overview of the relationships among natural resources, gender analysis, and peacebuilding; (2) a discussion of the role of natural resources and gender in the context of peace negotiations and agreements; (3) an analysis of opportunities for gender mainstreaming in particular peacebuilding contexts; and (4) concluding remarks on considerations for integrating gender and natural resources moving forward.

NATURAL RESOURCES, GENDER ANALYSIS, AND PEACEBUILDING

Gender refers to culturally determined roles, responsibilities, and obligations. Gender roles directly affect men's and women's access to resources that are important to economic, political, and social development (Kabonesa 2005). In many countries, the task of collecting water and wood, for example, often falls to women and girls. But several studies indicate that during and after conflict, particularly in areas where the presence of soldiers has increased, women and children face heightened risks of physical or sexual assault during natural resource collection. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), for example, women risk being sexually assaulted by army or rebel soldiers when they leave the safety of camps (either refugee camps or camps for internally displaced persons) in order to gather firewood.[1] According to one study, in the year leading up to October 2010, more than 15,000 rapes were committed in the DRC as a consequence of the proximity of armed forces and the mingling of armed forces with civilians (UNSC 2010). Another survey, conducted in Liberia, found that more than 89 percent of rapes were perpetrated by combatants, and that women were significantly concerned about rape when leaving their villages to retrieve water (Burt and Keiru 2014). The violence women experience in conflict and post-conflict situations affects how they define peace. In numerous case studies undertaken in post-conflict situations, women defined peace as freedom from violence at the local as well as the regional and national levels. Men, in contrast,

[1] For a discussion on humanitarian and development agencies' efforts to address human security issues in the DRC, see Jim Jarvie, "Natural Resource Management and Post-Conflict Settings: Programmatic Evolution in a Humanitarian and Development Agency," in this book.

are more focused on the absence of armed conflict, the availability of jobs, and the lack of corruption (Cardona et al. 2012).

In post-conflict situations, gender analysis can not only identify the challenges that women face in accessing and using natural resources, but can also help with the design of policies and programs to improve women's circumstances. To ensure that policies holistically address peacebuilding needs and that programming draws upon the skills and strengths of all stakeholders, it is first necessary to gain a full understanding of the particular context; this is where gender analysis comes into play. Gender analysis, a component of policy analysis, is used to identify the differential effects of policies on each gender (UNDP 2001), and thereby facilitate effective programming throughout the peacebuilding process. In practical terms, gender analysis employs needs assessments and consultations with various stakeholder groups to gain an understanding of (1) gender dynamics and perspectives within a given community, and (2) potential gender disparities that may result from various policy options. This understanding, in turn, makes it possible to design programs that will incorporate public input, meet the needs of the community as a whole, and be implemented by both men and women. Because neither men nor women are monolithic demographic groups, and because many factors other than gender contribute to the differences between them, gender analysis also incorporates additional factors, including ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic class, and age (Troell 2008).

When gender analysis is appropriately integrated into programming for peacebuilding activities, women and other marginalized groups gain the opportunity to contribute their skills and perspectives to program development. And when women assume roles as educators, natural resource managers, entrepreneurs, and policy makers, they become agents of post-conflict redevelopment instead of merely beneficiaries of policies.

NATURAL RESOURCES, GENDER, AND PEACE AGREEMENTS

In recent decades, peace agreements have begun to include provisions on both natural resources and gender, but generally as independent issues rather than as concerns that are inherently related to one another. This section briefly reviews the role of natural resources and gender in peace agreements, then discusses ways to address their interrelationship in the context of both peace negotiations and peace agreements.

Natural resources and peace agreements

Although natural resources play a significant role in conflict, few peace agreements comprehensively address them. According to the United Nations Environment Programme, in cases where conflict has been linked to natural resources, less than 25 percent of peace agreements address natural resource management and governance (UNEP 2009). Another analysis, which focused on ninety-four peace agreements made worldwide between 1989 and 2004, found that 54 percent of the agreements broadly addressed the relevance of natural resources to the conflict

and peacebuilding, but only 30 percent included specific provisions for natural resource management.[2] In peace agreements, natural resources are most often addressed as part of a wealth-sharing protocol, as was the case in both the Sudanese 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement.

The case literature suggests that addressing natural resources in peace agreements can provide a strong foundation for peacebuilding; however, such agreements should address natural resources in ways that reflect both their role in the conflict and their potential to contribute to post-conflict recovery and confidence building.[3]

Gender and peace agreements

Peace agreements focus on an immediate end to armed conflict; thus, gender concerns are often assigned lower priority. But because these agreements set the stage for the entire peacebuilding process, failure to address certain issues, such as gender, usually means that such issues are neglected or only given lip service. During the peace process to resolve the conflict in Darfur, for example, gender issues were not even raised until the seventh round of discussions, when the African Union (AU), with technical support from the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM),[4] tried to incorporate a gender dimension. By that point, however, the draft agreement was already in place, and further changes could not be made.

Two landmark documents specifically address the importance of women's participation in peace negotiations and agreements:

- At the international level, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSC 2000), adopted in 2000, specifically "acknowledges the contribution of women as peace makers and agents of change for peace beyond the status of victims of armed conflicts and enables women's organizations to gain leverage on getting access to official peace negotiation" (Puechguirbal 2005, 2). (For UN recognition of women's role in peacebuilding, see sidebar.)
- At the regional level, the AU's Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa was intended, among other goals, to "ensure the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace process [*sic*] including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa . . ." (AU 2004, para. 2).[5]

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[2] For this analysis, see Simon J. A. Mason, Damiano A. Sguaitamatti, and María del Pilar Ramírez Gröbli, "Stepping Stones to Peace? Natural Resource Provisions in Peace Agreements," in this book.

[3] See, for example, UNEP (2009), Wennmann (2007), and Stedman (2001).

[4] UNIFEM has since been dissolved and was incorporated into UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, which was established in July 2010.

[5] The declaration also calls for the appointment of women as special envoys and special representatives of the AU, and promotes the implementation of legislation to guarantee inheritance rights for women, and their right to land and property, including housing.

The United Nations, women, and peacebuilding

In recent decades, as the nature of armed conflict has changed, civilians—including many women and children—have come to make up the majority of those who are harmed by conflict, whether as targets of direct violence, refugees, or internally displaced persons. When husbands and male relatives depart for combat and the presence of soldiers in local communities increases, women find themselves in unsafe environments, where they are at risk of assault and sexual abuse. This risk continues even after formal hostilities have ended.

In recognition of these trends, the international community has begun to acknowledge the importance of addressing the effects of conflict on women, as well as women's essential role in peacekeeping and peacebuilding. In September 1995, the United Nations convened the Fourth World Conference on Women. The outcome of this conference was the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing Platform), a list of actions intended to empower women by 2000 (UN 1995). Among the issues addressed in the Beijing Platform was the impact of armed conflict on women.

In 2000, building on the agenda laid out in the platform, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325, the first resolution to specifically recognize the essential role of women in peace and security. The resolution encourages member states to (1) ensure that peacekeeping and resettlement efforts reflect women's concerns; (2) increase women's participation as decision makers in conflict resolution processes; and (3) strengthen technical, financial, and logistical support for training in gender sensitivity and in gender programming (UNSC 2000).

Subsequent resolutions, in 2008 and 2009, stressed the relationship between preventing sexual violence and achieving peace and security; specifically, the resolutions called for (1) legal reform with regard to sexual violence and (2) the appointment of both women's protection advisors and a Special Representative of the Secretary-General for each UN peacekeeping operation (UNSC 2008, 2009). The UN's actions have led to increasing international recognition of the importance of ensuring that post-conflict needs assessments, planning, programming, and funding take women's protection and empowerment into account.

Despite growing international consensus regarding the importance of including women in conflict resolution, directives like Resolution 1325 and the AU declaration have had little effect in practice. For one thing, the same men who served as combatants during conflict are generally accepted by the international community as peace negotiators; nor does the international community question the absence of women on negotiating teams (Puechguirbal 2005). A 2009 UNIFEM study, which analyzed women's involvement in twenty-one peace processes, revealed persistent gender imbalances: among the ten peace agreements for which such information was available, women made up, on average, 5.9 percent of delegates; among the signatories of the twenty-one peace agreements, women made up 2.4 percent; and in no case did women serve as principal mediators (UNIFEM 2009). The 2008 Kenyan peace agreement had the highest rate of participation by women, who made up 33 percent of the mediators. However,

the agreement lacked any female signatories, witnesses, or members of negotiating teams. Overall, the study found no clear leader when it came to soliciting women's contributions to peacekeeping. Women, for their part, have reported two principal reasons for their underrepresentation in peace processes: domestic duties—tending to their homes and children—and lack of economic independence (Cardona et al. 2012). Thus, even in the absence of outright discrimination, women face practical obstacles to participation in peace processes.

Several notable efforts have been made to include women in formal peace processes. For instance, in Liberia in 2007, the UN deployed the first all-female peacekeeping team; and, as of 2013, 30 percent of the civilians deployed in UN peacekeeping operations were women (DPKO 2013). UNIFEM has sent gender advisors to contribute to peace negotiations in a number of countries, including Burundi, Guatemala, Sudan, and Uganda. Because a gender advisor participated in the 2008 Ugandan peace process, the agreement included specific provisions that addressed women in relation to security sector reform; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); and reconciliation (UNIFEM 2009).

Within the international community, women are widely recognized as effective facilitators of peace—and have, in some instances, contributed to formal and informal peace negotiations and arranged meetings between opposing sides. Liberian women, for example, were instrumental in organizing disarmament programs, engineering meetings between rebel leaders and President Charles Taylor, and ensuring that women's rights were on the agenda during the peace process (UNIFEM 2004). Women also coordinated the Mass Action for Peace campaign, during which they prevented rebel leaders from walking out of the negotiations by physically blocking the exit from the negotiation hall. As a result of such efforts, women eventually gained access to the negotiations, where they influenced the provisions of the agreement—in particular, those regarding women's rights in the context of Liberia's DDR initiative.

Similarly, in Bougainville, women played a role in "creating and sustaining the conditions for peace" (UNIFEM 2004, 20). A central cause of the conflict (1989–1998) between Bougainville and Papua New Guinea (PNG) was the wealth generated by a Bougainville copper mine, which accounted for 40 percent of PNG's exports, 20 percent of PNG's gross domestic product, and 20 percent of PNG's government revenue. In the late 1960s, Bougainville began to demand a greater share of the revenue, compensation for the environmental damage caused by the mine, and, ultimately, secession from PNG (UNIFEM 2004). Although the men who participated in formal talks insisted on restricting women's participation in them, women contributed to peace in other ways:

- As early as 1974, during the demonstrations known as the Panguna riots, women protested the copper mine by lying across the road that led to the mine—despite being beaten by police.
- During the armed conflict, women served as go-betweens for the PNG army and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA).

- In 1997, when the prime minister of PNG visited Bougainville, local women approached women members of the PNG delegation in the middle of the night to arrange for them to meet with BRA leaders. The women members of the PNG delegation succeeded in winning the trust of the BRA, and were subsequently given the formal task of transmitting communications between the two parties.
- In January 1998, when the Lincoln Agreement on Peace, Security and Development of Bougainville was signed—formalizing the Burnham Truce of 1997 and establishing a framework for the peace process—the women of Bougainville made a public statement addressing the role of women in sustaining peace.

Although women's commitment helped move Bougainville toward peace, the process was not without hardship. Many of the burdens associated with the PNG's eight-year blockade of Bougainville fell heavily on women—who, for example, had to establish and maintain new gardens to provide food, and had to care for the young and the sick without access to proper medical supplies. Furthermore, in addition to living "between two guns," women faced sexual and physical harassment from both PNG and rebel soldiers while traveling between the sides and attempting to foster negotiations (UNIFEM 2004, 23).

Bridging gender and natural resources in peace agreements

Although some progress has been made in adding women's voices to peace dialogues and attending to women's needs in peace agreements, both women and their advocates often fail to address the intersection of gender issues and natural resources. In keeping with this pattern, gender-related language in peace agreements mainly addresses human rights and physical security (UNIFEM 2009)—again, ignoring the relationship between women and natural resources. UNIFEM, which has provided significant technical and financial assistance to advance women's rights in post-conflict situations, regards a number of issues as having particular relevance for women, but natural resources are not on the list.[6]

Yet women's distinct relationship to natural resources makes it essential to include them as stakeholders in peace negotiations and agreements: in the post-conflict situation, natural resources have implications for a wide range of issues of particular importance to women, including livelihoods, international trade, sexual and physical violence, and governance. As long as the important nexus between gender and natural resources remains absent from peace processes and agreements, the challenges of social, economic, and political recovery cannot be fully addressed.

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[6] See UNIFEM (n.d.), which lists other topics that the organization views as relevant to women, including economics, governance, HIV/AIDS, human rights, the Millennium Development Goals, violence, and peace and security.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING, NATURAL RESOURCES, AND PEACEBUILDING

Gender mainstreaming, defined by the UN as "the process of assessing implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. . . . to achieve gender equality," is vital to natural resource management (UNGA 1997, chap. IV, para. 4). To ensure that both gender mainstreaming and natural resource management are fully integrated into policies and programs, they must be established as essential elements of peacebuilding from the beginning. In practical terms, it is desirable to create a commission or other group that will build lasting institutional capacity to address these issues. This section discusses the ways in which gender mainstreaming, with a specific focus on the relationship between women and natural resources, can help achieve peacebuilding objectives.

Peace, security, and freedom from sexual violence

Typically, peace and security are defined in military terms: the focus is on regional or national security, and on the absence of violence perpetrated by armed forces. But women's need for domestic security—including freedom from the threat of sexual violence—is left out. Systemic sexual or gender-based violence is often employed as a weapon of warfare and constitutes a violation of women's basic human rights. Where such violence has been an element in a previous conflict, one of the immediate goals of security sector reform is to prevent it from continuing. The UN and the broader international community have recognized the prevention of sexual violence as a necessary requisite for maintaining lasting peace.[7] Eliminating sexual violence establishes a safe environment in which women can play active and productive roles in post-conflict recovery (UNICEF 2005).

The first step in addressing sexual violence is to strengthen the rule of law. When the law does not adequately address sexual crimes, perpetrators of sexual violence enjoy impunity for their actions. The second step is to develop education programs—in order to raise awareness of sexual violence, and health and rehabilitation programs—to mitigate the damaging effects of sexual violence on victims' mental and physical health. In response to widespread accounts of sexual violence against women and children in the DRC, for instance, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) initiated a program that had three goals: (1) to increase public awareness of sexual violence, (2) to reduce the stigma attached to rape victims, and (3) to assist with capacity building—which included providing community leaders and local organizations with training to handle cases of sexual violence. To address the health impacts of sexual violence, for example, UNICEF provided counseling and medical services for victims and established support

[7] See, for example, UNSC (2000, 2008, 2009).

groups for survivors and their families (UNICEF 2005). The UNICEF program worked with religious, educational, political, and medical leaders in the community to develop (1) national legislation on sexual violence and (2) gender sensitivity training for medical professionals and police officers, who are tasked with collecting medical and legal documentation of sexual assaults (UNICEF 2005). Holistic programs such as these, which involve entire communities, not only help to provide legal protection for survivors of sexual violence, but also reduce sexual violence on a systemic level.

Most peacekeeping operations include a low ratio of women to men: for example, women make up only 3 percent of the 83,000 military personnel in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO 2013). Increasing the number of women serving as UN military personnel could improve understanding of the consequences of sexual violence and strengthen efforts to deal with the problem. Regardless of gender, peacekeepers are not necessarily trained to deal with either the perpetrators or the survivors of sexual violence. Because sexual violence limits women's participation in post-conflict reconstruction, peacebuilding cannot progress unless women's physical security is addressed.

Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration

DDR, which facilitates the return of former combatants to society, is a major element in reestablishing peace and security. In the traditional approach to DDR, women are viewed as victims, and armed men are viewed as the primary security threats. But this approach ignores women's participation in conflict—as soldiers (voluntary or involuntary), supply providers, spies, messengers, cooks, sex slaves, caregivers, nurses, or in other capacities (IAWG-DDR 2010).[8] A DDR program in Timor-Leste, for example, registered 10,000 men but excluded women, some of whom had served as combatants. Instead of being provided with DDR services, women were identified as "political cadres" ineligible for DDR support (Zuckerman, Dennis, and Greenberg 2007, 16). Apart from such formal exclusion, many other factors contribute to women's low participation in DDR (IAWG-DDR 2010):

- Because DDR staff view male, able-bodied combatants as the typical target group for DDR programs, women are often overlooked as potential participants.
- Women may choose not to participate in DDR programs because they wish to avoid the stigma associated with being publicly identified as excombatants (Ortega 2010), or because they fear for their safety (in particular, reexposure to sexually violent situations).
- Because women typically have lower literacy rates in post-conflict countries, they may be unaware of DDR programs.

[8] For example, up to 38 percent of total combatants eligible for DDR in Liberia were women and children (UNIFEM 2004), and one-third of combatants in Sri Lanka were women (Bouta 2005).

- Male excombatants may deliberately prevent women who have been sexually abused from participating in DDR programs out of fear of potential legal ramifications for themselves.

Like their male counterparts, women combatants suffer from physical and psychological trauma during conflict. After conflict, however, men and women have different experiences and needs (IAWG-DDR 2010):

- Women who have participated—willingly or unwillingly—in combat are more stigmatized or rejected by their families and communities.
- Women combatants who were recruited by force or who were victims of sexual violence need targeted psychological counseling and medical support.
- Women excombatants have fewer livelihood opportunities than men.
- Women have reproductive health needs (for example, medical and social service support for pregnancy) that do not need to be addressed in the case of male combatants.

To foster a solid foundation for peace, DDR must take account of the differences between men's and women's roles, both during and after conflict. DDR programs should also reflect situational needs, which may differ widely from place to place.

A detailed understanding of the context in which DDR is being undertaken is essential to avert unintentional consequences, particularly in the realm of gender roles. In Karamoja, Uganda, for example, disarmament left communities with no means of protecting their cattle, rendering livestock vulnerable to theft and to raids undertaken by armed inhabitants of neighboring regions.[9] The resulting insecurity led to the disintegration of traditional pastoral patterns: instead of being allowed to graze in the open, cattle were kept in barracks, under the management and protection of soldiers—who, according to reports, often did a poor job of guarding the livestock. Moreover, as raising cattle ceased to be the primary source of stable income for young men, the task of providing income and food (usually through other types of natural resource exploitation) shifted to women, exposing them to increasing risk of assault as they traveled to and from the bush to forage for food or to collect firewood for sale. The shifts in livelihood also affected gender dynamics: cattle had historically served as an indicator of status and masculinity, and young men who could no longer provide income or physical protection for their families felt emasculated (Stites and Akabwai 2009).

This example illustrates the need for disarmament strategies that not only eradicate weapons, but that also provide the means for maintaining stability and security after excombatants have been deprived of their primary means of protection (Stites and Akabwai 2009). DDR has potentially complex consequences on

[9] For more information on conflict in the Karimojong Cluster, see Lind (2014).

gender dynamics, as well as on women in particular, and it is essential to take such consequences into account in the design of DDR initiatives.

The first step in a comprehensive approach to DDR occurs during the needs assessment phase, when gender analysis is undertaken to ensure that DDR programming specifically addresses gender issues. A needs assessment that is informed by gender analysis will ensure that the design and implementation of DDR will be appropriate to the regional and cultural context, and address the needs of women as well as men. Among the issues that should be assessed are the number of women in any given armed group, the roles that women played in the conflict, and cultural attitudes toward gender roles; the assessment should also take account of any established women's groups that are already engaged in peacebuilding in the region (IAWG-DDR 2010). Although the differential effects of conflict on men and women have gained more attention in recent years, DDR training for peacekeepers has not, historically, focused on gender issues. Thus, peacekeepers who are directly involved in DDR should receive gender awareness training, to help them become more aware of the issues women face—in particular, women's needs with respect to peacebuilding, reintegration, and other post-conflict initiatives.

Both male and female excombatants can find various types of post-conflict employment in natural resource–related areas, including agriculture, forest management, fisheries, aquaculture, energy generation, ecotourism, and ecological restoration. Woman-focused reintegration is necessary to ensure that women are not overlooked or marginalized—and that, like men, they can decide which skills they wish to pursue and choose from a range of livelihood opportunities. To this end, DDR programs need to gauge societal attitudes toward women's employment, to ensure that women's livelihood options are sustainable in the long term. The Afghan Conservation Corps, for example, which was created as part of the DDR process, established gender-specific projects that included women's gardens and the restoration of women's schools (Boyer and Stork 2014). Women can also be given opportunities that build upon new skills they may have learned as combatants—such as driving—even if those tasks are generally performed by men (IAWG-DDR 2010).

Finally, reintegration must also focus on women as part of the receiving community—that is, as spouses, children, or relatives of returning male combatants (Pouligny 2004). Even when women do not participate directly in wartime activities, they play a significant role in helping family members transition back to civilian life. The UN Inter-Agency Working Group on DDR, for example, supports women's roles in this respect: instead of focusing solely on excombatants, the agency promotes community-based reintegration (Boyer and Stork 2014).

Livelihoods and basic services

Once stability has been restored, the focus of peacebuilding shifts to longer-term development. Because natural resources are central to livelihoods as well as to

basic needs such as food and shelter, governance structures for natural resource management must be established in the course of peacebuilding processes. Both women and natural resources play a key role in economic recovery, and addressing them in relation to each other can strengthen the recovery process. Ensuring that both gender and natural resource dimensions are incorporated into development creates opportunities to improve the well-being of women, their families, and the communities of which they are a part.

Women are typically responsible for cooking, gathering water and fuel, and providing agricultural labor. Although women often become their family's principal source of support during conflict, their economic productivity is constrained by several factors: first, women continue to be responsible for their traditional tasks, even when they assume what would ordinarily be male responsibilities; second, women are not viewed as primary breadwinners. Two examples illustrate some of the practical consequences of these constraints: women and girls are more likely than men or boys to be injured or killed by landmines while retrieving wood or water (Zuckerman, Dennis, and Greenberg 2007); and girls are more likely than boys to be pulled out of school to engage in agricultural work or household chores (UNDP 2004). Women's daily lives thus stand to be significantly affected by changes in natural resource management.

Water and energy, two significant resources related to both livelihoods and basic needs, illustrate the ways in which women, as well as the communities of which they are a part, can benefit from gender-sensitive development. Henry Town is a mining town in Liberia's Gbarpolu County. Because its basic infrastructure was very poor, it was necessary to travel to a nearby creek for water—a task that, as in many other places, fell to women. The women of Henry Town reported to the staff of Tearfund, a development organization that began working in Henry Town in 2007, that traveling to the creek for water was associated with a high risk of sexual assault—although many also expressed hesitancy about informing the town leaders of such occurrences, for fear of social stigma. When men were asked about water collection, however, they showed no awareness of the dangers women faced (Burt and Keiru 2014).

Because of their daily responsibilities, the women of Henry Town were sharply attuned to water-related needs and had a personal investment in the restoration of livelihoods and basic services. As a result, they became drivers of development: a group of women organized to address the health, economic, environmental, and gender issues surrounding water management and usage. Through Tearfund, the group applied for and obtained support for the construction of new hand pumps in safe locations, the construction of irrigation systems, and the provision of biosand filters, which are used to treat water at the point of use (Burt and Keiru 2014). By improving water management in ways that benefited household cooking and sanitation, irrigation, and gold and diamond processing, these projects not only strengthened basic services, but also supported public health and hygiene, local livelihoods, and macroeconomic development.

By informing the town's community development council of the difficulties that women faced in water collection, particularly with regard to sexual violence, the women of Henry Town raised general awareness of gender-specific, natural resource–related issues.[10] As a result of the women's active participation in development efforts, the council restructured its leadership, establishing a new rule that required 50 percent of the council members to be women (Burt and Keiru 2014).

Like water, energy is necessary for daily needs, as well as for broader post-conflict reconstruction and development. Thirty-seven percent of the world's population, or 2.5 billion people, rely on biomass, such as wood, as their primary source of cooking fuel (IEA 2009). And like water collection, wood collection is generally assigned to women, and is associated with a similar risk of sexual assault. In Darfur, for example, there are many documented cases of rape occurring when women ventured into forested areas to collect wood. According to a Médecins Sans Frontières health clinic operating in Darfur from October 2004 to February 2005, of 297 rape survivors treated at the clinic, 82 percent had been attacked during day-to-day activities (Médecins Sans Frontières 2005).

By reducing the frequency with which women must gather wood, fuel-efficient stoves can decrease the risk of sexual violence; they can also reduce deforestation by lowering demand for timber. However, because gathering wood for sale has significant livelihood potential, women who have access to fuel-efficient stoves have not necessarily reduced the frequency of their wood-gathering expeditions (Stone, Cole, and Wroe-Street 2008). Thus, although the stoves offer some immediate benefits by reducing the number and duration of gathering expeditions, fuel-efficient stoves do not eliminate wood collection by women. Moreover, they are less reliable than electrical infrastructure.

By eliminating the need for women to collect wood, access to electricity saves time and reduces risks to personal safety. In addition, gender analysis of the effects of electricity has shown that lighting provides a number of benefits for women. Street lighting, for instance, increases safety for women who work or attend school at night, and indoor lighting improves conditions in the home, where women tend to spend the most time (UNDP 2004). Although many post-conflict initiatives incorporate infrastructure projects, such efforts often fail to include gender analysis, which would identify the specific aspects of transportation, electricity, and water infrastructure that most benefit women.

In post-conflict countries, natural resources are often a major source of livelihoods. During conflict, when many men leave for combat, women may take on jobs that had previously been held by men, and acquire the necessary skills to obtain new or additional sources of livelihoods. But when men are demobilized, women are often displaced from such positions; in Nicaragua in 1988, for

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[10] Community development councils are local groups that oversee development in Liberian towns; they are run by elected representatives.

example, approximately 16,000 women lost their jobs to returning male excombatants (Zuckerman, Dennis, and Greenberg 2007).

Economic development and employment generation programs that fail to include women not only miss out on the opportunity to capitalize on women as productive participants in the formal workforce, but also risk reinforcing gender inequalities. A 2007 study showed that because they tended to target men, post-conflict agricultural development programs funded by the World Bank overlooked a global trend in which rural men were more likely to move to cities than women, and to leave behind farms run by women (Zuckerman, Dennis, and Greenberg 2007).

In sum, providing women with livelihood opportunities can not only increase household income, but can also strengthen the national economy. Such opportunities, in turn, inherently entail more equitable access to natural resources such as land, water, and timber. When it comes to post-conflict development, women are not simply beneficiaries: they are also catalysts, supplying peacebuilding with valuable perspectives and support.

Land tenure

Land tenure customs vary from one country to another and even within a single country, but countries that recognize customary law tend to have one thing in common: restrictions on women's ownership of land.[11] Women not only have limited access to capital to purchase land, but also face discrimination arising from cultural restrictions on women's ownership rights. For most women in Africa, for example, access to land is primarily by proxy, through a male family member or with the formal authorization of such a family member (Kamungi, Oketch, and Huggins 2005). Thus, when statutes recognize customary law, divorced or single women are generally excluded from holding land rights (Kameri-Mbote 2006). In Zimbabwe, especially among the Shona and the Ndebele, women obtain access to land for farming through their marriage ties, and unmarried or divorced women are allocated land in their mothers' fields to grow crops (Gaidzanwa 1994).

Most post-conflict societies rely heavily on agriculture; in Afghanistan, Angola, and Sudan, for example, agriculture employs approximately 80 percent of the labor force.[12] In such situations, access to land is one of the most important components of natural resource management. Thus, for the majority of women who make a living through subsistence farming, and who must rely on men to gain access to property, land rights are crucial to economic well-being.

During and after conflict—when men leave to engage in combat and do not necessarily return—traditional land tenure practices tend to be disrupted by the increasing number of women who are heading households, and by the shifts in

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[11] Customary law is written or unwritten law that is based on the customs of a society. Some countries recognize customary law in addition to statutory law, but stipulations about which aspects of life are governed by customary law differ from country to country. On recognition of customary law in land management, see Unruh and Williams (2013).

[12] See, for example, U.S. DOA (2011) (on Afghanistan).

traditional family units created by migration or displacement. Restrictions on women's ownership of land create problems when, for example, women who have been displaced attempt to resettle after conflict, but cannot produce legal documents showing formal title to property (whether land or other resources). A 2010 study of ethnicity, land, and conflict in Kenya found that in the wake of conflict, much of the land held by women whose husbands had died in combat was annexed by other owners, because the women lacked documentation of their rights to the land. Similar patterns were found in Rwanda and Uganda (Kieyah and Khaoya n.d.). In some cases, women who lose their husbands during conflict are compelled to return to their families of origin, leaving their land and their children under the care of relatives of the deceased father.

Shifts in demographics, gender roles, and family structure place land tenure practices at the center of post-conflict natural resource management. In Uganda, for example, a 1999 study of eleven districts showed that "women's lack of inheritance rights, their inability to prevent land sales by men, the disincentive to develop the land they occupy (but did not control or own), and disinheritance of widows were among the major concerns in poverty reduction and improving women's livelihoods" (Tripp 2004, 13).[13]

Post-conflict legal reforms often support women's rights to own and inherit land. Tanzania and Uganda, for instance, now require that both spouses consent to any changes in the ownership of marital property made by either party (Hilhorst 2000). Similarly, the Rwandan constitution and Rwandan law provide for landownership by women and include protections to ensure that women are actually allowed to exercise their land rights.[14] Ensuring that women are adequately represented within decision-making institutions helps protect women's land rights at the local level. Thus, Rwanda requires that women make up at least 30 percent of all land commissions and land committees—and, at the national level, three of the seven members of the National Land Commission and two of the five deputy registrars of land titles are women. As a result of legal reforms, 11 percent of private land in Rwanda is owned by women, 5 percent by men, and 83 percent by married couples (Ngoga 2012).

But even in countries where men and women are equal before the law, efforts to adopt new land tenure practices may run counter to deeply held cultural norms, making equality difficult to achieve in practice.[15] Furthermore, women often lack access to courts, and may not be aware of their legal rights to land.

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[13] Privatization of land—which often occurs as a consequence of efforts to "modernize" land tenure systems—can also complicate women's rights: empirical evidence indicates that privatized land rarely goes to women (this was the case, for example, in post-conflict Mozambique) (Dokmanovic 2002; Wuyts 2003).

[14] Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, art. 29; Succession Law No. 22/99 of 12/11/1999; Organic Land Law No. 08/2005 of 14/07/2005.

[15] For further discussion of the interactions between customary and statutory law, see Ruth Meinzen-Dick and Rajendra Pradhan, "Property Rights and Legal Pluralism in Post-Conflict Environments: Problem or Opportunity for Natural Resource Management?" in this book.

Magaya v. Magaya, a 1999 Zimbabwean court case, highlights the gap between rights secured in law and actual practice. While under British colonial rule, Zimbabwe adopted a judicial system that included both statutory law, in accordance with the European model, and customary law, which was protected by the colonial-era constitution and handled by local customary courts. Zimbabwe retained this bifurcated system after independence in 1980. In the case in question, a man's eldest daughter from his first marriage, who had lived in the house with her father before his death and continued to occupy it afterward, claimed that, as the eldest child, she should rightfully inherit the property. The son from the man's second marriage filed suit, was granted ownership of the property, and evicted the eldest daughter from the house (Bigge and von Briesen 2000).

According to the court, because the first marriage had been established under customary law, the resulting dispute also had to be settled under customary law, in which "males are preferred to females as heirs."[16] The daughter argued that awarding the property to the son was an example of "*prima facie* discrimination against females and could therefore be a prima fecie [*sic*] breach of the Constitution of Zimbabwe," but the court rejected this view. The decision, which sparked a great deal of controversy among women's rights advocates and human rights organizations, highlights the practical difficulty of bringing about gender equity even after such principles are incorporated into the statutory framework.

Similarly, in Burundi, formal protections for women do not necessarily translate into legal rights in practice. Article 17 of the Constitutional Act of Transition of 1998 establishes the equality of men and women before the law, and the 1993 amendment to the Code of the Person and Family grants women the right to manage family property if the husband is absent (Kamungi, Oketch, and Huggins 2005). In practice, however, a woman whose spouse is absent still has to contend with the wishes of male relatives. The discrepancy between statutory law and actual practice breeds tension: on the one hand, when husbands are absent, women are expected to provide for their families; on the other hand, customary practices interfere with their ability to use their land productively.

Enacting effective, gender-sensitive laws regarding land tenure can be extremely challenging, and implementing those laws even more so. Although the post-conflict period creates substantial opportunity to redress gender inequality in land tenure, legal reforms that increase women's right to own land are not enough: for the laws to be respected and enforced, they must be supplemented by cultural recognition of historical inequality with respect to land. It is also essential to provide education and increase awareness, to ensure that women and other marginalized groups fully understand the law, and are capable of using it to protect their resources.[17] Properly implemented, land tenure reform can lead to the establishment of fair and sustainable systems to protect access to land.

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[16] *Magaya v. Magaya*, Supreme Court of Zimbabwe, Case No. 210-98, February 16, 1999, p. 42. For the decision, see http://jurisafrica.org/docs/lawreports/Magaya%20v%20Magaya.judgment.pdf.

[17] See Meinzen-Dick and Pradhan, in this book.

Good governance

Good governance calls for respect for the rule of law, respect for human rights, a willingness to give space and voice to the vulnerable, respect for the voice of the minority even while accepting the decision of the majority, and respect for diversity. Good governance therefore entails equitable gender representation in institutions that regulate or administer the use of natural resources. But women are often underrepresented in governance institutions that deal with land and other environmental resources. In post-conflict situations, equitable participation in governance institutions should begin during peace negotiations and should continue into the peacebuilding phase.

Both at the community level and at higher levels of governance, women are far less likely to occupy decision-making positions than men. One reason is that women typically receive less education than men; another is that they often are unaccustomed to assuming positions of authority and are therefore less inclined to run for elected office. During conflict, however, women often assume leadership positions—in both community organizations and governments—that were previously filled by men, which places women in ideal positions to continue their involvement in decision making during peacebuilding. Including women in governance structures during the reconstruction period helps to ensure that natural resource–related policies and programs are gender sensitive.

At the community level, gender mainstreaming is often linked to community-centered forms of natural resource management in post-conflict and non-post-conflict situations. In many countries, community-based groups manage the use of natural resources such as fisheries, water, and timber. These groups operate with varying degrees of formality and have differing provisions regarding women's participation. The 2009 Liberian Community Rights Law, which was adopted during the post-conflict reconstruction period, for instance, requires that community forests are managed by five-member community forestry management bodies, and that at least one of the five members must be a woman.[18] Under Nepalese law, which generally sought to intentionally address gender equality as an element of peacebuilding, women must make up at least one-third of the members of forest management committees and water management committees, in order for the committees to receive support from the Nepalese government (Adhikari and Adhikari 2010; MPR 2011; ADB 2013; Upreti 2008). And in Uganda, women must make up at least 30 percent of the committees that manage beach management units (BMUs)—community-based fishery organizations—although the effort to be more inclusive of women in BMU management was not a part of a post-conflict process (LVFO n.d.).

Case studies have shown that engaging women in community-based governance institutions benefits the community. In the BMUs along Lake Victoria, which

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[18] An Act to Establish the Community Rights Law of 2008 with Respect to Forest Lands, approved October 16, 2009. For the full text of the law, see www.growingforestpartnerships.org/sites/growingforestpartnerships.org/files/gfp_Liberia_CRL_October_2009.pdf.

is bordered by Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, women made up 70 to 80 percent of artisanal fish workers as of 2004, but constituted only a small percentage of the representatives to BMU committees; this was especially the case in Kenya and Tanzania, where no quotas for women had been established (Odote, Ochieng, and Makoloo 2004). But participants in a 2005 workshop attended by stakeholders in East African fisheries voiced the view that women leaders of BMU committees were generally more effective financial managers and better addressed community welfare and needs (Troell 2010). In fact, broader studies have shown that resources, financial or otherwise, that are managed by women are more likely to be invested in education and health care, and are therefore of greater benefit to families and the wider community (DESA 2009; Nussbaum 2000).

Some initiatives specifically designed to incorporate women into decision making regarding natural resources have had significant success. For example, through a joint program sponsored by the Indian government and the United Nations Development Programme, villages in Assam (a state in northeastern India) developed disaster preparedness plans and began training community members in disaster response. Because women had traditionally collected water and fuel, they played a central role in the community mapping phase, which identified natural resource needs and vulnerabilities (GOI and UNDP DRMP 2008). Although the program in Assam focused on disaster response, similar efforts could have positive effects in post-conflict situations.

As a means of moving toward gender equality, post-conflict governance reconstruction often includes quotas for national elections, which specify either the number or percentage of candidates who must be women, or the number or percentage of elected officials who must be women. So far, however, quotas have not necessarily led to meaningful participation in governance for women. In the 2000 elections in Kosovo in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, for example, only 8 percent of the representatives elected to municipal assemblies were women, even though electoral quotas required that at least 33 percent of candidates be women (COE 2000). The electoral quota rule was followed by a 2004 gender equality law adopted by the Assembly of Kosovo under the United Nations Interim Administrative Mission in Kosovo to help guide the implementation of gender equality. Still, implementation efforts have continued to lag. According to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, as of 2010, only two out of 350 municipal level directors are women (OSCE 2010).

In both elected and appointed positions, equitable gender representation can be difficult to maintain. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, and Guatemala, the percentage of women representatives in parliament has declined since the years leading up to conflict. In the realm of appointed positions, when civil service institutions experience financial constraints, female staffers are often the most likely to be let go (Nakaya 2003).

Some countries, including Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda, Sudan, and Uganda, have established ministries to help promote gender mainstreaming in policies

and programs in post-conflict governance reform. But even when gender equality is backed by permanent agencies, it is essential to provide sufficient financing and training to tackle gender issues in policy making, and to establish self-sustaining institutions, laws, and programs. It is also important to avoid excessive reliance on foreign aid in establishing such institutions, laws, and programs. A gender and peacebuilding initiative established by UNIFEM and the Ministry of Gender in Burundi in 2006, for example, relied heavily on support from international agencies and other funders; later drops in funding led to significant restrictions on operations (Klot 2007).

Given that post-conflict societies tend to have a higher ratio of women to men, policies and programs developed in the wake of conflict should encourage women to take advantage of increased access to positions usually filled by men. While quotas can marginally increase the presence of women in governance, opportunities for substantive participation are essential. The meaningful inclusion of women in leadership positions, particularly in the areas of labor, agriculture, and environmental protection, will ensure that both local and national programming and policies, particularly with respect to the use and management of natural resources, reflect women's perspectives and needs.

Monitoring and evaluation

Even the most well-intentioned efforts to implement gender-sensitive policies and programs often suffer from lack of sustained funding, poor implementation, or inadequate follow-through. For gender initiatives to succeed, carefully established time frames and benchmarks are required. The function of monitoring and evaluation is twofold: first, to develop clear objectives for achieving gender equity in institutions; second, to ensure not only that programs and policies intended to achieve such equity meet their objectives, but are also sustainable. Monitoring and evaluation alert decision makers to both successes and obstacles, and support improvements in program and policy design.

The effects of natural resource management are readily quantifiable: acres of deforestation, tons of minerals extracted, and levels of biodiversity in protected areas, for example, can all be measured. But developing metrics to measure the progress of gender equality is more difficult. To ensure that all policies and programs support women's access to natural resources, domestic and international institutions need to monitor both those that are specifically intended to increase gender equality in natural resource management (for example, land tenure laws that give women landownership rights), and those that have broader goals (such as overall gender equality).

Burundi's Monitoring and Tracking Mechanism offers one example of a rubric that includes gender dimensions in several stages of peacebuilding. The mechanism —which was developed in 2007, approximately one year after the signing of the Dar Es Salaam Agreement of Principles towards Lasting Peace, Security and Stability in Burundi—is meant to complement the Strategic Framework for

Peacebuilding in Burundi, in particular by providing greater specificity about monitoring (PBC 2007).

The peacebuilding framework was developed jointly by the government of Burundi and the UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), an advisory committee established in 2005 that includes representatives from the UN and other stakeholder groups. The mechanism is based on the eight priority areas identified in the strategic framework (PBC 2007):

- Promoting good governance.
- Completing implementation of the ceasefire agreement.
- Continuing the reform of the security sector and the disarmament of the civilian population.
- Ensuring equitable access to justice and promoting human rights.
- Finding sustainable solutions to land issues and socioeconomic recovery.
- Mobilizing and coordinating international assistance.
- Integrating the subregional dimension into broader peacebuilding processes.
- Incorporating gender mainstreaming into the implementation of other priorities and throughout the peacebuilding process.

For each of these categories, the mechanism lists benchmarks, indicators, and actions to be taken by the government of Burundi, the PBC, and other stakeholders. The mechanism also lists risks associated with each priority area.

Although only the last priority focuses specifically on gender, gender dimensions appear throughout the mechanism: in six of the eight priority areas, benchmarks, indicators, or actions include gender-related language. The following are examples of gender-related indicators (PBC 2007):

- Constitutional provisions supporting power sharing (including gender-based power sharing).
- Quotas for women in decision-making positions at all levels of government.
- Number of cases of sexual violence perpetrated by security forces.
- Number of human rights violations.
- Punitive responses to sexual violence and human rights violations.
- Number and quality of DDR services for women.
- Number and results of land disputes by gender.
- Gender sensitivity in truth and reconciliation processes.
- Percentage of widows with access to land.[19]

The mechanism also supports active cooperation between the government, the PBC, and women's groups in various aspects of program implementation (PBC

[19] Rwanda's efforts to monitor gender initiatives focus on similar indicators and also include gender awareness campaigns, women's access to loans, and gender ratios in school enrollment (MIGEPROF n.d.).

2007). It is clear from the indicators and actions associated with each priority area that gender considerations are necessary to support broader benchmarks, such as access to justice, improved governance of natural resources, and the allocation of public resources for socioeconomic recovery.

Because peacebuilding involves multilateral, bilateral, nongovernmental, and private-sector entities, initiatives must be monitored and evaluated on many levels. Although the World Bank, for example, has long identified gender equality as a priority, its track record is not as strong as its stated commitment (World Bank 2002, 2003; Zuckerman, Dennis, and Greenberg 2007). One in-depth analysis of fourteen World Bank grants implemented across five continents, for example, showed a consistent lack of consideration for women's needs in project designs and goals (Zuckerman, Dennis, and Greenberg 2007). Monitoring and evaluation play an important role by ensuring that the intention to incorporate gender dimensions into peacebuilding is reflected in practice.

CONCLUSION: THE WAY FORWARD

Women and natural resources are connected in a number of ways, from the use of land for agriculture to the reliance on energy to accomplish basic household tasks. Because many peacebuilding activities depend strongly on natural resources, the post-conflict period offers a critical opportunity to identify and address gender inequality in natural resource management. To achieve this goal, explicit connections between gender and natural resources must be forged in peace agreements, and reflected in all subsequent peacebuilding initiatives, both domestic and multilateral.

Post-conflict natural resource management is a challenge even without the inclusion of a gender dimension. Nevertheless, it is essential to ensure that all phases of the peacebuilding process take account of women's particular experiences and needs with respect to natural resources; to this end, policy and program design and implementation must be informed by gender analysis.

As many of the examples in this chapter demonstrate, legal frameworks that recognize women's rights are not enough: to ensure equitable opportunities in livelihoods, property ownership, justice, and governance, women must be given opportunities for meaningful participation in governance in general, and natural resource management in particular. Failing to adequately address gender issues risks undermining women's autonomy and reinstating traditional gender inequities. A gender-sensitive approach to natural resource management is one of the building blocks of sustainable peacebuilding.

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