SHUR Working Paper Series
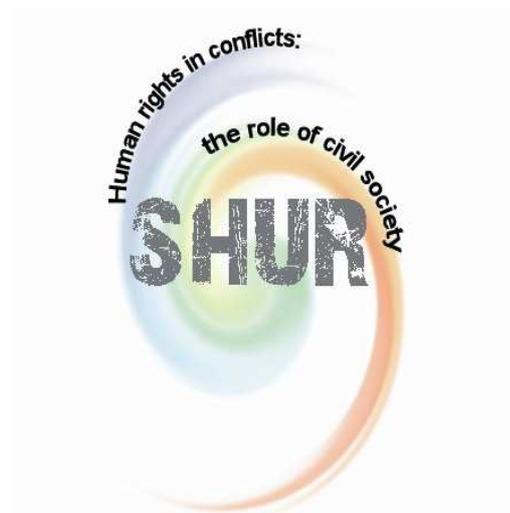
Conflict Society and Human Rights: A Gender Analysis

Diana Copper
Luiss-Cersdu

SHUR wp 04/07
April 2007

SIXTH FRAMEWORK
PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly globalised world characterised by weakened states and privatisation of politics, civil society plays a key role in fostering democracy and bringing forward political change. Within the context of SHUR civil society is analysed as a pivotal actor in conflict, both causing and preventing human rights violations, hampering or progressing social justice and equality in the pursuit of durable peace. In this paper civil society organisations in conflict societies will be analysed from a gender perspective; and gender shall be mapped out on the classification of civil society organisations, and roles these organisations fulfil within conflict situations that are relevant to SHUR's scope of analysis.

For the purpose of this paper we define *civil society organisations (CSOs) as a more or less institutionalised association of people that is both a product of existing power structures and an agent of political change*. (Putnam, 1992; MacAdam*, et al*, 1996) On the base of this definition we explore the relationship between gender and CSOs within Western thought and societies and within failed-states/conflict ridden societies, where progressive or violently regressive gender change may occur as a result of CSO's ideology or actions. The paper explores the complex relationship between gender and CSO types brought to the fore by Marchetti and Tocci and provides an in-depth analysis of CSOs operating in conflict ridden societies (CoSOs).

Finally, the relationship between gender, CoSOs and human rights is explored, juxtaposing gender to structure, identity, framework of action and political and opportunity structure of CoSOs to understand how gender CoSOs may fuel, prevent and contribute to the redressing of gender rights and bring progressive change within a specific context. Finally the impact of local and trans-national CoSOs on gender in conflict and gender rights violations is addressed and hypothesis are formulated with regards of which type, in which particular time and space and with which particular actions a CoSO can favour progressive gender change, making conflict a catalyst for equality and social justice.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND GENDER IN CONTEXT

In the context of Western democratic societies, civil society organisations are widely understood to contribute to the democratisation of a society and open public spaces for traditionally deprived groups (Howell *et* Mulligan 2004). The relationship between civil society organisations and gender has always been a complex one, promising yet fraught with contradictions. Women, as well as sexual and racial minorities have traditionally been excluded from the public sphere, political, social and economic. These actors therefore have populated the margins, and their political organisation has often been restricted to what is understood in Western liberal thought as civil society.

The spaces inhabited by women and other devalued genders have always been highly politicised, challenging established powers and slowly breaking borders between public and private (Walby, 1990). As the Western State (MacKinnon, 1989) resisted feminist claims to political rights, around civil society, feminist struggles tend to coalesce structurally, locally, nationally and trans-nationally. In post colonial contexts as well, civil society and decolonisation (Charlton *et Al,* 1989) have been privileged arena for the re-vindication of gender rights, and gender sensitive civil society organisations have been independent agents of change towards the progression of gender rights (Putnam 1992). According to this analysis civil society is a promising political avenue for progressive gender change.

Together with agents of change, however civil society organisations are also a product of existing structures (MacAdam *et al,* 1996), therefore are embedded in relations of power, which are highly gendered and hierarchical both locally, nationally and trans-nationally. Liberal understanding of civil society organisations, based on the family, religious groups and markets, have underplayed gender as a relevant level of analysis and failed to critically unpack the relations of power within these organisations, whose hierarchies hamper their democratic potential. Marxist theory, on the other hand, has traditionally subordinated gender to class struggle and co-opted gender rights and civil society activism to party and state structures. Postcolonial understandings of the state and civil society have better grasped the importance of the margins as sites of resistance and civil society organisations' potential, especially at grassroots level, to open democratic spaces bring gender change (Bhaba, 1990).

Feminist discourses and struggles coming from Civil Society, have been openly challenged, downplayed, co-opted and/or acknowledged by the state, in liberal democracies, socialist and postcolonial contexts, positing gender as a civil society discourse which exists in tension with state structures. In Western democratic states civil society organisations can be conventionally understood as based on the action-guiding principles of minimising violence in daily life; finding ways to debate public affairs; recognising human equality; and seeking inclusion. When gender is introduced in the equation this assumption is contradicted by the

very presence of civil society organisations, in democratic contexts who contend the political arena for the very curtailment of gender equality and rights. Examples usually refer to religious organisations/NGOs such as fundamental Christians in the US, or Hindu traditionalists in India (Kumar, 1993, Rao, 1999) to name but a few.

The relationship between civil society organisations and gender therefore remains a tense and complex one, as anticipated by the understanding of civil society as an agent of change and product of the institutional society they operate in. In more "politicised" societies, where political tensions are higher and stakes more fluid, civil society organisations have an even stronger impact on gender norms and gender change, an impact that can be negative or positive according to a number of factors, such as degree of governance, failed institutions in a given society, the level of economic instability and the level of involvement of the international community.

As a general point its important to state that political instability and strong reliance on non state actors opens possibilities for marginalised actors to re-negotiate relations of power, and allow women to trespass in public spaces. However, in these contexts, as in peaceful societies, the relationship between gender change and civil society organisations is fraught with contradictions, and given the volatility of the political environment the consequences may be gender violence and the violation of gender rights.

Civil society organisations operating in failed states/conflict ridden states may have regressive gender agendas and use the conflict to violently crush gender change and curtail human rights of women. In conflict situations moreover, feminist struggles may be co-opted by other causes, and gender progressive civil society organisations operating within a structure of resistance may find themselves silenced and marginalised when the other actors gain power. This has been ubiquitous in post-colonial struggles, where feminist groups allied themselves with nationalist movements (violent or non-violent) and lost out in the compartmentalisation of power in the post colonial state (Tohidi, 2001; Mernissi,1991).

Finally in economically weak states gender change can incur thanks to the action of civil society organisations, this may be progressive or regressive depending on a number of factors: the relations of power existing in that particular society, the capacity of gender progressive civil society organisations to operate independently and assert their agenda, the level of violence and the internationalisation of their struggle.

The impact of the internationalisation of civil society organisations action within a given society is a final contextual feature that underscores our understanding of global civil society. The impact of internationalisation on civil society organisations in the gender domain is highly complex and can be counter intuitive. This complexity applies to all categories of global civil society organisations: liberal humanitarian and relief organizations; politically or financially co-opted organizations; and militarily embedded organizations.

Liberal humanitarian organisations who are more likely to promote a progressive gender agenda and are in some cases founded to progress women's rights, i.e. feminist CSOs may positively interact with local civil society as well as reiterating hegemonic power relations on the base of culture, race and class. In developing countries contexts, Western feminist CSOs have been often target of local women's criticism for importing a vision of feminism, racially, class and location wise alien to local struggles (Mohanty, 1988). The alienation of local women *vis à vis* Western feminist groups promoting development/democratisation in given contexts has even prompted the development of indigenous women's civil society organisations which have then in turn internationalised themselves, i.e. DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) network in the 1980s (Barriteau, 2000)

This analysis applies to financially co-opted organisations as well as liberal humanitarian and relief organisations. Women's groups from the "South" have often critiqued "foreign" attempts at democratising, economically develop and improve gender equality in a given society as neo-colonial enterprises. Aid programmes such as the IMF and World Bank programmes have been widely attacked for pursuing a gender blind, masculinist agenda. Both liberal humanitarian and relief organisations and politically and financially co-opted organisations moreover are embedded in gender relations of power innervating all society structures, symbols and norms, and their understanding of gender interacts with locally embedded gender systems in often unpredictable ways.

As far as military embedded organisations are concerned, given the strong role that gender plays in constructing and sustaining military culture (both armies, paramilitary organisations, militants and private security companies) the gender impact of military embedded organisations is likely to be significant.

While improved security and military presence may better access to services for women (such as schools etc), hyper-masculine practices that sustain military culture may hamper progressive gender change and counter the efforts of local and international feminist civil society organisations (Enloe, 1993). Rape carried out by soldiers/insurgents/private military troops, and military fuelled prostitution are the most fragrant examples of the negative impact of the substantial presence of military embedded organisations on the gender structure of a given society, as well as on trafficking of women and violation of gender rights (for example the trafficking of Chinese women to serve as prostitutes to military and international personnel stationed in Afghanistan).

As anticipated, in highly fluid political environments, where gender norms shift to securitised mode and to a more polarised tense state, such as in conflict ridden society, the likelihood of progressive gender change is

mediated by civil society organisations in complex, multifaceted ways. An analysis of conflict society will provide further insights on this complex relationship.

CONFLICT SOCIETY

As understandings of gender shape, sustain and maintain the borders of both *ethnos* and the "subject positions" indispensable to securitisation modes, gender becomes a pivot of conflict ridden societies and failed states, a major fault line along which human rights violation or promotion, democratisation, equality and development shift and transform.

The relevance of gender to conflict and in particular ethno-political conflicts has been discussed extensively in SHURwp01/07. The very definition of ethnos is a definition that is strongly gendered, in both so called ranked and unranked societies (Horowitz, 1985, 22). In both contexts the ethnic group is internally ranked according to relations of power within the group, in which women and sexual minorities are likely to be subordinated. Within ethnic conflict discrimination sharpens as rigid understandings of femininity/masculinity become hegemonic. When one ethnic group power prevails in an unranked system femininity/masculinity hierarchies are mobilised, and subordinated individuals within ethnic groups may become more vulnerable to abuse from the other ethnic group, from the group itself or rights violations may be instrumentalised (as in the case of women in the context of ethnic rape) to (counter) mobilise.

The very rigidity of gender norms within "securitised" environments defined by radical incompatibility of subject positions offers a possibility to forward gender equality, a potential of a democratic explosion of gender identities and relations of power that peaceful societies may achieve in longer time lines. In other words, conflict, and in particular ethnic conflict, where gender is a key shaper of identity, can act as a catalyst for gender change, as identities come under strain and are ultimately exploded, undone and redefined. The role that civil society plays is pivotal in exploding conflict identities and shaping gender change, as in all stages of conflict gender identities dissolve and reconstitute themselves, and actors, both local and international, can open or close spaces for gender change.

The classification of Conflict Civil Society Organisations (CoSOs) can be mapped out on gender dynamics, both existing and potential and an analysis of the impact of these societies' structure, identity and framework of action on gender can be assessed.

Type of track diplomacy	Actors	Gender Ideologies / Gender Impact
		Gender Ideologies/agenda
Professional	Technical experts, consultants	+ Include women and have gender equal agendas
		- Discourage gender inclusion/ further gender exploitation (e.g. prostitution)
Business	Businessmen Trade unions Professional associations	Gender Ideologies/agenda
		+Create opportunities for women, favour D&I (Diversity and inclusion of minorities)
		- Exclude/impoverish women further
Private Citizens	Individual citizens, Diaspora groups, Families and clans	Gender Ideologies/agenda
		Presence of gender activism
		Hostility to gender activism
Research, Training, and Education	Special interest research centres Think Tanks Universities	Gender ideologies/agenda
		Degree of sensitivities and awareness on gender issues
		Degree of inclusion
		Degree of gender activism
Activism	NGOs Lobby groups Grassroots movements Local communities Combatant groups	Gender ideologies/agenda
		Degree of sensitivities and awareness on gender issues
		Degree and type of inclusion
		Degree of gender activism
Religion	Spiritual communities Charities Religious movements	Gender ideologies/agenda
		+Open channels for women's associationism and political activism (e.g. some strands of Islamic feminism)
		-Strong gender bias, strong shapers of gender ideologies discourage of egalitarian gender change
Funding	Foundations Individual philanthropists	Gender ideologies/agenda
		Degree of sensitivities and awareness on gender issues
		Degree and type of inclusion
		Degree of gender activism

CoSOs Identity

Gender is one of the key shaper of our very understanding of CoSOs as identity definition and degree of inclusiveness/exclusiveness is mediated through understandings of masculinity and femininity, which sustain exclusion dynamics within power hierarchies underpinning the identity of subjects.

The classification of CoSO in terms of identity and ideological *Weltaushaung* is key to evaluate their potential impact of CoSOs presence and action on gender dynamics in a conflict ridden society; gender dynamics in turn shape those very identities and imbue understanding of the Self. Egalitarian CoSOs are most likely to identify with gender egalitarian agendas and promote progressive gender change; while multiculturalist, assimilationist and racist CoSOs are more likely to be constructed on disciplinary and conservative understandings of masculinity and femininity and their presence/actions may hamper progressive gender change. Even egalitarian CoSO's gender agenda however should not be assumed uncritically, since all CoSOs are embedded in relations of power, hegemonic in terms of gender, race and class. For example the bi-communal feminist organisation Women in Black in Israel has been critiqued for a strong class bias, which has substantially limited the impact of the organisations' action on the conflict and progressive gender change (Jacoby, 1999). A case to case analysis of societal context, organisations operating within and their understanding/impact on gender race and class dynamics and power struggles is therefore needed to assess the likelihood of gender change brought forwards through CoSOs actions within the conflict itself.

A gender analysis of the classification of CoSOs along the lines of their actions also contributes to assessing whether CoSOs can bring progressive gender change.

CoSOs frameworks of action

In terms of framework of action CoSOs within conflict society interact and act on gender in conflict. An analysis can be provided along the lines of the three theoretical approaches referred to in SHURwp01/07.

The **conflict management** school underplays gender as a level of analysis. This approach therefore is likely to underestimate both the effect of CoSOs on gender norms present in a conflict society as well as the significance of the gender agenda of CoSOs in shaping the possibilities to bring peace. In this approach CoSOs, such as families, religious groups and markets are a black box, where gender relations of power remain unquestioned and irrelevant to the action of a CoSOs themselves. Moreover this framework fosters a stereotypical understanding of gender roles, assuming women as victims in need of protection, cheerleaders, homemakers, nation embodiments and ethnic borders and rarely actors in shaping conflict and potentially peace. Women can be peace makers on a micro-level, but women's political role is underplayed and in the rare cases CoSOs are involved in the peace making process, while the gender norms within, their gender agenda and their likelihood to bring progressive gender change is ignored. The second Iraq war is a blatant example of this, where the drafting of the Iraqi constitution involved political parties, ethnic and religious leaders and ignored women's political groups and interests, resulting in a widely protested and widely ignored institutionalisation of *sh'aria* as the main source of law, with significant implications for gender rights within the new state. This case illustrates how a management approach, that aims at composing interests ignores gender power struggles, gender agendas of governmental and CoSO actors, and women themselves as actors of political change and key stake holders in conflict.

Other actors acknowledged as CoSOs within this framework are business actors. Women's economic role is being increasingly recognised in Western societies and some developing countries. Businesses, despite being embedded and imbued with gender norms which carry a white middle class male bias, are also highly dynamic environments where gender spaces are open to re-negotiation.

Businesses in the West have introduced "diversity and inclusion" policies, and women and stigmatised sexualities, as well as racial minorities are re-negotiating political spaces within businesses. In the developing world, successful business ventures such as the Nobel-prize winning Grameen Bank have demonstrated women's potential as actors and shapers of fantastic economic growth, thus re-negotiating a stereotypically male domain (Yunus, 1998). The role of women in business and the potential of transformation within conflict societies is complex and multifaceted and ought to be further explored. In the conflict management school of thought however this role is underplayed and understandings of gender refer to familiar and hegemonic binaries.

The management approach also recognises the media and religious and ethnic CoSO as potential interlocutors in conflict management practice. In terms of gender the media usually reiterates and amplifies these binaries playing a crucial role in constructing securitised gender identities and reflecting a un-dimensional

understanding of gender roles within conflict. When women trespass their roles of victims, cheerleaders and homemakers to become fighters, media representations portray these women as aberrations, monsters and/or hypersexualised bodies (Guardian 17, September 2005).Religious/ethnic CoSOs finally, are profoundly constructed upon understanding of gender as women embody and police the confines of the ethnic group and/or religious borders. Religious understandings of women's roles are often very discriminatory and confine women to the private sphere. If women's struggles are in any way acknowledged they are co-opted and ultimately silenced. This has been the case in many post-colonial struggles (notably Iran and Algeria) where women's organisations were co-opted by religious and other insurgent groups and their struggle included then ultimately subordinated to the religious agenda, negating women's progressive re-vindications.

The Conflict Resolution school is a better suited framework, compared to the management school to acknowledge and analyse CoSOs actions and its impact on gender norms and gender change. In SHURwp01/07, we have argued however that this framework can be gender blind to women's needs and in particular physical needs, so crucial in conflict society where women's bodies are sites of the securitisation struggles and fighting (Reiman 2005). Burton's needs theory subordinates gender needs in line with the status quo of gender and race relations and fails to grasp inequality and injustice perpetrated and sustained because of gender and race hierarchies. Gender therefore needs to be carefully considered and mainstreamed in each state of the resolution process in order to encourage re-negotiations of discriminatory power relations and re-negotiation of needs hierarchies in terms of gender and race. Gender and race need to be considered in all educational projects and service provisions (women are notoriously underserved by social services and confined to the roles of mothers and nurturers)

The Conflict Transformation framework's understanding of identity transformation offers more promising prospects to include gender sensitive CoSOs and bring progressive gender change, making post conflict society more equal and just. The conflict transformation approach focuses on conditions of social injustice, unequal development and discrimination, which generate the structural precepts of conflict, which may then emerge or not at specific points in time. Gender discrimination is quintessentially part of these inequalities, and it is one of the structural injustices that need to be addressed o in order to construct durable peace. CoSOs can contribute within a politically fluid society such as a conflict ridden one to the understanding and change of gender norms and the progression of gender equality and justice. Optimism however should be limited, as CoSOs actions within different conflict phases can hamper as well as forward gender equality, in escalation phases, during the conflict itself, de-escalation and in post-conflict peace building phase.

In the analysis of CoSOs action in post- conflict societies a strong critical analytical stand should always be maintained as in recent post conflict situations (such as in Afghanistan) the juxtaposition of local and tans-national CoSOs' actions has been proved to favour but also hinder or counteract progressive gender change. All CoSOs operate within a structure of relations of power that stretches to the sub-national, national and international level and carries agendas which are often conflicting and that sometimes add to the complexity and contradictions of the society they operate in. The emergence of prostitution industries to service international personnel (both military, and CoSOs) in conflict situations is an issue frequently evoked in our analysis. Case studies will help clarify in which conflict CoSOs have had a positive or negative impact on conflict transformation and gender equality.

Conflict society, political opportunity structure and impact

The Political Opportunity Structure is an important level of analysis to evaluate the impact of CoSOs on peace and gender. Together with the domestic institutional framework, level of development, economic, social and cultural spheres, international system and actors operating within it, gender ideologies play a key part in shaping the context and the political opportunity structure of a society where CoSOs operate. Each of these aspects, together with each of the CoSos, interact with the gender subtext and affect the likelihood of a gender equal peace and the likelihood of the violation of gender rights before, during and post conflict. The actions of fuelling, holding and peacemaking all pass through understanding of gender, promote gender agendas and affect gender justice, therefore long-term transformation within a given society. Again the gender analysis of the case studies will provide further insight in the interaction of CoSOs, gender and political opportunity structure in particular post conflict environments.

Figure 1: Determinants of CoSOs impact

7

Contextual Impact Gender Equa
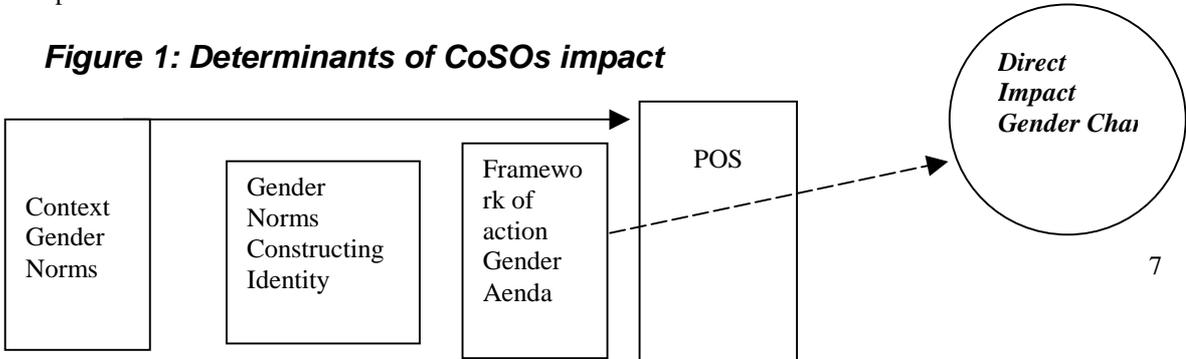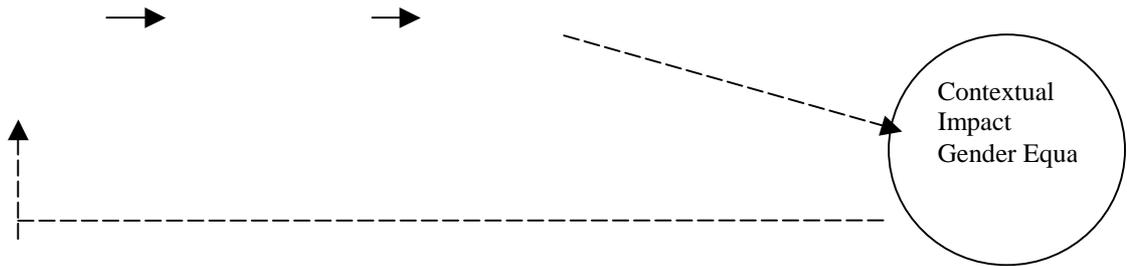
CONFLICT SOCIETIES, GENDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The same framework of analysis: structure, identity and political opportunity structure can be extended to human rights, thus unpacking the dynamics linking gender rights to conflicts and the role of CoSOs in fuelling, holding or resolving them.

On a structural level, the presence or lack of state institutions and governance, the level/inclusiveness of local economic development and the international community presence and involvement are all relevant fields of investigation. The existence of the state is the first level of structural analysis. We have mentioned that the state interacts in complex and multifaceted ways with gender equality and gender rights, being shaped and in turn shaping gender ideologies in a given society. Democratic states may favour the re-negotiation and advocacy of gender rights (as well as being ridden with institutional sexism) and a failed or weak state may leave gender rights to the jurisdiction of traditional/ religious courts and norms often strongly discriminatory against women.

In failed states, while gender rights violations may be higher, since lack of governance fosters right abuses such as rapes, discrimination and violence, political dynamics may also be more fluid and allow for the development of faster progressive gender change. In fact the relationship between progressive gender change and human rights violations is very complex and in need of thorough consideration. While there can be no gender equality where there is widespread violation of gender human rights, the violation of rights may create the pre-condition for advancement of gender equality, as massive violation of gender rights, such as the rapes in Bosnia and Rwanda, have forced the international community and local policy makers to acknowledge gender as a key political dynamic and address inequality of access (for examples to governance structures such as parliaments) and redress of the violations through transitional justice, even if sometimes interventions remain on a formal level.

In Bosnia and Rwanda for example, post conflict gender progress remains at a "formal" level while structural gender inequalities still permeate everyday life. On the other hand transitional justice, in some cases has stigmatised and re-traumatised women (Mertus, 2000) rather then afford justice to them and foster their reintegrate them in society. Analysis of the single case studies will allow to further investigate the link between failed states and post conflict societies, gender rights violations and the interaction between local CoSOs, international CoSOs and ultimately gender progressive change.

Economic development and the inclusion of women/sexual minorities in the formal economy is also a key variable to assess the likelihood of stable peace. Women tend to be more economically deprived in pre-conflict situations, for example in Iraq, women have disproportionably suffered for the economic sanctions imposed on the country in the nineties (Al Ali 2000), throughout conflict they have access to fewer resources, women are more likely to become dispossessed refugees (70% of the refugee populations are women) and to endure hardships associated with widowhood and women headed households.

The role of the international community adds a further layer of complexity to the relation of human rights, gender and conflict society investigation. The international community has endeavoured to bring progressive gender change but in many post conflict situations the presence of the international community has been a mixed blessing for women as rape by peacekeeping forces, military fuelled prostitution and exacerbation of local sensitivities with regards to gender norms has hindered local women's organisations attempts to promote gender change (Enloe 1993; Witworth 2004).

Political Identity and Gender rights

We have classified CoSOs in terms of their political identity, an identity which is constructed by gender norms and has an impact on the possibility of gender change within a given conflict society. The civic and post-national CoSOs place primary importance on individual rights, which in SHURwp01/07 we have argued, need to be the fundamental underpinning of any conceptualisation of gender rights.

The civic and post-national CoSOs however may conceptualise human rights in ways which are blind to race and gender concerns and may underplay gender rights violations since they do not acknowledge collective dimension of rights, or rather the persecution of an individual on the base of her/his collective identity, be it gender/race/class/ethnicity etc. The complex relationship between gender rights and multiculturalism as a political practice, collective concept and political identity has been extensively described in SHURwp01/07, it is to be assumed therefore that this complexity shall apply to the relationship between multicultuarlist CoSOs and gender rights. Assimilationalist and racist CoSOs, on the other hand are likely to violate gender rights and hamper progressive gender change, since gender plays a key role in shaping and policing the borders of the very identities assimilationist and racist CoSOs foster.

The 'post-national' CoSO are grounded in the concern for individual rights highlighting the rights of each individual to freely choose and develop the multiple layers of his/her identity are the best equipped to fully understand and prevent gender rights violations, as they understand gender as a key shaper of identity, but also a re-negotiation tool of identity and gender norms, at individual, structural and symbolic level.

CoSOs, Human Rights and Frameworks of Action

CoSOs operating in a **conflict escalating** mode are likely to mobilise rigid gender identities as part of the securitisation effort, thus increasing the likelihood of gender rights violations as violence increases and borders between the Self and the Other become more rigid. We have extensively argued that gender is a key mediator of this dynamic, and within conflict situations the battles between Self and Other are often carried out on women's bodies, and through discriminatory and disciplining practices on non hegemonic sexualities. CoSOs operating in a **conflict management** mode, do not place particular importance on human rights per se, and rarely place particular attention on gender rights violations. Historically, violations of gender rights, such as rape, (Askin, 1997) have been considered a natural side effect of wars. Only in wars where rape assumed genocidal scale and became a tactic of combat, such as in the case of Bosnia, gender became highly relevant for CoSOs operating in conflict management.

CoSOs operating in **conflict transformation** mode place more emphasis and on human rights, though this framework has been critiqued for being gender blind (Reiman 2005) failing to grasp human rights form an embodied needs perspective, therefore being comparatively blind to gender rights violations or the physical protection from gender rights violations. Finally, CoSOs operating in **conflict transformation mode** have an organic view of human rights in conflict and are better place at denouncing, lobbying and protecting gender rights, e.g. feminist campaigns denouncing widespread rape in the Bosnian case. CoSOs play a key role in transitional justice for gender rights, as rape, and the reparation is more likely to be successful if grassroots CoSOs are involved rather than the process being imposed from above from the international community. The framework of action of CoSOs shall be analysed in detailed in the single case study contexts.

Political Opportunity Structure and Human Rights

Four principal conditions (C2, C3, C4, C6) determine the political opportunity structure through which CoSOs act and exert their impact upon human rights in conflicts. They include timing, domestic institutions, domestic development and external actors. The timing dimension strongly relates to gender dynamics, as gender injustice is part of those structural elements and inequalities that contribute to violent mobilisation.

Table 2: Conflict stages in relation to the gender rights situation

Latent conflict: Conditions of gender structural violence exist (disciplining understanding of femininity masculinity, high levels of domestic violence.

Turning Point A: Individual gender human rights and/or constitutionally-entrenched collective rights are abused;

Escalation: Human rights abuses become gross and systematic. Mass rapes and violence against women and devalued sexualities occur systematically.

Turning Point B: Public recognition of systematic human rights violations against an ethno-political group that perceives (or begins to perceive) itself as such and counter-mobilises (violently and non-violently). Denouncing of rapes/violence perpetrated by rebel and mobilisation of discourses invoking retaliation.

Active confrontation

Turning point C: Ceasefire and settlement leading to the halting of human rights violations and establishment of constitutional and institutional provisions to prevent future violations. Continuing gender violence but not instrumental to overall conflict

---

De-escalation

    a) Reconciliation and peace
Beginning of a process of collective recognition by the violators of their human rights violations, ultimately leading to the reconciliation of subject positions.

Human rights and respected. Parties' claims are mutually fulfilled often through higher levels of institutional guarantees of group protection. Progressive gender change and progress of gender equality within a society.

    b) Relapse into violence
Either one conflict party or both views the ceasefire and/or peace settlement provisions as inadequate and resumes human rights violations against the other reigniting the escalation phase. Maintaining of " Securitised Genders".Tension and violence against women stays high, non hegemonic sexualities heavily discriminated against and abused. Gender rights abused by peacekeepers

    c) Frozen conflict
The ceasefire and/or initial peace agreement does not give way to further agreements. Gross and systematic human rights violations do not take place; but neither are past violations redressed nor the necessary measures to entrench human rights protection established.

Together with timing, the domestic institutions contribute to the level of gender violence and gender violation of human rights, though the relations between the presence of gender equality in a given society and the percentage of gender violence in a war outbreaking in a given society is rather complex and difficult to grasp at a first glance. If gender discrimination is ubiquitous, societies such as Former Yugoslavia did not fare particularly badly in terms of gender equality, as many other former communist regimes. Gender rights violations however in Bosnia have been brutal and systematic, and rape has been used genocydally. The ethnic nature of the conflict partly explains the Bosnian case.

The level of economic development within a given society and the role of women both in the formal and informal economy as well as their involvement in business activities, trade unions and labour organisations effects CoSOs human rights impact by placing women's organisation and devalued gender activism on a political ledge to shape the debate and the formal structure of the state and the economy.

Finally the international environment shapes the way CoSOs can substantially contribute to durable peace and progressive gender change. As argued above the international community can both forward and/or hamper gender ideologies within a conflict society.

    Impact on Human Rights

All three hypotesis formulated by Marchetti and Tocci touch on crucial gender related questions of the SHUR endeavour and on the role CoSOs have in shaping and changing gender norms within a conflict society. The importance of these issues is paramount, since without progressive gender change structural injustice at the root of conflict itself cannot be addressed and relapse or frozen conflict situations will prevail.

- H1: CoSOs fuel conflicts through their actions on human rights by using gender as a means of securitizing the conflict environment. These include both human rights violations and actions inducing counter mobilization which in turn permits violations to occur. Gender rights violations are used as a combat strategy and as rhetoric for retaliations towards the "violator" of the nation's body.

- H2: CoSOs hold conflicts through their actions on human rights by non-securitizing the conflict environment. These may include human rights protection as well as actions defending human rights violators in the name of peace and compromise. Gender sensitive CoSOs and women's organisations, bi-communal organisations play a role in non securitising the environment.

- H3: CoSOs transform conflicts through their actions on human rights by de-securitizing the conflict environment. These may include both human rights protection, denunciation of violation of gender rights, advancing gender equality in the conflict society therefore contributing to a more just society and overall peace.

References:

Al-Ali, Nadje. "The Impact of Economic Sanctions on Women in Iraq", The Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, UK (http://www.acttogether.org/impactonwomen.html)

Askin, Kelly Dawn, *War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution in International War Crimes Tribunals,* The Hague, M. Nijhoff , 1997.

Barriteau V, E, "Feminist Theory and Development: Implications for Policy, Research, and Action" in Parpart, Jane L , Connelly M. Patricia, and Barriteau V. Eudine eds. T*heoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development,* Ottawa, International Development Research Centre, 2000.

Bayes, Jane H and Tohidi, Nayereh Globalization, gender, and religion : the politics of implementing women's rights in Catholic and Muslim contextsm, New York ; Houndmills, Palgrave, 2001.

Bhabha., Homi K Eds, *Nation and narration,* London, Routledge, 1990

Charlton**,** Sue Ellen, Everett Jana, Staudt, Kathleen *Women, the state, and development*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1989

Enloe, Cynthia H, *The morning after : sexual politics at the end of the Cold War,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993.

Enloe, Cynthia H*., Ethnic soldiers : state security in divided societies, Athens, University of* Georgia Press, 1980.

Horowitz, D. L. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Howell, Jude and Mulligan, Diane, *Gender and Civil Society,* London, Routledge, 2004

Jacoby,Tami Amanda, *Women in zones of conflict : power and resistance in Israel,* Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Jacoby Tami Amanda, "Gendered Nation, A History of he Interface of Women's Protest and Jewish

Nationalism in Israel", *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* Vol 1 n 3 1999.

Khoury, Nabil and Moghadam, Valentine M eds. *Gender and Development in the Arab world : women's economic participation : patterns and policies ,* London, Zed Books, 1995.

Kumari Jayawardene, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World,* London, Zed Press, 1986

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1996). *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacKinnon, Catharine, *Toward a feminist theory of the state,* Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1989.

Mernissi, Fatima, *Women and Islam: an Historical and Theological Enquiry*. Blackwell 1991.

Mertus J, *War's Offensive on Women: The Humanitarian Challenge in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan*, West Hartford, Conn, Kumarian Press, 2000

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, "Under Western Eyes**:** Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", *Femi*nist Review, Vol.30, Autumn 1988

Putnam, R. D. (1992). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Radha Kumar, "Identity Politics and the Contemporary Indian Feminist Movement" chap. 13 in Moghadam V, *Identity politics and women : cultural reassertions and feminisms in international perspective,* London Zed, 1993

Rao, S., "Woman as Symbol: The intersection of identity politics, gender and Indian Nationalism" Women's Studies International Forum, Vol 22 Issue, 3, 1999.

Reiman, C, "All you *Need* is Love and What About Gender? Engendering Burton's Human Needs Theory" *Working Paper 10,* Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, University on Bradford, Jan 2002

Walby, Sylvia*, Theorizing patriarchy,* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1990

Witworth S, *Gender and International Relations*, London, MacMillan, 1994

Yunus, Muhammad, *The Banker to The Poor,* London, Aurum Press, 1998