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Participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction processes. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Rasha Kanjarawi. Participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction processes. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Humanities and Social Sciences. 2015. dumas-01269661

HAL Id: dumas-01269661

<https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-01269661>

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Participation of women in post- conflict reconstruction processes

The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Master Thesis to obtain the Master degree in International Cooperation in Urban
Development

Rasha KANJARAWI

Supervisor: Dr. Stéphane CARTIER

August 2015

Acknowledgment

Thanks are due to Dr. Stéphane Cartier, my supervisor for his opinions and aptitude for discussion that helped me develop this research.

My special thanks to Dr. Jean-Michel Roux for his feedback and advice throughout my internship and for stepping up to read and engage in this research, more so for his ongoing support on a personal and professional level.

My biggest thanks go to two amazing ladies; Tanya Villarante and Nisha Mary Polouse for their continuous support, consultation and patience. I would be forever grateful for your company in Grenoble and our incredible thesis support network.

To Aida Murtić, sister and friend, for acting as my window to Bosnia and making this research experience so personal

To the four strong women in my family and to my father; who have showed me firsthand the agency of women in all kinds of situations, and gave me the opportunity to grow up in a world of feminine power.

To a long list of inspiring strong women, whom I have met and befriended. Their courage and their belief of endless possibilities, have taught me there are a million ways to be a woman. None of them is defined by others.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks to the class of MU 2013/2015 for making the world shrink in all possible senses, and against all odds, making the past two years the best of my life.

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Abstract

The increasing number of conflicts around the world is accompanied by the increasing attention of planners, both in academia and practice, of topics related to planning in fragile situations, post-war recovery and construction. This study is specifically concerned with women's participation in reconstruction activities in the aftermath of conflict. It started from the assumption that women's participation in post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) is crucial to the success of reconstruction efforts, and embarked on an attempt to understand what influences this participation. The first research objective was to arrive to an understanding of post-conflict reconstruction as a process, its changing dynamics, and the question of participation in post-conflict context. A literature review was conducted in order to establish connections between these three topics, and identify the main questions for the analysis.

Because of the overlapping nature of literature over multiple disciplines and the relatively recent interest in the 'women and PCR' debate, this thesis relies on cross cutting themes from three different disciplines; development by looking into characteristics of post-conflict reconstruction, gender studies and women in particular, and participation.

The second objective was to examine an example and investigate the extent of women's participation in it, based on the points of analysis and questions acquired from the literature review. A case study methodology was chosen to respond to this second objective. The reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina suggests that the specific settings for the reconstruction have directly and profoundly influenced the role of women in every aspect of public life. In addition, it shows that post-conflict reconstruction is dynamic, where women participation relates to changing interests of main actors at different phases of the reconstruction process.

Finally, the study concludes that real participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction relates to the changing priorities and goals of the reconstruction phase (here called temporal dynamics), negotiation over influence between international and local actors, and the power women can exercise in situations of vulnerability. It also suggests that there's little attention given to understanding women's influence in the private sphere and its potential to create change and overall increase women's participation although in a less visible manner.

Abbreviations

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
DPA	Dayton Peace Accords
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Commission
FBH	Federation of Bosnia- Herzegovina
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia
INGO	International Non- Governmental Organization
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHR	Office of High Representative
PCR	Post-conflict Reconstruction
RS	Republika Srpska
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WB	The World Bank

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[CHAPTER ONE]

1. Introduction

“Men alone cannot rebuild war-torn societies... As countries emerge from the rubble of war, women must be equal partners in rebuilding. Supporting women’s participation in reconstruction means giving women access to the rooms where decisions are made” (Rehn & Sirleaf 2002, p.134)

The co-author Ellen Johnson Sirleaf is the first elected female head of state in Africa, currently the president of Liberia; where women successfully pushed for stopping the civil war and leading the transition to peace. The fact that Sirleaf, with a peace activist from Liberia (Leymah Gbowee) and an activist from Yemen (Tawwakul Karman)- all women-shared the Nobel Prize award for 2011, reflects the shift in the world’s attention towards acknowledging the fundamental role women could play during and after conflicts and wars have blighted their countries.

However the discussion on women and war is not new. Gender studies have long questioned the situation of women in conflict. More recently, the leading international organizations advocated for a more prominent role of women in development, especially through introducing ‘gender equality and women empowerment’ as one of the Millennium Development Goals. This all have contributed to the increasing interest in researching women’s involvement in different aspects of the development practice including post-conflict situations.

The increasing number of conflicts around the world is accompanied by the increasing attention of planners, both in academia and practice, of topics related to planning in fragile situations, post-war recovery and construction. Some even argue, like Lewis Mumford (1961) that war has shaped the city both in form and structure, since the beginning of the urbanisation process. The war was present in planning for mitigating its effects or rebuilding in its aftermath (Barakat & Narang-Suri 2009, p.109-110). Nevertheless, the history of the discipline, longitudinal studies and the evolution of scholarship and practice are still under-examined (Barakat & Zyck 2009; Calame 2005)

Currently, the discussion of post-conflict reconstruction is dominated by several questions overlapping different disciplines, on aid, economic growth, planning policies and participation, to name a few. Due to the relatively new interest in the topic, one has to research through the realms of different disciplines in order to examine a topic related to post-conflict reconstruction (PCR), which is precisely my intention for this work.

1.1. Problem statement and research objective

Many resources confirm that reconstruction in the aftermath of conflict is not sufficiently researched. And while the impact of war on women is well-covered in gender studies (especially from the perspective of women as victims of violence), the literature review for this thesis will confirm that research hasn't adequately treated the active involvement of women in rebuilding their countries. Moreover, the usage of the term 'participation' seems to be vague and overly-generalized, due partly to a lack of common understanding of the possibilities women's participation can bring to the reconstruction debate.

Therefore, this research attempts to reach an understanding on how to evaluate the role of women in PCR. Through the following objectives;

- a) Exploring prominent works of literature on PCR, participation and women's role in rebuilding war-torn societies, for the purpose of identifying different dynamics at play in a reconstruction process, the main actors in each phase and their roles. And understand where do women fit among these actors. The review attempts to establish a link between characteristics of reconstruction and participation of women.
- b) Examining the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an example of a reconstruction project where women had arguably an important role, then applying the understanding gained from the previous step on particularities of the case study in order to assess the women's involvement in a focused manner.

1.2. Research assumptions

This scarcity of academic evidence might suggest an insignificant role of women in the reconstruction process, which is a statement I strongly disagree with. Being a woman myself and coming from a country actively engaged in war for over 4 years now, my experience tells me otherwise. My interest in the topic started by questioning my role as an urban planner and how could I contribute in the future reconstruction of my country. This interest was consolidated during the first semester in the Institute d'Urbanism de Grenoble, through taking part in the [Planning for Syria] workshop, dedicated to derive lessons from PCR

experiences around the world, and subsequently working as an intern with the Institute to publish the workshop results.

Driven by this personal interest, I start this research based on the assumption that great value lies in women's participation in PCR, which is proved by the few cases where such participation took place. I argue that women's participation in the reconstruction of cities after war is influenced by the different phases of, and approaches for, a reconstruction process. Conversely, women's participation (or in some cases the lack of), influences PCR as well. And this reciprocal relationship defines the role of women in PCR. However, for this research, I will examine this relationship in the first direction and will explore how the changing ways a society rebuild itself after conflict is limiting or reinforcing the participation of women in the process.

1.3. Research question

I am framing my research around the following question:

To what extent do post-conflict reconstruction dynamics influence the participation of women in rebuilding processes?

This entails looking at the following questions;

- **To what extent do PCR policies incorporate women's participation in rebuilding processes, and in what aspects of rebuilding this participation is perceived?**
- **How do the changing political, economic, social dynamics of PCR influence the participation of women in rebuilding their societies?**
- **How effective the said participation is?**

1.4. Methodology

Because of the overlapping nature of literature over multiple disciplines and the relatively recent interest in the 'women and PCR' debate, a significant part of my research will be to investigate existing data and literature review. The literature is one on one hand academic, crosscutting between urban research, gender studies, participation discourse, and political economy. On the other hand, I use some non-academic resources which provide empirical data on PCR. This info is mostly in the form of reports and commissioned studies by organizations and/or governments concerned with best practices and evaluation of past reconstruction programmes.

Since the objective of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding and valorising of women's role in PCR, I chose the single case study methodology. As it allows, in the available time frame, to combine existing theoretical knowledge with new empirical insights and to establish and identify further research needs.

1.5. Structure of the study

The thesis will be structured as follows;

Chapter 1, Introduction: this section explains the problem statement, background and reasons behind doing this research. It consists of introducing the research question, objectives, stating the terms and definition, and setting the conceptual framework on the topic.

Chapter 2, Literature review: aiming to create a critical perspective and identify gaps in the literature in relation to women's participation in PCR. The concepts identified through the literature review will be the basis of the analysis.

Chapter 3, Research design & Methodology: done to describe the nature of the collected data and the case study methodology.

Chapter 4, Case study and analysis: this chapter consists of explaining the background information of the case study, presenting the collected data and embarking on the analysis

Chapter 5, Conclusion: to summarise the findings of this research and layout questions for further research.

1.6. Conceptual framework

Before embarking on research activity and analysis of data, there is a need to clarify some of the key terms for this research, and comment on some of the major misconceptions that involve research on the topic of women and PCR.

1.6.1. Conflict

The term 'armed conflict' has recently replaced 'war' in international law. During The Hague conference in 2010, a legal committee produced a report on the meaning of armed conflict which concluded that; "a situation of armed conflict depends on the satisfaction of two essential minimum criteria, namely: a) the existence of organized armed groups, b) engaged

in fighting of some intensity. The criterion of intensity requires that 'hostilities must reach a certain level of intensity to qualify as an armed conflict' (International Law Association 2010). In the context of post-conflict reconstruction, armed conflict is treated as a human-made disaster since it is generated from a '*combination of hazards, vulnerabilities, and pressures*', and many researchers have asserted that disaster as '*series of widening rings of social disruption*' (Calame 2005).

Moreover, the nature of global conflict have changed since the end of the cold war, and again after the 9/11 attacks. (Barakat & Zyck 2009) point out that the 1990s witnessed the outbreak of 32 wars, primarily intra-state conflicts, and, globally, 56 separate conflicts ended between 1989 and 2000, which resulted of course in the expansion of post-conflict interventions both in number and scope. Similar is the opinion of Calame, who comments on this shift and the increase in intra-state or '*civil*' wars towards '*fratricidal conflicts*', he concludes that "*the likelihood of purposeful violence in historic, heterogeneous cities increases proportionately*" (Calame 2005, p.3)

In the context of this study, the term conflict is used to refer to the human-made disaster with a level of intensity to cause large scale destruction.

1.6.2. Post-conflict Reconstruction

Many terms have been used to refer to the activities contributing to the development of societies in the aftermath of conflict. The Marshall Plan speech in 1947 called it a recovery programme. Another term is '*regeneration*', used by Michael Pugh in his book '*Regeneration of war-torn societies*'. Throughout relevant literature, the authors use alternatively '*relief*', '*development*' and '*rebuilding*' to refer to activities of the same nature. The World Bank, probably the leading organizations in regards of setting global development trends and terms, including in the aftermath of conflict defines PCR as: "*supporting the transition from conflict to peace in an affected country through the rebuilding of the country's socioeconomic framework*" (TheWorldBank 1998, p4).

Although the word '*reconstruction*' as defined by the Oxford dictionary, implies a "*re-enactment of the past event formed from the available evidence*"¹, post-conflict reconstruction doesn't simply aim to rebuild the same socioeconomic framework that existed before the conflict. Reconstruction engulfs as well the notion of a long term development as it aims to build a sustainable peace through the reconstruction process. From this perspective, PCR goes beyond rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure and housing the

¹ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/reconstruction>

displaced and it includes a wide range of activities such as: disarmament, demobilization of combatants, the return of refugees, and reconciliation, therefore combining repair and reconstruction of physical infrastructure with the interventions aiming at rebuilding institutions. (Barakat & Narang-Suri 2009; Kreimer et al. 1998; The World Bank 1998).

The interest of this study is to investigate the role of women in PCR which is understood in a larger context not limited to physical reconstruction or building of infrastructure. Therefore, throughout the course of this thesis, the term 'post-conflict reconstruction' is defined, unless otherwise indicated, as adopted from Barakat & Narang-Suri:

"Post-conflict, or post-war, reconstruction has been defined as including a range of inter-related activities designed to reactivate economic and social development, while at the same time creating a peaceful environment that will prevent a relapse into violence" (Barakat & Narang-Suri 2009, p.105)

1.6.3. Participation

Participation is a controversial issue in the development discourse, mainly since it was accredited as an essential component of a genuine development process in the past 30 years.

For the Oxford English Dictionary, participation is *'the act of partaking, having or forming a part of'*. For Majid Rahnema, participation in development has been *"reduced to the act of partaking in the objectives of the economy, and the societal arrangements related to it"*. (Rahnema 1992). However, others argue that the term needs to be refined into a more inclusive *'popular participation'* to refer to a process aiming to change the power balance and take control, instead of merely to *'participate'* in the already-established and redefined system. This also corresponds to the intention of this research. This is close to the definition by UNRISD in a discussion paper as follows: *"The organized efforts to increase control over resources and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control"*

[CHAPTER TWO]

2. Literature Review

2.1. Understanding Post-Conflict Reconstruction

The definition of post-conflict reconstruction, set in the previous chapter, demonstrates that it is not a linear, one –layered process, since it aims not just to rebuild, but also to enhance the previously existing infrastructure, and to set a climate for maintaining the fragile peace. The following section attempts to create an understanding of this multi-layered process by extracting essential concepts from the literature dealing with PCR.

The objectives of this section are to 1) shed light on the academic discussion regarding post-conflict reconstruction, the role of women in its activities, and identify gaps in the available literature. 2) Establish points and issues to question and evaluate the participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction.

2.2. Essential Concepts in the PCR debate

As discussed briefly in section 8.2 of the previous chapter, the debate on PCR starts from the **very basic definition**. '*Continuum*' has been the term frequently used in literature to describe the relationship between conflicts, relief, reconstruction and development. But this concept has been changed since its adoption in the late 1980s. More recently, it is generally understood that reconstruction can be seen as a part of the larger development process of a society emerging from conflict. (Calame 2005; Barakat & Zyck 2009). With the exception that countries in post-conflict transitions have to reconcile the development challenge with additional burdens of reconstruction and national reconciliation (Del Castillo 2001).

The debate on terminology is not simply rhetoric, it rather informs theories and practical interventions in substantial ways. The terms: reconstruction; recovery; stabilisation; and development are being used interchangeably to describe the activities of transition from conflict to peace in conflict countries. However, Barakat & Zyck (2009) argue that the term '*reconstruction*' has been criticised for suggesting a return to the '*status quo ante*' which undermines the ability of a community to overcome the cause of the conflict. Also, reconstruction has '*infrastructure-oriented connotations*' and can't reflect the broader meaning for a comprehensive reconstruction process as the term '*development*' used more recently by international organizations or '*recovery*' used by Barakat & Zyck (2009) as

another alternative. **In this research, I will maintain the term reconstruction to avoid confusion when referring to phases of PCR later.**

Research on post-conflict reconstruction rightly borrows concepts and terms from the better-researched **post-disaster reconstruction**. Although this might add to the ambiguity involving the terminology, it proved to be of high value on the practical level, especially with comparative studies. In a working paper prepared for the center for Macro Projects and Diplomacy, Jon Calame (2005) compares in pairs key concepts of post-disaster reconstruction. In his work he uses the term post disaster for both natural and man-made disaster, since disaster (natural or man-made) is a *“process defined on the basis of its human consequences, not on the phenomenon that caused it”* (Cuny in Calame 2005, p.5). With his research goal set to define a successful PCR project, learning lessons from post-natural disaster reconstruction allowed the research to focus on what creates vulnerabilities in a community prior to disaster and continues to affect that community during and after reconstruction. This transferability should proceed with caution, as Calame himself warns that post-conflict scenarios are far more complex, with a different logic and value of time, especially for outside intervention (Calame 2005).

Another term is increasingly gaining importance in research is *‘complex emergencies’*, which is explained by Weiss and Collins as: *“A complex emergency tends to be dynamic, characterized by rapid changes that are difficult to predict”* (Hasic 2004, p.16).

In conclusion, the term reconstruction is an umbrella containing a large number of activities and stakeholders. For research purposes it is necessary to breakdown this concept into smaller focus areas. The issue, as Hasic rightly points out, is that most research work focuses on one or two dimensions of post-conflict discourse without making the necessary links (Hasic 2004). To avoid this, some researchers like Birgitte Sørensen (1998), chose to divide the broad topic ‘reconstruction’ into its main components in her book on [Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction]. In order to study women’s involvement in each aspect of the reconstruction process, I will follow her example in this research, trying however to maintain the link between these three focus areas as parts of the whole that comprise the reconstruction process.

2.3. Phases of PCR

In order to evaluate the involvement of any group in a post-conflict scenario it is essential to understand the changing phases of PCR, and how the roles of stakeholders change in relation to activities and characteristics of each phase.

In general, any recovery process, regardless of the cause and the final result, will have the following successive three phases: emergency or relief, transition and reconstruction. In recent literature the final phase is called development, while in other works, development is used to refer to the long term extension of the reconstruction process. There are continuous attempts to distinguish these phases not only by their timeline, but also based on the activities that occur in each phase. Calame (2005) writes that the emergency phase is devoted to rescue, providing immediate aid, and assessing damages. The transitional phase includes people returning to normal patterns of work and social relations and permanent repairs to public utilities are undertaken. Reconstruction comes in the final phase, which also includes reordering of the community and its environment.

The length of each phase varies depending on the nature of the disaster, the scale of the damage and the circumstances of the community and its resources. The length of the emergency phase reflects both disaster magnitude and the available societal resources (Calame 2005). Tigran Hasic (2004), in his work on planning reconstruction in post-conflict zones, describes in detail four phases for moving from war to sustainability. These are: peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace building, and sustainable development. The description doesn't provide an estimate for the phases except for peace building phase, which is estimated between 7-14 years, and in turn is divided into many components. It is worth noting that the sub-phase he calls reconstruction and recovery, he estimates to last between 5 and 10 years (Figure 1)

Phase	Sub-phase	Duration of phase (years)
Peacemaking	Conflict Resolution	Δ
	Peace Negotiations	
	Cessation of Hostilities	
Peacekeeping	Maintenance of Peace Accords	Δ
Peace building	Transition	1-2
	Consolidation	1-2
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rehabilitation • Peace Stabilization • Restoration 	
	(Re) construction and Recovery	5-10+
Sustainable development		Δ

Figure 1- Phase of moving from war to sustainable development, (Hasic, 2004, p.15) based on Haughton, Ball and Halevy (Δ) Hard to predict

Regardless of alternative use of vocabulary, clearly defined phases of the reconstruction process can be very useful for research activities. In reality however, the boundaries between these phases are blurred, and often overlapping (Van Horen 2002). Sometimes, additional phases can be added, such as peace negotiations or cessation of hostilities as per

the previous example. In other cases, a final phase for *'fostering sustainability'* is mentioned to indicate that the post-conflict development is a long-term process on which activities don't end with the end of the reconstruction of infrastructure. For the international organizations concerned with this field, looking into the phases of PCR entails finding the best timing for their intervention. In 1997, the World Bank endorsed a new *'Framework for World Bank Involvement in Post-Conflict Reconstruction'* which advised the Bank's role in correspondence with five phases of conflict situation. These phases are:

- *"A watching brief in countries in conflict.*
- *Preparation of a transitional support strategy as soon as resolution is in sight*
- *Early reconstruction activities, proceeding as soon as field conditions allow*
- *Post-conflict reconstruction (under emergency procedures).*
- *A return to normal lending operations".* (Kreimer et al. 1998, p.40)

It is interesting to note that the Bank operates in complete flexibility through these phases and can revert its intervention to a previous phase if circumstances change, which indicates that PCR phases are distinguished according to the needs of a post-conflict society and not necessarily successive on a linear timeline. It also consolidates the previously mentioned opinion that the lines between the so-called phases are blurred, while research assumptions often simplify complexities of real situations. **However, for this research, and as will be discussed later in this chapter, it is important to get an understanding of the phases of a reconstruction process, as viewed in literature, in order to assess the changing dynamics of this process and the gender roles' changes over these phases.**

2.4. Is there a theory for planning post-conflict reconstruction?

The available literature on PCR is dominated by, and oriented towards, professionals in the field rather than academics working on planning theory. Their goal is to sum up experiences, knowledge and methods rather than engage in a theoretical debate on the nature of PCR. That is not to say there's no academic interest in the topic, but to elaborate how much detailed research on theory is still needed. As Calame (2005) notes there is *"a chronic lack of research to facilitate change and improvement in the post-conflict relief system; studies tend to be overly technical, segmented, and short term. Results are rarely placed in a standard framework that would allow for translation from one post-war scenario to another, as noted by Cuny and others"* (Calame 2005, p.2). However, the author, like other scholars, dedicates his research work to the purpose of finding the success factors of a post-war reconstruction project not to building theories. Nevertheless, his opinion is shared by other authors like Sørensen (1998), Barakat & Zyck (2009) and Hasic (2004), the latter who

confirms that *“the body of knowledge related to post-conflict reconstruction lacks a strong and cohesive theory”* (Barakat & Zyck 2009, P.1080). In his view, empirical works and theoretical research simply have different objectives. While empirical work is based on observation and collecting field data, and in some smaller cases contains deep comparative analysis, theoretical research on the other hand is concerned with conceptualizing relationships, how planning programs should address the complexity of PCR, and strategic coherence between long-term and short-term approaches to reconstruction.

In response to this lack of theoretical grounds, some works have been dedicated to building theory in order to guide the research work, while others were content with adopting theories from other disciplines and apply them on PCR. Tigran Hasic as an example, dedicates his research work towards development of grounded theory, where theory is generated from data, to look into crucial aspects of post-conflict reconstruction planning. Such theories are *‘empirically grounded in the data which they arise’*, and can be used as a starting point for theories on a topic with such empirical-dominated literature (Hasic 2004). Barakat and Zyck (2009) have discussed in length the evolution of post-conflict recovery and its trends. After criticising attempts at theorisation and ideologies, they suggest that *“bodies of thought could be borrowed from other disciplines and adapted for use in post-conflict recovery. International relations and international development may provide two of the most obvious directions when addressing questions of intervention, sovereignty and global balances of power; economic, sociological and psychological theories also apply directly, for instance to collaborative governance, institutional behaviour and conflict vulnerability”*. (Barakat & Zyck 2009, P.1080)

2.5. The changing dynamics of PCR

As discussed above, there can be many phases for the transition of a country from conflict to peace and development, and in each phase the actors, interests and power relations change. To study reconstruction, we need to understand which fundamental issues need to be tackled. These issues were explained in works done for the [The Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology], where Feil, Hamre and Sullivan established four pillars for post-conflict reconstruction: **security, justice/reconciliation, social and economic well being, and; governance and participation** (Feil 2002; Hamre & Sullivan 2002). For successful PCR efforts to be successful, work in these areas must be integrated (Figure 2).

The framework tasks are organized around four distinct issue areas, or “pillars” of reconstruction: Security; Justice/Reconciliation; Social/Economic Well-Being; and Governance/Participation.

- Security addresses all aspects of public safety, in particular establishment of a safe and secure environment and development of legitimate and stable security institutions.
 - Justice and Reconciliation address the need for an impartial and accountable legal system and for dealing with past abuses; in particular, creation of effective law enforcement, an open judicial system, fair laws, humane corrections systems, and formal and informal mechanisms for resolving grievances arising from conflict.
 - Social and Economic Well-Being address fundamental social and economic needs; in particular provision of emergency relief, restoration of essential services to the population, laying the foundation for a viable economy, and initiation of an inclusive, sustainable development program.
 - Governance and Participation address the need for legitimate, effective political and administrative institutions and participatory processes; in particular, establishing a representative constitutional structure, strengthening public sector management and administration, and ensuring active and open participation of civil society in the formulation of government and its policies.
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Figure 2- The four pillars of post-conflict reconstruction (Hasic 2004, p.46) based on Feil, Hamre & Sullivan

Based on these four pillars, Hasic then moves to creating a new model for PCR planning, named the SCOPE model. This model identifies seven pillars for sustainable post-conflict reconstruction as; emergency, stabilization, transformation and revitalization, structural change, adaptation, prosperity and sustainable development. Then they are divided with seven cross-cutting areas; physical, economic, social, political, technological, environmental and intellectual which form the foundation for building a strategic framework of PCR planning issues (Figure 3).

Introducing this group of interlinked issues simply follows the line of thinking discussed previously and reiterates the fact that PCR, is **a dynamic process constantly changing over time, and that its areas of focus are highly inter-linked**. There are many reasons to view the PCR as a dynamic process, from the massive human movement, demographic imbalance, to the rapid and abrupt change in the political and socio-economic structure of societies emerging from conflict. And this sort of thinking assumes that the four phases transected with seven pillars will overlap and emerge during the time of reconstruction

Yet the originality of Hasic work is in introducing his approach of parallel systems as this analysis allows the *“reconstruction be not seen solely as a ‘phase by phase’ effort, but more as a parallel systems approach endeavor until full recovery and proactive stabilization”* (Hasic 2004, p.49).

Table 8. Inside the SCOPE model: Seven pillars and four linked issues

Inside the SCOPE: Conceptual generation through the method of grounded theory	● Emergency Stabilization	● Transformative and Revitalization	● Structural Change and Adaptation	● Prosperity and Sustainable Development
Physical Rehabilitation of Residential, Neighborhood Areas Urban Design, Spatial and Regional Planning Integrated Infrastructure Systems Economic Ownership of Property – Property Rights Economic Base for Business Growth and Employment Market Economy & New Private Sector Social Restoration of Social & Cultural Heritage Renewal of Social Capital, Security & Reconciliation Ethnicity, Gender and Inclusion of Diaspora Political Stable Institutions & Legal Framework Building of Consensus and Fostering Partnerships Social Justice and Good Governance Technological New Communication Services & Networks IT Development, R&D Investment and Innovation New Technologies, Integration and Logistics Environmental Protection of Human Environments and Human Health Natural Hazards Reduction of Pollution and Hazards Eco-systems & Risk Management Intellectual Research, Development & Entrepreneurship Creativity, Innovation and Benchmarking Education, Children & Human Capital	Reconstruction and built-up of the housing stock, Restoration of all basic services, telecommunications, energy, water, transport and waste, Protection of key and critical infrastructures, Revival of cultural and civic nodes, Ensuring access to basic needs, International financial assistance, Reopening of markets and acceptance of informal economies, Securing the banking and fiscal systems, Micro-enterprises and public work projects, Protection of dislocated, refugees and ethnically cleansed people, Socio-Psychological help for the afflicted, Separation of afflicted groups until the healing process begins, Immediate concerns about the social capital, Transitional law, justice authorities and monitoring systems need to be put in place, Utilization of local capacity and mechanisms and systems in place, Removing the war criminals and those that impede peace and rule of law, Reestablishment of basic economic activity, industry and food production, Restoration of critical technological capacities, Stabilization and reopening of logistics, Restoration of major communication and service arteries, Protection of vulnerable elements of society (old, women, refugees, sick and children), Clearance of mines a priority, Containing of hazard pollution and clean up of waste, Disease and outbreak prevention, Immediate protection of afflicted human capital, Identification of community, group and individual needs of all ethnic groups, Initiating ideas on all levels for build-up of country, Focus on fundamental needs.	Establishment of transportation and distribution networks, Build up of compact settlements and livable places, Sustainable neighborhoods side-by-side, Initiation of all types of enabling housing programs, Respect of cultural heritage, Equal promotion of rural and urban economic revitalization, Restoration of agriculture sector and return to hinterlands, Right methods in place to settle disputes over property rights, Proactive steer of informal economies, Restoration of cultural heritage with a sensitive approach, Separation of ethnic communities permitted on the short and medium run until healing process takes over, Security issues resolved in communities, Built up of trust enabled, Defining of political parties and governance building on the actual situation, Clear legal foundations and just political process, Bridging the divides in a constructive way without unjust pressures, Election process flowing in a just way, Development of IT & telecommunication networks in urban centers and hinterlands, Build up of open and just media coverage, Innovation in industry and agricultural production, Promotion of renewables, Capacity building and benchmarking, Setting and adopting of environmental standards for industry, Sustainable transportation and reduction of pollution from industry and household energy consumption, Upgrading of the medical sector, Eradication of diseases, Restoration of intellectual nodes of learning, research and development, Initiate programs for gender inclusion and develop the educational cadre, Actions for repatriating refugees in the build-up of country, Equal opportunities.	Development of courthouses and revival of small town feeling and traditional neighborhoods, Urban revival and smart transportation, Land reform plans and measures, Focus on public spaces as places of civic activity, Removal of culture of economic dependency, Indigenous capacity, Phasing out of relief and aid donation programs, Institutionalization of long-term development programs, Social security and pension systems in place, Restoration of social capital within and from outside (diaspora), Full functioning systems in place for dealing with abuses of the past (tribunals), Focus on functional accommodation (bringing people together on common interests), Dismantling of organized crime, fraud, trafficking and corruption, Fully functioning police, justice system laws and military infrastructure (ethnic justice), Transparent election process with open referendum possibilities, GIS, LIS and other systems in place, Integration of power demands and generation capabilities with the economic strategy of the country, Technological advances in Agriculture, Free flowing and operational logistics, De-mining process completed, Sustainable systems in agricultural production and protection, Promotion of natural resource management, Focus on eco-tourism, Health education and protection at highest standards, Built up of education facilities on all levels according to the needs and strategies of the country, Incorporation of good applicable practices, Support for entrepreneurship, Incentives for the return or diaspora inclusion.	Affordable Housing for all, Free Access and flow of diversified transport, Established building and Land Codes, Livable and healthy cities in spatial planning and urban design, Multicultural spatial communities, Cadastre and Land Management at highest standards, Competitive Advantage on a Regional Scale, Self-sustaining economic base with strong local industries and proactive exchange between the hinterland and cities, Stable macro economic framework in place, Free market reforms firmly established, Normalized relations between ethnic groups on the system side-by-side or together, Close ties with the diaspora, Reconciliation and healing completed, Security and conflict prevention fully functioning, Gender issues at highest standards, Respect of ethnicity and nations, Governance system based on international norms, Democratic elections, institutions and political representatives, Free media and press, Transparency and anti-corruption standards in place, Traditional structures reconciled with new government structures and practices, Part of the global wireless society, High technologies penetrating the low-income communities, New technologies in support of a new dialogue between communities, Universal access ensured by government, Enabled basis for Hi-Tech exports and future development, Highest environmental standards are set in place, Protection of Human health and eco-systems in place, Natural hazard protection and mitigation of disasters, Health institutions and systems accessible to all, Risk prevention and Management plus minimized risk conflict, Competitive research institutions and development of local capacity at all levels, Reduction of brain flow and enablement of creative atmosphere, Investment in education, research and development, Return and future active involvement of expatriates (diaspora).
Four linked issues: parallel priority-temporal dynamics-equal weight-proactive intervention				

Figure 3- Explanation of SCOPE model for planning in PCR situations (Hasic 2004, p.47).

In the following discussion, I will divide the reconstruction process into three main components; political, economic and social. Although they are inter-connected in reality, I will introduce literature on each area by looking into the following points:

1. What are the activities comprising this component in PCR?
2. What are the power relations between the main actors?
3. How does the role of women change in regards to this focus area?
4. Dynamics: how does this role change throughout the different phases of transition from conflict to sustainable peace?

2.5.1. Political reconstruction

The discussion on political reconstruction concerns the new political system in a post-conflict country and encompasses the following issues; peace-building, democratization, and legal reform (Sørensen 1998), political activism and peace negotiations (Bouta et al 2005) demilitarization, and governance (Calame 2005). According to the World Bank, every PCR assistance should among other objectives “re-establish the framework of governance by strengthening government institutions, restoring law and order, and enabling the organizations of civil society to work effectively” (The World Bank 1998, p.4). In Sørensen’s words, political reconstruction means “reaching an agreement regarding power-sharing and political priorities” and “requires the establishment and development of legitimate,

accountable and capable institutions which ensure a minimum degree of security and protection of all citizens' rights" (Sørensen 1998, p.3).

Post-conflict societies often have flawed or weak national civil institutions, and sharp political polarization (Del Castillo 2001), generally a lack of trust in institutions is prevalent (The World Bank 1998). The discussion of political reconstruction often includes the role of the government in the post-conflict political structure. Calame (2005) argues that the immediate phase of reconstruction calls for the involvement of central governmental authority due to the need for rapid, large scale response to wartime disaster. This role he associates to successful recovery plans through sharing the responsibilities of long term projects with local agencies. *"A power balance is necessary for public acceptance of the program: central government can insure continuity and local administrators can respond more directly to community needs throughout the process of reconstruction"*. (Calame 2005, p.18)

In other cases where the central government is too weak to assume such a role, the term *'fragile'* or *'failed state'* has been used increasingly in literature. The term is often associated with a state's incapacity to discharge its core, basic functions, owing to the lack of capacity and/or will to do so (Dom & Gordon 2011). This situation occurs when basic services and functions outlined in the social contract between state and citizens cannot be provided and the state loses its negotiating power with its people (OECD 2008); an issue of central importance in post (even ongoing) conflict situations.

Since PCR relates to the political system that appears after the conflict, it is naturally affected by the changing power relations between different actors in the political system dominating the country in the aftermath of conflict. As Eric Verdeil puts it *"post-war reconstructions are controversial and politically charged"* (Verdeil 2015,p.1). This post-conflict system can be designed formally through the peace negotiations and agreement like the cases of Lebanon (Taif Agreement in 1989) and Bosnia (Dayton Peace Accords in 1995). In both cases, administration and government were divided among the different political actors of the conflict. In such scenarios therefore the participating stakeholders in formal peace negotiations will determine the formal power relations for the post-conflict phase.

Dynamics of women's participation in political reconstruction

In regards to women's participation in political reconstruction the main issues as summarized by Sørensen by asking the following question; *"will the emerging political system recognize and protect women's rights and interests? And will women be able to influence and participate in the political process?"* (Sørensen 1998, p.3).

To answer this question, we should also look at the ways in which conflict had transformed the role of women. Bouta & Frerks (2002) give a lot of value to women organization in conflict situations, especially in working towards peace and stability of their communities. Their research focus is on the role of women groups and NGOs based on their work for peace, which *“has been identified as a unique opportunity by many women living in conflict situations to become organized at all levels of society, particularly in the non-governmental sector, which in various countries did not even exist before the conflict”* (Bouta & Frerks 2002, p.32). The authors however go on to explain that such role of women as professionals in conflict management, while ‘increasingly acknowledged’ and important is not well implemented as *“women until now have largely been excluded from military and civilian roles in this field”* (Bouta & Frerks 2002, p.42). Sørensen confirms that structural & situational factors resulting from women’s former position in the landscapes of conflict, as (internally displaced persons, widows, single breadwinners, victims of rape or torture, ex-combatants, refugees, etc), that these factors will partially determine the position of women in their post-conflict societies (Sørensen 1998). Her research compares between cases where women had an active role during conflict and combat like Eritrea and Mozambique and cases like Afghanistan and Algeria where participation was limited by a patriarchal social structure.

Since women, as citizens, have different needs and priorities from those of their male counterparts, and their participation in these peace negotiations would ensure adequate attention to their views (Sørensen 1998). However, informally there is a different level of negotiating power and roles, and it strongly relates to the roles that were assumed by different groups of actors before and during the war. Such negotiations have their effect on the post-conflict reconstruction, as they shape the circumstances surrounding the reconstruction process. At this level, Sørensen points out that *“women from all walks of life are among the most ardent participants, involved in a wide array of activities”* still the value of these activities, is not always fully recognized (Sørensen 1998, p.6).

Women’s participation in the post-conflict political life also depends on a considerable yet a controversial support by international intervening agencies. Through supporting women organizations and working through activities with focus on women’s role in decision-making, peace building, and reconciliation and more increasingly, post-conflict reconstruction (Sørensen 1998; Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006). We should note at which level the participation of women is taking place, what political interests it serves, and the tools by which this newly assumed role of women is achieved (quota, representative voting, political activism of women groups, etc...). For example, many feminist writers explain that democratization is the most promising mechanism to increase women's influence and

inclusion in decision-making processes (Sørensen 1998). However, Bouta et al (2005) mention that *“it is not clear whether gender role changes really increase women’s participation in formal political processes and high-level positions”* (Bouta et al. 2005, p.147).

When discussing women’s political participation, it should be noted that the term ‘political’ has been largely defined by men. And their activities are often labelled by the type of community they belong to, as being; ‘charitable’, ‘volunteer’ or ‘social’, neglecting the political dimension of this work. The most important aspect of political participation is political representation. This is understood as ‘right to vote’ and the ‘right to be voted for’. Elections should be discussed from a gender perspective, as in the. Many countries have established the right for women to vote, still women face other obstacles to make their voices heard (Sørensen 1998). Most of these obstacles are created by norms and understandings of the patriarchal society, adding to that the limited political experience since politics is largely considered a male-domain. Bouta and Frerks (2002), explain that in contexts where women had been excluded for long times from the political life, it is recommended that training might be needed to compensate for the lack of experience and to increase women’s knowledge on a range of political topics that are pertinent under non-conflict situations.

2.5.2. Economic reconstruction and aid

Economic reconstruction defines the development priorities and trajectory of growth in a post-conflict situation, it also forms the financial foundation guiding the rebuilding of infrastructure, housing stock and services. Economic reconstruction of a country emerging from war is a vibrant, complicated and multi-faceted process. It takes form on individual and collective levels, both in a legal and illegal manner (Sørensen 1998). Since recovery of livelihoods is the corner stone of any work of reconstruction, it is necessary to understand the meaning and activities designed for this recovery by discussing the following points:

- The main actors with their roles in this recovery process;
- Available opportunities in the formal and informal job markets; and
- Women’s opportunities in post-conflict situations

Actors

Main actors include; the country’s government, the private sector, and international/transnational organizations, sometimes referred to as global actors. Jon Calame (2005) explains that in post-disaster situations when the local government is too *‘dysfunctional’* or disorganized to provide a platform for professional intervention, the private investment fills the void and becomes a surrogate for municipal authority.

Reconstruction economics are tied to political incentives (Calame 2005), in the meaning that central governments would rarely subsidize projects on principal, and that too often the reconstruction is tied to political priorities. This is not exclusive to governments, global actors also operate based on political priorities, which leads to authors like Schneider & Susser questioned in their book *Wounded Cities* as such; *“whether struggles for humanitarian principles can find expression in rebuilding, as global capital, accompanied by neoliberal policies and privatization, extends its reach”* (Schneider & Susser 2003, p.21)

The role of global actors is largely seen through international emergency relief and development aid, which in the short term provides much needed assistance. However, research shows that more usually this period of opportunity is short lived and insufficient to compensate for all losses, especially those systemic and secondary disaster impacts that may only be felt some time after the initial disaster shock (Pelling et al. 2002).

In the development discourse, the topic on emergency and development aid is a highly controversial one, and is outside the scope of this thesis. However, it is still relevant to view the following remarks of Calame on the effects of aid: *“it is not unusual to find that aid aggravates the same tensions it is meant to assuage”* (Calame 2005, p.10). The power balance between foreign and local actors, as I will discuss later in this research, is vital to the success of a reconstruction process. On the course of discussing best practices of economic rebuilding, he advises; *“Neither [foreign interveners], not the aid they provide, should compete with local hierarchies or economies”* (Calame 2005, p.7)

Job market

Conflict brings different economic coping mechanisms. The war economy is typically characterized by illegal economic activity to meet consumer demand that are not anymore available at the market, and to raise money for other activities whether investment, or saving for production purposes (Sørensen 1998)

In addition to illegal activities, some opportunities exist in the formal and informal job markets. Bouta et al. (2005) explain that in the post-conflict phase the formal employment sector usually expands, as the reconstruction process starts, new sectors emerge such as tourism, and the presence on a large international community. Generating employment can contribute to preventing a resurgence of conflict, and PCR activities usually include formal sector employment training programmes mainly targeting male ex-combatants (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006).

Dynamics of women's participation in economic reconstruction

During and in the aftermath of a conflict, women often have the opportunity to assume new roles. As household heads with most of the men engaged in active combat or lost to the war, they sometimes become the sole breadwinners for their family, which allows for bigger opportunities in the formal and informal job market. Women's participation in economic PCR pertains understanding activities reviving the economy, in addition to the gender roles in a given community before the outbreak of violence. The World Bank calls for larger investment in women and women's associations, particularly in the context of supporting a transition from conflict as changes in family structures have a major impact on economic recovery (The World Bank 1998)

The most important question to understand in women's role in PCR is the following: *"will the emerging economic environment be conducive to women's empowerment, or will it rather reinforce economic marginalization and increase women's vulnerability?"* (Sørensen 1998,p.18)

There are different changing dynamics in conflict and post-conflict economies; the demographic changes, the imbalance of gender ratio in the labour market during then after the conflict, and nature of economic activities. Women usually turn to temporary economic 'coping strategies', with the men away, and the need for women to make ends meet. The most prominent domains where women usually do economic activities are agriculture and the informal sector. Through mobilising old networks and establishing new ones based on, as Sørensen (1998) argues, kinship, residence or shared experiences and interests in order to restore their livelihoods.

During conflict, with the men away, women are encouraged and indeed are required, to enter the formal labour market even when this contradicts existing gender roles. Opportunities in the formal sector vary from country to country and usually depend on the specific situation of the country and the circumstances of the conflict (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006). Whether women's war activities continue after the war ends, and take part of post-conflict economic recovery depends on many factors. There are however, main points challenging this participation, which can be explained as follows;

- **Women's access to land**, which sometimes contradicts with customary laws even when guaranteed by state law. This is a big disadvantage for women especially since many assume a new role in agriculture when men are away at war and these gains would be lost when post-conflict economic and legal systems start functioning again. (Bouta & Frerks 2002; Bouta et al. 2005; Sørensen 1998)

- **Employment in the formal sector**, comprises rebuilding of national institutions and private sector investment, and depends on access to education and skills training. Opportunities are closely linked to political manipulation of gender roles in setting national priorities on the economic level. (Bouta et al. 2005, Sørensen 1998)
- **The informal sector** is more accessible to women where they can demonstrate a entrepreneurial spirit. However, in some cases, the success of women might back fire against their interest, as it threatens the male-dominated state institutions. Such cases have occurred in Guatemala and Zimbabwe the latter where, according to Cheater and Gaidzanwa (1996) cited in Sørensen (1998), the state adopted regulations and practices that undermined women's entrepreneurial activities and marginalized them as 'problem citizens'. Although informal, these activities are not necessarily illegal. As mentioned earlier, in a war economy the illegal market thrives and women could become part of such activities.
- Another issue of importance is prostitution as an option for women to provide for themselves and families during conflict. While it may be considered illegal depending on the country, it often results in stigmatization and marginalization of women in their society. (Sørensen 1998)

Following the emergency phase, the financial flow begins to change, and provision of international aid rapidly decreases and private foundations suffer from 'donor fatigue'. Regional tensions create long-term demands on "*philanthropic sources after the conflict has disappeared from the headlines*" (Calame 2005, p.20) .It is at this time that women's contribution gets pushed to the background with the emergence of other employment priorities. (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006) comment on the changes in post-conflict countries as they shift from old to new industries to construct a modern, global economy, women are usually the first to be laid-off and the last to be rehired because of the traditional view that men are the main breadwinners despite increasing numbers of female-headed households and constitutionally-enshrined equal rights. This opinion is shared by Bouta et al. (2005) and Sørensen (1998) who writes on cases where high male unemployment caused by economic decline and other post-conflict activities like demobilization often leads to exclusion of women from employment in the formal sector.

Changes in the economic activities in post-conflict era is said to affect women in a different way. Greenberg & Zuckerman (2006) and Sørensen (1998) provide accounts from various post-conflict societies suggesting that women typically find it difficult to adjust to post-conflict society because it often dismisses the experiences and skills they have gained and disapproves of their new self-awareness.

On the other hand, Greenberg & Zuckerman (2006) support the argument that; PCR can be an opportunity for 'new starts' that develop more equal gender roles and overcome gender barriers to development, while at the same time noting that research hasn't proven this argument yet. Still the challenge is, as they explain, is to achieve a gender-based PCR socioeconomic development, as PCR and macroeconomic reform agendas are usually in conflict. That is because post-conflict reconstruction requires heavy socioeconomic financing that donor-imposed public expenditure management programmes often constrain (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006)

Finally, a few authors have discussed the result of globalization and shifting to new liberal economic model and privatization, and how they affect economically vulnerable groups including women. Greenberg & Zuckerman (2006) states that donor-imposed privatization activities always seem to bypass and harm poor groups such as female-headed households and benefit the better-off. This is evident in the research done by Kreimer et al. in (1998), by studying the experience of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, and Georgia to conclude that women frequently lost their jobs during privatization because of the reinstatement of former employees or the closing of the enterprises themselves. Even when they continued working in privatized firms, women often lost medical and other benefits.

2.5.3. Social reconstruction and rebuilding the social capital

Social reconstruction aims to rehabilitate the social infrastructure of a society and it tries to provide population with healthcare, education and other services. It also deals with the psychological and cultural and social aspects of the losses caused by war. It tries to generate an inclusive social environment with a minimum of marginalization and stigmatization, to build trust and deal with the root causes of the conflict in order to reduce the risk of renewed violence. (Sørensen 1998; Bouta et al. 2005)

The activities often include; rehabilitation of social services (education, healthcare which also includes responses to war-related diseases and trauma), and social integration like creating programmes for ex-fighters, and training for refugees and women.

Providing these services is essential to allow people to contribute in the PCR process. It is highly important to acknowledge that the task of social reconstruction is immense and complex. Yet, it constitutes a window of opportunity for social change. Additionally, it includes the renegotiation and reconstruction of family and gender are spurred first by practical dilemmas facing people during and after war when, as we have seen, individuals are entrusted with new responsibilities and tasks (Byrne; El-Bushra and Mukarubuga,) cited in Sørensen (1998,)

In order to understand how women participate in social reconstruction, we need to review what effect conflict has on destruction of the pre-war social capital.

The modern intrastate armed conflict targets social sector institutions directly and aims at massive social disintegration. Countries are obliged to follow international norms to minimize direct harm to civilians, in conflicts between countries, unlike warring factions in intrastate conflict, where practices like direct attacks on civilians, ethnic cleansing, and conscious attempts to destroy the supporting civilian infrastructure, take place (Sørensen 1998, Kumar 2001). Furthermore, the social services suffer during conflict from lack of funding, caused by reallocations of funding to the military domain, and lack of personnel due to different reasons caused by the conflict.

In addition to threatening the physical health of civil populations in general, wars also cause wide psycho-social suffering. Mass rape, torture, disappearances, killing, abuse, violence, and so on expose people to extraordinary situations which gradually erode their self-esteem and self-confidence, and generate a loss of meaning and control (Sørensen 1998).

Main actors

The structure of post-conflict society emerges from the integration of government policy and social practices. The main actors in social reconstruction are; government institutions, as they influence the definitions of rights and the distribution of resources), local organizations of civil society. And society is the sphere where new identities and positions are negotiated and constructed.

Dynamics of women's participation in social reconstruction

“While formal organizational structures may indeed have broken down as a result of war, some form of social structures and capacities will inevitably survive and can provide the basis on which to build new institutions” (Barakat 2007, p.34).

As far as women are concerned, the main question in social reconstruction is; will social reconstruction generate socioeconomic relationships that are advantageous to women?

As women often carry the main responsibility for the well-being and development of their families and communities, they are particularly affected by the destruction of social infrastructure. In most conflict situations gender roles dictate that women become the primary home health care providers. During conflict, women become active in providing these services as the household tasks become more complex and numerous, and the community faces increased risks of communicable diseases and epidemics (Bouta et al.

2005; Sørensen 1998). In most war-affected societies, female health professionals have put their skills and experiences to good use, as have women with relevant practical experience, by joining relief and health organizations such as the Red Cross, or by forming voluntary associations which not only provide medical assistance, but also organize training and discussion groups on health-related issues (ILO, 1994; Kasmann and Körner, 1996; Lipsky and Nimol, 1993; Marcus, 1996b; Young, 1994 in Sørensen 1998)

Studies of local level associations show that while many concentrate initially on physical health problems, most soon incorporate other aspects, demonstrating the intimate link between health and socio-economic conditions (Sørensen 1998). This points out to another orientation of many women's activities, namely their explicit effort to link healing with inter-ethnic interaction and reconciliation. Examples from former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, and South Africa shows great efforts by women to provide support and work against violence (Sørensen 1998).

Research shows that **education** features high on the agendas of women for PCR, and it is the main field of activity for most of the women's grassroots organizations. In many cases, women often provide childcare and home schooling to their children during conflict. This involvement may strengthen their skills and organizational capabilities, which motivates them to organize and take on more public roles during or after conflict (Bouta et al. 2005).

As the demographics of a conflict-country change, so does the nature and challenges of providing social services to its population, adding to these challenges, difficulties of integration of refugees and displaced. In this regards, after women assume new roles during conflict, they find it hard to get back to their pre-war roles and status especially in traditional environment, particularly in family structure, division of labour, social participation and other opportunities (Sørensen 1998).

Sometimes the challenge is doubled, particularly for rural women, as women often deal with domestic violence resulting from insecurity of their male partners who are recently released from armed forces and unemployed (Bouta et al. 2005). Quoting Preston (1994) cited in Sørensen (1998) on Namibia's case: "*Women accustomed to leadership in exile were soon observed to suppress their skills so as to achieve community acceptance*" (Sørensen 1998, p.37). Many returnees are also faced with difficult 'social attitudes' in their local community that perceives refugees who have lived abroad as strangers who have accumulated wealth (Sørensen 1998).

“Rebuilding social capital and cohesion are deeply gendered processes, even though they are still described in a non-gendered manner” (Bouta et al. 2005, p 123). Increasingly, PCR is implemented through community-driven approaches which lead to more gender-balanced representation in local decision making processes. Sustaining this balance on the long-term with the set of changing dynamics in the PCR process could provide a springboard for greater women’s empowerment and involvement in broader political processes (Bouta et al. 2005).

2.6. Changing gender roles in conflict

One of this research’s hypotheses is that women’s roles in a conflict society continuously change according to the development of said conflict, as they assume different responsibilities and go through different experiences before, during and after conflict. This is true for both sexes; men’s roles also change greatly between these phases. This can be explained through a larger understanding of gender roles in development discourse in general, and in conflict in particular. Even if the term ‘gender’ doesn’t exclusively equal women, we can still get a better understanding on women’s situation through the lens of gender studies and theories.

In her text book on gender and development, Janet Momsen defines gender roles as; *“the household tasks and types of employment socially assigned to women and men) are not fixed and globally consistent and indeed become more flexible with the changes brought about by economic development”* (Momsen 2004, p.2)

She explains that in gender studies the role of women can be summarized in:

- Biological reproduction: childbearing and early nurturing of infants, which only women are physiologically capable of performing.
- Social reproduction: the care and maintenance of the household. This involves a wide range of tasks related to housework, food preparation and care for the sick. In addition, it also includes social management, and maintaining kinship linkages, developing neighbourhood networks and carrying out religious, ceremonial and social obligations in the community (Momsen 2004, pp.46-47)

Still, gender roles differ from one society to another and have greatly changed through time. As Bouta & Frerks put it *“Women’s roles are not given by nature, but are negotiable”* (Bouta & Frerks 2002, p.27). This can be explained by understanding that gender relations are socially constructed, as the underlying notions of femininity and masculinity are negotiated interpretations of what it means to be a man or a woman in a given society, and they define the accepted role for each of them. (Momsen 2004)

To look at PCR with a gendered perspective, we must look at the following aspects:

- The gender roles in society & division of labour
- Is post-conflict reconstruction a gendered process?

Gender roles

Literature works evidently support the claim that violent socio-economic changes enforced by the conflict, have in many cases introduced women to new opportunities and positions outside their usual role as caretakers, such as political activists, business owners, and decision makers, which in many cases challenge the basic structure of their pre-conflict society (Sørensen 1998; Barakat & Wardell 2002; Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006). Sørensen (1998); kreimer et al (2000); Bouta & Frerks (2002) recognise that women's role, gender identities and relationships constantly change in conflict situations. This explains the involvement of women in supporting and rebuilding the social services infrastructure, like education or health, especially during early phases of reconstruction, which is usually seen as an extension of their role as caretakers of their families and children.

Since gender roles depend on the division of labour, authors have addressed this issue by focusing on women's involvement in post-conflict economic rebuilding. It is generally assumed that men are more violent than women who tend to be more peaceful. A statement which often neglects the role women play in the planning and execution of wars. Moreover, a study of McKay and Mazurana in (Bouta et al. 2005) showed that women fighters were involved in 38 out of 55 armed conflicts in the study.

Different works of literature relate women's role in post-conflict situations to their status and role before and during-conflict periods. Often in conflict situations, the victim status and the vulnerable positions of women are often emphasized, yet the multifaceted role of women is increasingly being recognized. Women can be mothers, breadwinners, combatants, peace activists, etc. at the same time (Bouta & Frerks 2002). As mentioned in point 2.2 of this chapter, women often assume activities in the agricultural and informal sectors, especially during conflict, while in some cases an increase in formal job sector is noted. Greenberg explains that; PCR formal sector employment training programmes mainly target male ex-combatants to prevent resurgence of conflict (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006).

Is PCR a gendered process?

Greenberg & Zuckerman (2006) answer yes to this question; they bring reconstruction of infrastructure as an example. Gender relates to choosing priorities of PCR, and it is the main reason why PCR should be more inclusive. Men and women have different needs and focuses. Moreover, we can find this gender dimension in post-conflict demobilisation.

Literature documents cases where all of the efforts on reintegration and employment were directed towards men, in fear they will return to violence, that women are pushed to the background as a second priority, and the same goes for female ex-combatants.

Since gender roles and relations are socially constructed and they relate to the nature, geography and historic background of the conflict, assumptions about gender roles shouldn't be generalized, and they remain as direct observation of empirical nature.

To sum up, socially constructed gender roles are bound to be hanged during conflict and its aftermath, whether this change leads to more effective participation or not, depends on many factors and is highly related to the specific circumstances of the conflict, and the aims and activities of PCR process.

2.7. How to evaluate the participation of women in a PCR process?

The term 'participation' was first used in the development jargon during the late 1950s, as a response to failed development projects where the concerned population were kept out of processes related to design, formulation and implementation. Since it was proven that better financial and development goals were achieved whenever people were locally involved and actively participating, participation was adopted as a basic policy measure in development practices. However, this issue runs the risk of acting as a deceptive tool for manipulation, the discussion on participation is highly controversial and dispersed between topics like; effective participation, co-optation, and hegemony of one group. Therefore the term '**popular participation**' is introduced, which according to Rahnema (1992) is preferred by development practitioners, and can be defined as: *"the organized efforts to increase control over resources and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control"* (Rahnema 1992, p.132). The scope and aims of this paper don't allow for a critical investigation on 'traditional' and 'popular' forms of participation. Instead, I will try to relate participation (in the sense explained above) to the PCR process, and discuss its pitfalls and successes only through the lens of PCR and women. The starting point would be to understand that participation's aims is to achieve power.

One of the classic resources on participation was written by Sherry R. Arnstein in 1969, and while she relates participation to power, by saying; *"Citizen participation is citizen power"* (Arnstein 1969, P.216), she stress on two points; the first that participation concerns the 'have-not citizens' who are presently excluded from the political and economic processes to be deliberately included in the future, and the second concerns the strategy by which the

have-not join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, and financial resources are collected and managed.

“In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enable them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (Arnstein 1969, P.216). Many projects are done in the name of ‘empowering’ a certain group of individuals, but empowerment is not power. And participation doesn’t mean empowerment. The reasons are better explained in the words of Rahnema (1992); *“When A considers it essential for B to be empowered, A assumes not only that had no power- or does not have the right kind of power- but also that A has the secret formula of a power to which B has t be initiated”* (Rahnema 1992, p.135).

2.8. The question of participation in post-conflict

As mentioned in section 2 of this chapter, participation was one of the four pillars of PCR established by Feil, Hamre and Sullivan. However participation, is also a *“form of intervention”* (Rahnema 1992, p.138). For big scale interventions, as in PCR, it is natural to include some level of participation from the local population, both as groups and individuals. The critical issue here is the **positions of the two sides**; interveners and recipients of assistance, victims and providers, amateurs and experts, or passive and active participants. Such polarity can, according to Cuny in Calame (2005), generate distrust and discourage public participation.

In Arnstein’s famous article, she creates a ladder of citizen participation to explain the nature of eight types of activities commonly labelled ‘participation’ in community programs (Figure 4). Each rung of the ladder corresponds to the extent of citizens’ power in determining the end product. In her analysis, the first 6 levels don’t qualify to be real participation, and at best they can be called tokenism (Arnstein 1969)

Again this brings us back to the discussion on power balance between two groups; ‘powerholders’ and ‘participants’. The rungs of ‘non-participation’ have their real objectives as to enable powerholders to

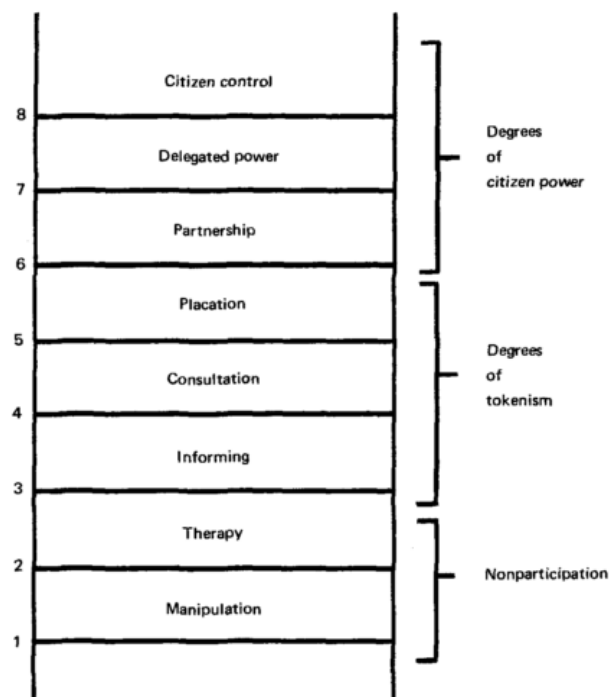


Figure 4- Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969, P.217)

'educate' the participants. In tokenism, participants either are not heard or don't have the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the powerholders. Rung 5 called 'placation' is still considered tokenism by the authors, but on a higher level, as the have-nots are allowed to advise while the powerholders continue to have the right to decide.

But how to look at these power relations in the post-conflict reality?

In a post-conflict situation, the need for external support is caused by the scale of damage and weakness of local response mechanisms affected by warfare. This is where aid becomes a crucial part of PCR. Since post-conflict aid covers, in changing momentum, almost all phases of the PCR, it partakes a good deal of literature discussing international interventions in post-conflict situations and consequently questioning the **effectiveness of given aid**. Calame (2005) puts himself in a neutral position on this topic by saying it *"has the risk of undermining local coping mechanisms and creating destructive dependencies"* (Calame 2005, p.15) while Barakat, Chard & Jones confirm in their work, on evaluating success and failure in PCR, published in the same year, that *"there has been little mention of the involvement of the citizens of countries where interventions take place, except in the role of recipients"* (Barakat et al. 2005, p.835).

As Calame (2005) rightly observe, the theoretical approaches to post-war reconstruction are generally formulated from the point of view of an intervener. And too often when local people are mentioned, Barakat reiterates *"they are portrayed simply as victims and passive recipients of international assistance"* while *"their creativity, pragmatism and resilience are of critical importance in the process of rebuilding after conflict"* (Barakat 2007, p.33).

Looking back to Arnstein's ladder, Barakat et al. (2005) find that there are only three rungs of the ladder, those that involve 'various degrees of citizen power', that are deemed to involve 'real' participation. And out of these only one, according to the authors, that is 'partnership' is legally possible in the context of international co-operation. *"Aid is therefore given and received on the basis of partnership but, even in the best cases, still an unequal partnership"* (Barakat et al. 2005, p.836).

The other two degrees can hardly apply in relation to aid, since control cannot be exercised by the citizens or a recipient country, and donors don't delegate power to citizens of other states. Therefore, they conclude that: *"In the case of a country devastated by war, the 'various degrees of power' exercised by its citizens can be very limited"* (Barakat et al. 2005, p.836).

For the authors, the important question is; whether some aspects of PCR should be dictated in the interest of the public utility or people can participate fully in planning the recovery and reconstruction of their built environment? Will people, if unrestrained, erect structures as they like with no regards to a larger planning vision, or the environmental and social aspects?

2.9. Women's participation: between policies and practices?

In 2005, The World Bank published a review by Bouta, Frerks & Bannon on Gender issues in conflict and development. In this book the authors claim that the issue of how to engender PCR has tended to remain on the margins of most policy discussions. They explain this by; partially the tendency to look at women as victims of armed conflict and not as actors in the conflict, peace and reconstruction. And it is partly caused by leaving the discussion on gender imbalances to the advocacy domain away from policy (Bouta et al. 2005). Throughout the book, there are examples of areas where policies didn't pay enough attention to the specific needs of women. Such as in DDR programs that have not targeted women or have only targeted women with weapons. In other cases the policy have paid attention to women's needs and situation only to fail in the implementation, as in dealing with survivors of GBV in Bosnia and Rwanda, where the authors suggest there has been too much research and not enough action.

But if we refer back to the very definition of participation explained in the point above, and the mentioned polarity between the powerholders and participants, then women's participation still has a long way to go before reaching one of the top three rungs on Arnstein's ladder. The work of Greenberg & Zuckerman (2006) might give us some insight on this gap between policy and practice: *"PCR programmes often flounder because they fail to address unequal gender relations and power dynamics (Strickland and Duvvury 2003). Financiers like the World Bank may produce excellent gender studies and use powerful gender rhetoric, but fail to incorporate them into investments (Picciotto 2000; Zuckerman and Wu 2003)"* (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006, p.17).

The authors define what does full and effective participation of women means for them as; *"full and effective participation in decision making, particularly political decisions, property ownership including land housing and other assets, and employment without discrimination in hiring, benefits, promotion and firing, and lives free from violence"* (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006,p.2) .

According to Bouta et al (2005), women’s participation could be evaluated within broader and more contextualized social processes. A simple approach would often mask more complex cleavages based on class, lineages, religion, or ethnicity (Bouta, 2005). Similarly, Greenberg & Zuckerman state one of the important challenges to women’s effective participation in PCR community, is how to get beyond ‘perfunctory participation’ and ‘de jure’ legal protections to ensure that women political representatives are women’s and gender equality activists, not merely well connected, compliant politicians.

They conclude that: *“PCR programme design and implementation must do better in recognizing and addressing gender needs. This requires increased effective participation by women and greater awareness of gender equality as a right and economic motor”* (Greenberg & Zuckerman 2006, p.7).

In order to understand how women participation takes place, I refer to the research by Barakat & Wardell (2002) in order to evaluate humanitarian assistance to Afghan women by applying the previously discussed ideas on powerholders/ participants (referred to in the article as insider/ outsider) and power relations (called spheres of influence). Below is a summary of some main facts on Afghan women extracted from the research:

- Women are not one homogenous group.
- There are many differences between rural and urban women, educated and non educated and women belonging to different social classes.
- Women practice their influence in a different more private sphere than men.
- There are four key areas which women participate within Afghan society as per (Figure 5)

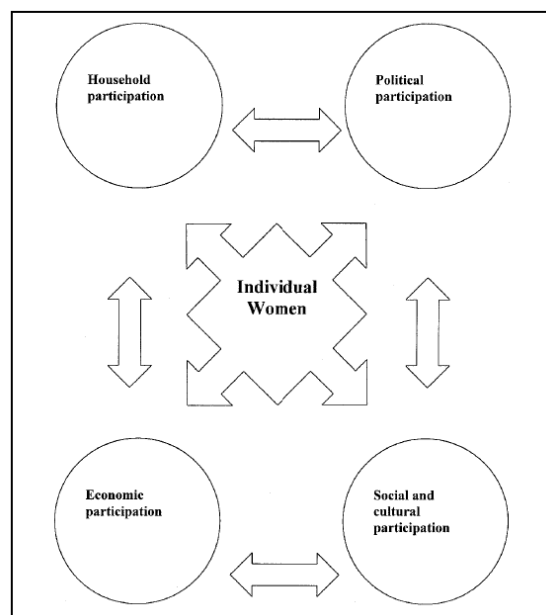


Figure 5- Spheres of women’s participation in Afghan society (Barakat & Wardell 2002)

- The Afghan society is clearly of a patriarchal nature. However, it provides a safety net for women and children in times of crisis. There’s very little concept of individuality in the Afghan society.
- Afghan women are not passive or powerless victims, but they have important contributions to the economy, and they are perceived with power especially in the domestic and private sphere.

Surprisingly, the intervention of the humanitarian agencies, tried to 'target' women through strategies that single them out in isolation from their families, which have eventually made little impact to improve the situation of women and their families.

2.10. Conclusions from the literature review

A conflict interrupts the development process of a country, and PCR have to manage the burden of destruction in physical, environment, political and socioeconomic structure, and social relations, in addition to the burden of continuation of the country's development.

The debate on PCR is not yet a mature one therefore terminology and main concepts are not unanimously agreed upon. However, one can draw the following conclusions from the review done in this chapter which form the basis of my analysis used for the case study:

a. Nature of the available literature:

Performing integrated and comparative studies of contemporary PCR processes is described as problematic, or at best challenging (Hasic 2004; Verdeil 2015). Many authors like Calame, Hasic and Barakat mention the insufficient amount of research conducted on the topic. Calame states that there are *"no reliable longitudinal studies of post-war recovery processes are few, and the number of war-torn sites not yet subjected to formal analysis is large"* (Calame 2005, p.2). He provides a reason for this, that is the *"impatience of researchers and the logistic difficulties of organizing such work"* while in some case it is suggested that *"research in the Anglo-American context has a short attention span and jumps from event to event. As long as the media dwell on a certain disaster, funds flow freely and research pays off"* (Calame 2005, p.20). That's also the opinion of Barakat and Narang- Suri, explaining the increasing emphasis of contemporary cases of PCR on relief and early recovery in comparison of longer-term issues (Barakat & Narang-Suri 2009). On the other hand, Hasic (2004) points out the lack of deep socio-historical studies and an interdisciplinary approach. He refers this scarcity of production to the complexity of factors involved in each of the reconstruction phases, although admitting the body of literature is growing and the increasing number of 'bridging attempts' between the highly compartmentalized sub-areas of research. With this in mind, it should be noted that; when discussing women studies, the *"descriptive and analytical studies are still scarce, dispersed and fragmented, and unfortunately most also show a remarkable lack of clear and coherent conceptual and theoretical frameworks, which*

prevents the development of a clear picture of the meaning, impact and sustainability of women's contributions to post-war reconstruction” (Sørensen 1998, p.44)

Hence, this research will direct its efforts towards contributing to the increasing discussion, through attempting to understand and analyze the role women play in PCR, while in the same time, acknowledging limitations to the research activity.

b. The lack of a dominating theory in research allows for different interpretations and it means perspectives may change depending on the disciplines and theories involved.

c. Complexity and interconnectedness:

Reconstruction is more than rebuilding a country back to its former state. It encompasses a group of complex, multi-layered, intertwined activities that should be studied on different dimensions.

Therefore, it is important to include concepts, like interconnectedness and complexity in PCR analysis. *“Complexity emphasizes process and dynamics and it highlights the need for experimentation in strategy, but critically it also underlines the importance of revolutionary changes in logic and behaviour”* (Nicolis and Prigogine, 1989, Coveney and Highfield, 1996 and Byrne, 1998 in Hasic, 2004, p.35).

Having that in mind, the previous discussion on PCR results in questioning reconstruction phases in the analysis, and for the next phase it leads us to investigate the changing dynamics of PCR in three main (however interconnected) areas.

d. Phases of PCR, temporal dynamics and changing of women’s roles:

There are three main overlapping phases in any PCR process: relief, transition and development. The lengths and characteristics of each phase depend on the specific circumstances of the conflict and the country’s pre-war standing. In each phase, actors, interests, and power relations continuously change.

A post-conflict reconstruction process should be viewed as a whole, and not in different unconnected silos. However, research usually looks at three main spheres where PCR activities take place: political, economic and social reconstruction. Many more spheres can be added depending on the level of detail in data collection and analysis.

Gender roles and gender relations (which are negotiable and socially constructed) differ from one society to another, we should recognize that women’s roles, gender identities and relationships constantly change in conflict situations.

In PCR, a polarity is taking place between two sides: interveners providing assistance and passive receivers. And this polarity is the biggest challenge to effective participation in the process.

e. Homogenous group or individuals

Along with different roles women assume during and post-conflict, they also have different interests, backgrounds, and competencies. When talking about women or designing women-targeting programmes, it is generally assumed that women are a homogenous group with common problems, interests and solutions. The truth however, is that women are a highly differentiated group of social actors. And while they might be forced by conflict *“into certain positions and roles, they may on the other hand also deliberately change their positions and roles throughout conflict according to their own agendas and strategies”* (Bouta & Frerks 2002, p.27).

f. What counts as participating?

Participation is one of the main pillars of a successful or sustainable PCR process. Participation means more than being heard or consulted. Participation means giving real power, to those who don't have it, in order to be part of the decision-making process that affect their lives. Participation is a political process and it greatly relates to the political priorities of the PCR process. Effective participation is challenging in any context, and for PC situations, the instability of the country, and the economic and political hardships add to such challenges.

In PCR situation, the question for decision makers is how to balance the urgent need of taking decisions, and partnership with the people in taking those decisions.

g. Victims or people with agency?

Women's position is beyond being victims of war and the vulnerability of women's situation (as individuals and groups) could be assessed based on fundamental reasons which might be legal or socioeconomic reasons. Usually women's participation has much to do other disparities in a society like class, religion, ethnicity, etc...

In order to understand how women's participation takes place in a certain society, we must understand different spheres of influence in said society, their socio-economic backgrounds, their individual/ group dynamics. PCR policies haven't addressed women's participation sufficiently (except maybe in regards to sexual violence), and when it did the implementation of these policies have fallen short of the rhetoric.

Finally, the power dynamics underlying post-conflict reconstruction, aligned with the understanding of gender roles, dictate the terms of women's participation in PCR processes in all spheres.

With that, I have concluded the first objective of my research in terms of exploring academic arguments on PCR, participation and women's involvement. The following chapter will explain how I plan to respond to the second objective by introducing my chosen methodology.

[CHAPTER THREE]

3. Research Design

3.1. Chosen Methodology

Based on my second research objectives, stated earlier, to examine the link between the dynamics of PCR and the participation of women through an example, I chose a case study methodology, and the case is that of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My review of literature has established that there are changing dynamics for every post-conflict reconstruction process in the different spheres of study. In the same time, it acknowledged that the specific events of a conflict, along with the pre-conflict situation of a country, are significant factors for women's participation in PCR. Therefore, I believe there are significant insights to be gained from looking at an individual case study. The choice of a single case study approach is supported by the following factors:

- Giving the limited time frame, a single case study is more appropriate to get a detailed account on the reconstruction process in the aftermath of conflict. As proven by literature, PCR is a long-term, complex, and multi-stakeholder process.
- The aim of the research is to investigate relationships and focus on the process of participation in PCR, not merely the outcome of reconstruction projects. A case study approach offers more chance of going into sufficient detail to unravel the complexities of a given situation. As *"it can deal with the case as a whole, in its entirety, and thus have some chance of being able to discover how the many parts affect one another"* (Denscombe 2003, p.31)
- While confirming that a research on women's participation in post-conflict reconstruction has to be investigated in relation to the circumstances prior and during the conflict, this instantly creates difficulties for research endeavours, in terms of danger and unpredictability. Moreover, since it is not a situation that can be 'artificially generated' for the purpose of research, and as explained by Denscombe (2003), a case study approach is best used where the case relate to a 'naturally occurring phenomenon. That is one existing prior to the research project, and continues to exist once the research has finished.

Therefore, desk research will, in any case, make up a big proportion of research activity for understanding pre and during conflict situations, and the settings and activities of PCR.

3.1.1. Justification of the chosen case

I have initially considered three options for the case study; Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. My attention was first drawn to the activities of women in Bosnia while following discussions of a conference by the 'Women's International League for Peace & Freedom' (WILPF), which took place in Sarajevo, Bosnia in February, 2014 under the title: "Women organizing for change in Bosnia and Syria". Reconstruction efforts in all three countries are relatively recent for the discussion on women's participation to be of relevance. I got familiar with the settings and background of all three cases during my work on a publication of 'planning for Syria workshop' for the Institute of Urbanism of Grenoble, which included model case studies from these three countries. Judging by the available resources, the time frame, and travel limitation, I came to the conclusion that Bosnia and Herzegovina is the best case to elaborate the link between reconstruction dynamics and women's participation.

Since the aim of this research is to provide insight on the role of women in post-conflict reconstruction, I believe that, out of the three possibilities, the Bosnian case is the most suitable example for the following reasons:

- Increasing global interest in gender issues in the late 1990s: The end of the conflict in the Balkans coincides with rising global interest in gender issues, social inclusion and bottom up approaches. The professional climate for action on gender equality was set through the **Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**, adopted in September 1995 during the Fourth World Conference on Women. Subsequently, multilateral and national organizations involved in PCR have only recently paid attention to addressing the particular needs of women and their role in their operational efforts, as stated by (Kreimer et al. 1998)s
- The use of systematic rape as a weapon of war during the conflict in Bosnia: Mass rape was used in Bosnia as part of efforts to ethnically cleanse areas of Bosnia (Splittgerber 1996). This, as Sørensen explains, is an issue with significant consequences and impact on the post-war position of women as. She argues that the role of women in a post-conflict society, their motivation and their constraints will be partly determined by their former position in 'the landscape of conflict' (Sørensen 1998).
- Being relatively recent: The reconstruction efforts, starting immediately after the end of the war in 1995, can be seen as a recent example to still be relevant for models of PCR, while in the same time, with only 20 years since the end of the war there is still room for further analysis and evaluation of the PCR process and results.

- Women rights and issues have long been a matter of political importance in Bosnia: Sørensen explains, based on data from the War Report (1995) of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, that politicization and manipulation of gender identities, which is part of the nationalist ideology, resulted in women experiencing a relative decrease in political power and rights than their previous status in former Yugoslavia.

3.1.2. Limitations of a single case study approach

Having chosen a single case study approach, there are certain questions to be addressed, most notably, is this case representative? And can the results be generalized?

First, there is a certain amount of difficulty in approaching this research due to the nature of the topic and the challenge to identify activities based on how effective their participation process is. Calame describes the challenge in measuring impact of conflict; *“both war and the human trauma that follows are symptoms of a larger illness. Some wars are undeclared, and some impacts are impossible to measure with certainty”* (Calame 2005, p.45). However, there are definitely conclusions that can be drawn out of singling out one case study for a deeper analysis. In this research establishing initial links between dynamics of PCR and women participation, can be beneficial for other cases. According to Denscombe (2003) *“Although each case is in some respects unique, it is also a single example of a broader class of things”* (Denscombe 2003, p.36).

Recent trends in PCR, like international intervention, donors’ aid, privatization and transition towards market economy are common strategies for reconstruction everywhere. However, women’s participation relates to the details and implementation of these strategies and this is where the specific context of a case study becomes relevant.

Since the main objective of this study is to understand and evaluate the participation of women in PCR processes, the results of this case study need to be tested in the field before we can generalize results with confidence.

3.2. Collection of Data

The data used for the case study is based on resources of secondary literature. In order to get a balanced view of the reconstruction process, I reviewed material from diverse sources trying to get a wide spectrum of the reconstruction activities.

The resources are categorized as follows;

1. Books and reports from multilateral organizations like the World Bank and OECD, that were largely responsible for the reconstruction strategies in Bosnia, and still

remain in control of the country's resources and most of its decisions. These resources were mostly used to gain an understanding on the settings of the reconstruction process and the original intentions of the creators of the reconstruction strategy and their policies regarding women's participation.

2. Official documents: namely the Dayton Peace Accord (1995), which created the setting for the reconstruction process and includes the country's constitution. And the Gender Equality Law (2003) which regulates promotes, protects gender equality and aims to improve the position of women.
3. Books and peer-reviewed articles: as they provide an objective academic analysis of the reconstruction process and its aftermath. They were also most useful in providing a critical discussion on the work of international organizations in Bosnia, and the disparity between policy and practice.
4. Reports, news, and conference events: this material, have provided insight on the events taking place in relation to women's participation in the public life and the coverage of media it gets. I looked at this material as third party opinion, aiming to gain an updated account on current events that research and peer reviewed journal articles would take more time to evaluate. Meanwhile, taking into consideration, the background of publishing body behind these reports, and the political nature of funding for NGOs and media.

3.2.1. Secondary literature

Below I provide a brief explanation on the nature of data collected for the case study and analysis part, the limitations of data collection were; a) accessibility: access was provided through university library and network and b) timeframe: the size of data had to be proportional to the available research time. The consulted documents are:

- Books and articles to explain the background of the conflict and the ethnic division of Yugoslavia and the role of the international community, such as Burg & Shoup's book (1999) titled 'The War in Bosnia- Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention', and Schuman (2004), titled: 'Nations in Transition: Bosnia and Herzegovina'.
- I read the Dayton Peace agreement in order to understand the new political system of BiH.
- I have also referred to the academic discussion on the rise of nationalism, the recovery and transition of BiH and the economic growth. To name a few of these resources; Causevic & Lynch (2013) on the issue of 'Political (in)stability', Robinson et al. (2001) on nationalism after Dayton Accords, Jansen (2006) on 'privatization

and foreign intervention', and a World Bank study published in 1995 on growth in BiH.

- For the detailed information on women's participation, I have used two types of sources; peer reviewed journal articles, and specific research reports done by organizations and/or professionals interested in women's participation in different aspects of public life in BiH;
 - A book by a group of 10 authors documenting the development of women's and gender history in/of BiH, titled 'Women Documented: Women and Public Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 20th Century' by Spahić et al. (2014). The book cites works from academia and civil society organizations, and provide a useful insight on the active role women have had in BiH prior to the war.
 - Women's participation in the International Tribunal, and the humanitarian challenge are two subject studied by Julie Mertus (2000, 2004) and Simić and others (2012), while their contribution in engaging art was studied by Simmons (2010).
 - Some valuable information was also extracted from Vanessa Pupavac work (2005) on empowering women and international gender policies in BiH, and Elissa Helms work on the women and ethnic reconciliation published in 2003.
 - For insight on the electoral system and its reform in BiH, from a gender perspective, I refer to a report by Marina Veličković (2014) which analyzes the 2010 elections and tries to understand the question of to why women go from being the 'underrepresented sex' on the lists to being even more disproportionately represented in legislative bodies.
 - For more recent information, I have also used research done and published by 'Sarjevo Open Centre' which is an organization with research interests on gender issues. Namely their report on evaluating the representation of women and men in the government in BiH (2015), and their annual reports on the state of women's rights in BiH.

3.3. Data Analysis

Once I drew conclusions from my literature review, it was evident that any analysis for women's participation in PCR will have to deal with different continuously-changing factors. To perform this analysis, I chose to build my case study and analysis in the same structure of my literature review.

The first task is to move from the knowledge obtained from the literature towards more tangible criteria to discuss the participation of women in PCR. Faced with this challenging task, I started with a summary including the main review points, the arguments presented in each of them, and making out how these arguments can be discussed in the analysis. This process didn't only enable me to extract the essential elements to consider in my analysis, but it also became a filter to assess the literature review I had conducted in Chapter Two. I separated information that is necessary to create the conceptual framework from the information that can be applied on a practical basis. Moreover, it also acted as a stepping stone creating the analysis points and question. At this point, the case study comes in handy to elaborate the two steps of analysis;

3.3.1. Step one, data collected

The goal of this step is to view the question of women's participation in the Bosnian case along a comprehensive temporal perspective, in the three main sphere of the reconstruction process. The starting point for this step is extracting the most important issues to consider from the literature then the data is collected and arranged in the following matrix (Table 1). The design of the table is supported by the theoretical discussions presented in the literature review. It acts as a testing ground for the arguments and considerations mentioned in the previous step.

The matrix comprises the following elements; three main post-conflict reconstruction spheres (political, economic and social), similarly grouped to what Sørensen has used in her book and I have adopted for the structure of my literature review. These three spheres of reconstruction make up the rows of the matrix. Under each main group, there are a number of sub-issues that were mentioned in the literature and are worthy of investigating in relation to the role of women in them. This doesn't mean the issues are limited to those listed, but it makes a grounded starting point for the case study. Moreover, this structure allows certain flexibility for sub-issues to be moved between the three main spheres if found necessary.

Sphere	Related issues	Pre-conflict 1943-1992	During conflict 1992-1996 (including Dayton)	PCR- Recovery (2-4 yrs) 1997- 2000	PCR-Transition (5-10 yrs) 2001- 2010	PCR-development (+10 yrs) 2011 →	P a r t i c i p a t i o n
Political Sphere							
Economic Sphere							
Social Sphere							

Table 1- Matrix of data collection for the case study (author)

To add temporality to the analysis, and in alignment to the unanimous argument of scholars that the situation of women in pc situations is greatly affected by their status and activities during and pre to the conflict, I organized the data into three main groups in term of timeline; before the conflict (includes a considerable time before conflict, which in Bosnia's case relates to the époque of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia; i.e. between 1943 and 1992). The second time slot concerns the conflict period and includes peace negotiations and the peace agreement (in my case study this period spans over 4 years between 1992 and 1996). The third is for post-conflict reconstruction. This part is further divided into three phases which correspond to the main phases of post-conflict reconstruction as discussed in the literature review. Since the discussion doesn't include an agreement on the number, length nor the naming/ terminology used for PCR phases, I have made the decision to follow Hasic's opinion regarding the division and estimated time frame for each. Therefore, estimating the first phase (here called recovery) between 2 and 4 years from the peace agreement, the second; transition between 5 and 10 years and thus currently being in the fourth year of the third phase; development, which started in 2011.

3.3.2. Step two: including participation in the analysis

This step involves analysing the obtained information for the purpose of evaluating the participation process, using the appropriate tools discussed in the literature review.

After adopting a suitable definition for participation based on the results of the participation process instead of the way it was conducted, I will try to employ this understanding on the case study.

From the literature review there are two main concepts to consider assessing effective participation;

- Power: as the basis of Arnstein's ladder, the aim of the participation process is to achieve power.
- The balance or relation between the involved actors, which is referred to elsewhere as 'power relations'

Therefore, my analysis includes an understanding of both concepts. In addition to that, when dealing with participation in a post-conflict situation, what Barakat et al (2005) have found regarding aid, confirming that citizen power can hardly be achieved in post-conflict situations, can be generalized on other dimensions of the reconstruction process. All the more when women's participation is the issue, which many authors argue is a problematic intervention.

Applying the logic of Arnstein's ladder on the participation of women in PCR will lead to the understanding that women have no real chance of ever achieving real participation in the post-conflict reconstruction process. A result that contradicts with real life experiences such as the case of Liberia for example. Therefore, it doesn't provide a proper lens to analyze women's evaluation in post-conflict reconstruction, and a different perspective is needed to look at women's participation and be able to evaluate it. For this, I refer to the notion that women have a more significant role than usually portrayed in research, and considered in reconstruction projects. The 'western- dominated' understanding of women's participation and power doesn't easily apply different and more traditional societies. For my analysis I will use Barakat & Wardell's approach by looking at four spheres of influence which include the private sphere in addition to the social, economic and political ones.

Finally, I use a qualitative approach to analyze the collected data, which is more appropriate for context-specific data, with many related and interdependent issues, as such the case of post-conflict situations

[CHAPTER FOUR]

4. Case Study and Analysis

This part discusses the case study of reconstructing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in the late 1990s. It will look at different dimensions of the reconstruction process. The work is based on analyzing secondary data from academic publications and empirical reports for organizations that were involved in reconstruction works.



Figure 6- Current Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina, source: (The University of Texas at Austin map collection) accessed at: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bosnia/bosnia_herz_pol97.pdf

4.1. Background info

Until 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the six member-states of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After the declaration of independence of Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, Bosnia and Herzegovina have also declared their independence (1st March 1992) and gained recognition by the United Nations. After cessation, conflict engulfed the Western Balkans, most violently in Bosnia. The war in Bosnia lasted from April 1992 till December 1995. Atrocities, ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, enclaves and besieged cities and towns, have marked the conflict in BiH, none of which had been seen on European soil since World War II (ISTY in Causevic & Lynch 2013)

The war caused an almost complete destruction of the infrastructure, environment, economy and social system of the country. As a consequence of the war, not only cities across Bosnia and Herzegovina were completely destroyed but also ethnic relations between the three main groups of; Muslims Bosniaks; Orthodox Serbs; and Catholic Croats were lost. The reconstruction process in the country was aimed at two main aspects: rebuilding the cities and reconciling the three ethnic groups.

A peace agreement was negotiated and drafted in 1995 by international mediators in the U.S. Air Force base in Dayton, Ohio. Finally at peace, Bosnia and Herzegovina had many challenges occupying its post-Dayton existence. Nowadays, the country is ethnically divided, completely surrounded by former enemies, except for a tiny opening on the sea (24 km of coastline). The capital city, Sarajevo, once the home of half a million inhabitants had lost several tens of thousands after the fighting ended. (Robinson et al. 2001,pp. 959-960)

4.2. The conflict

Bosnia and Herzegovina was an autonomous administrative unit throughout the long period of Ottoman rule, from the 15th to the 19th century, and also during the Austro- Hungarian period from 1878 to 1918. BiH was part of the first Yugoslav state, from 1918 to 1941, known as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In this state Bosnia and Herzegovina disappeared from the administrative divisions that were dominated by Serb influence (Guy M Robinson et al. 2001). After WWII, the Yugoslav state was established in 1943 as a federal state system while having six 'nations' or republics [Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia–Hercegovina, Serbia (with two autonomous provinces), Montenegro, and Macedonia], but the nationality question was considered to be solved.

It has been argued that there have been side events contributing to the break-up of the Federation in the aftermath of Tito's death in 1980 (Bennett, 1995; Cohen, 1993; Goati, 1992 in Robinson et al. 2001). These were a continuing economic crisis throughout the Federation, the intensifying struggle for power between the republics, and the ultimate loss of legitimacy of the federal state resulting in the initiation of armed conflicts in the 1990s (Robinson et al. 2001).



Figure 7- Map of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as of January 1991, Source (website of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia), accessed at: <http://www.icty.org/sid/321>

The first democratic elections in the history of BiH resulted in the republic being politically polarized from within. The process of inclusion and exclusion, based on ethnic criteria, extended to both the public and private lives (Burg & Shoup 1999). When war broke out in Croatia in summer 1991, it seemed that war in Bosnia was inevitable. On 3rd March 1992, Bosnia declared its independence following a referendum of February 29-March 1, which the Serbs refused to take part in. The European Committee and the United States recognized BiH as an independent country. And after few small incidents, fighting broke out in the northern city of Bosanski Brod, and by April 6, fighting started in Sarajevo and it escalated to a full scale war.

During the war, Sarajevo and other major cities were shelled intensively, civilians were constantly attacked (one famous incident is the shelling of a breadline in Sarajevo on May 27) attacks were carried out on villages where most of the citizen's were massacred in acts later condemned as ethnic cleansing. Men, women, and children were victims of atrocities perpetrated by paramilitary groups and others. The conflict was marked with many crises, known to the world through international media coverage. Most notably, the siege of Sarajevo, Srebrenica massacre (1993), and the Bihac crisis (1994)

Controversy over rape crimes

The issue of rapes committed during the war was the focus of a furious controversy. After rumours that international agencies have concealed information on rape, it was reported that 20,000 or more women had been the victims of rape by Serb forces in Bosnia (Burg & Shoup 1999). A study of rape victims in hospitals in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia carried out by experts attached to the UN Human Rights Commission produced evidence of approximately 12,000 cases of rape based on pregnant rape victims in hospitals. Julie Mertus (2004) also writes that during the Bosnia war, sexual violence- against women and men, was a '*deliberate strategy of the war*', designed to target ethnic groups" (Mertus 2004)

Finally, the UN Human Rights Commission report of August 4, 1995, sums up the state of knowledge as follows: It is difficult to assess the actual numbers of individuals who suffered rape or sexual abuse; victims are often reluctant to report such experiences owing to social stigma and fear of reprisals. And it indicates that rape had been committed by all sides to the conflict.

4.3. Dayton Peace Accords

The Dayton Peace Accords (DPA), which were agreed on November 25, 1995, and formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995 succeeded in ending the war in BiH and paved the way to the country's stability. The Accords did so by creating a uniquely complex institutional structure and a fragmented policy-making apparatus (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014). A sharing-power strategy was adopted between the three main ethnic groups with the intention of purely ending the conflict. As a result, many of weaknesses common to other Western Balkan countries have been multiplied in BiH.

Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina is organized as asymmetric state with two entities: Republic Srpska (49% of the territory of BiH) for the Bosnian Orthodox also known as Serbs, and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBH) (51% of the territory) which houses the Muslim Bosniak and Bosnian Catholics (Croat). There's also Brčko District (which was not

part of DPA). Each entity has its own government, parliament, and jurisdiction. In addition to these two entities, the FBH is divided to ten cantons emerged as a result of ethnic cleansing and internal migration and they are divided on the base of ethnic majority (Figure 8). The inter-entity borderline is the most significant, there are no border checks, it is neither policed nor militarily controlled.

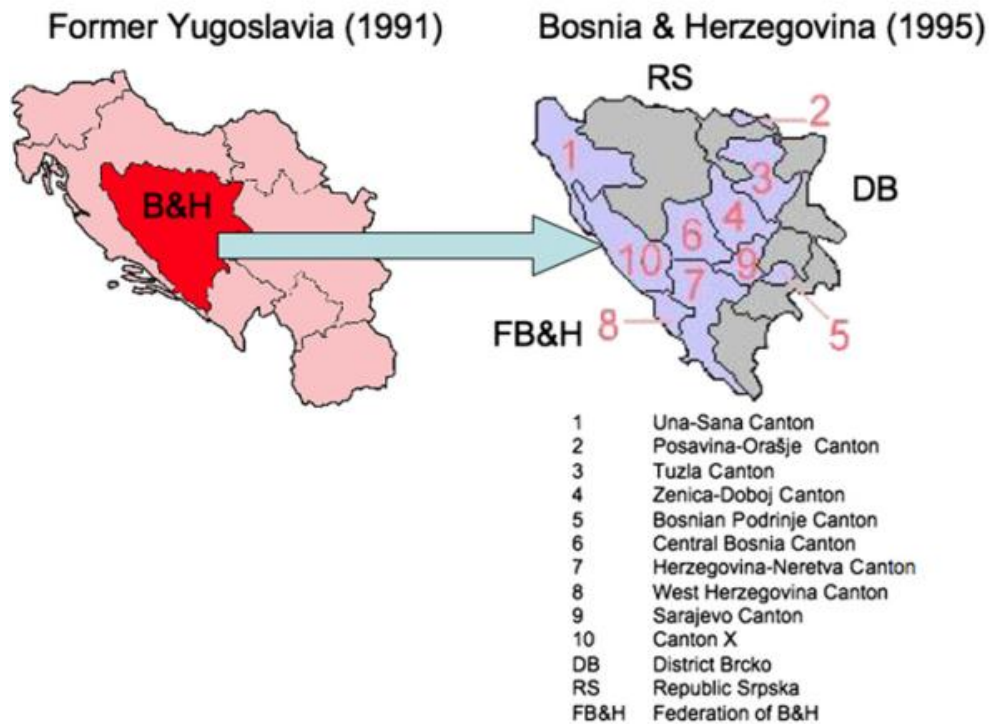


Figure 8- Post- Dayton territorial administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, source: (Causevic & Lynch 2013)

The Dayton Peace Agreement comprised an overarching framework agreement and eleven annexes, one of which, Annex IV, was the new constitution. As a result of the agreement, external Bosnian borders, as they used to be during the time of the Yugoslav Federation, were preserved but new “internal” political borders were created (Dayton Peace Agreement 1995).

BiH has three presidents at a state level: one Bosniak, one Croatian and one Serb. The presidency rotates every eight months between them, and whilst the system reflects an inclusive ethnic representation, it is very difficult for the presidency. The country is currently divided into “*three levels of authority, fourteen governments and a multitude of mostly administrative borders*” (Causevic & Lynch 2013, p.3).

The Accords also provided for a strong international police and military presence and an international overseer, the Office of the High Representative (OHR). To re-establish security,

the agreement acknowledged the deployment of International Police Task Force (UNPROFOR) replaced later by a multinational military Implementation Force (IFOR) to help ensure compliance with the provisions of the peace Agreement. Other articles were concerned with reconciliation and responding to the impact of the war. Article VI endorses establishment of an arbitration tribunal, while Article VII concerns with protection of the rights of refugees and displaced persons.

The DPA produced a governance model based on the decentralization of the country. It was thought that the decentralization would work towards internal reintegration. Nevertheless, the several political and administrative units are organized in a complicated way, making expenditures extremely expensive for such small country and increasing bureaucracy.

4.4. The reconstruction process

As soon as the peace accords were signed, a donor group meeting was held in Brussels in December 1995. Assessments of reconstruction needs were provided by the U.N agencies and NGOs that have been operating in BiH during the war, providing humanitarian relief and food aid. The World Bank, the European Union (EU), and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) estimated the required total donor assistance at \$5.1 billion, and approximately the whole amount was pledged over the 1996–99 reconstruction period (OED 2004) In the duration between 1996 and 1999, four other meetings were held and they generated pledges of almost \$5 billion and disbursements of \$3.7 billion during from 48 donor countries and 14 international organizations (OED 2004) The committed financial sum of aid –if calculated per capita- is more than any other post-conflict country to that date.

The reconstruction also paved the way to complete post-socialist transition of BiH, as Haynes (2002) remarks: *“the country was not only transitioning from war to peace; it was also transitioning from communism to democracy and from a socialist to a privatized, capitalist (some would say neoliberalized) economy”* (Haynes 2002, p.1779)

The World Bank had an essential role in the coordination of aid and the management of the reconstruction process, and the WB adopted a strategy to fund separate projects in each sector rather than a single omnibus reconstruction project (OED 2004) Each project had its own project management unit in order to offset weaknesses in government structures and staffing.

According to the WB documents, the reconstruction process was done in three phases:

1. **First emergency reconstruction** from 1996 to 1999. It included: rehabilitation of infrastructure and industries, rebuilding of housing, schools, and hospitals, establishing of micro-credit institutions, landmines clearance and demobilization.
2. **A second emergency reconstruction** followed which included a comprehensive reconstruction project for Republika Srpska, started after 1996 elections and stretched till 2003. Activities included improvements in social service delivery, rehabilitation of infrastructure and development of the private sector.
3. **Post reconstruction phase**, marking the end of the reconstruction activities which were agreed through the lending programs in 2003. Activities revolved around developing market-based institutions and creating a favorable environment for private sector development through the following focus areas: (i) developing a business environment that promotes competition; (ii) privatizing socially owned and state-owned assets; and (iii) developing a disciplined and competitive financial sector. Many donors have also supported private sector development.

Twenty years since peace was restored, the reconstruction process can be evaluated in short and medium term perspectives. Here, I will refer to the evaluation performed by the Bank's Operation's Evaluation Department (OED) in 2004. In the three spheres of reconstruction below detailed sections below I will provide accounts of critical voices in those specific spheres in order to present the two points of view.

According to the World Bank, the reconstruction process in BiH was "highly successful" (OED 2004, p.xi), even with the economy only partially recovering (GDP had just recovered up to 60% of pre-war output). The basis of this positive evaluation is that the majority of houses, schools, and service infrastructure were rebuilt to its pre-conflict state by the year 2009. When evaluating their support for privatization, even WB stated it "*has not turned out well*" (OED 2004, p.xiv). The Bank relates these '*disappointing results*' to the restrictive aspect in regulations maintained since former Yugoslav system. Moreover, there has been limited progress on further poverty reduction. On the other hand, the report finds other positive factors in the current economic situation in Bosnia, such as a stable currency, low inflation brought about by sound monetary policy, and a falling fiscal deficit.

As a final note, the reconstruction process was, and still is, strongly tied to the political and economic settings produced by the Accords. Regardless of the causes, 20 years down the line were not enough for BiH to emerge from the shadows of the war towards improving these settings. And since they dominate post-conflict BiH, the following explanation will present how these settings also informs the role of women in all aspects of PCR. Similarly to

the way I conducted my literature review, I will organize the following presentation along the same lines.

4.4.1. Political sphere

The pre-war political system was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its political sphere. The end of Yugoslavia coincided with a few major events on the European and international level; the end of the cold war and collapse of communism have resulted in the collapse of the remaining multinational states of Europe and re-emergence of ethnic identities. In a book published in (1999) Burg & Shoup detail the situation in BiH and the descent into war from the perspective of ethnic identity and they explain that ethnic violence wasn't the norm in BiH, and their research shows the urban, rural differences in life style by mentioning that in urban areas after WWII, Bosnians had inter-ethnic marriages.

During the war, nonetheless, BiH was dominated by this perspective of ethnic difference, through Dayton Accords and it remains the foundation of the public life and the political system till today. Stroschein (2014) states that this model of political framework was not conceived for long term governance. The emphasis on ethnicity makes the identification with the groups a constant need and an obstacle to real integration. It went far beyond a mere cease-fire agreement, creating roles for the short and long-term involvement of the international community in the political, legal, and economic institution building of the country after the conflict (Haynes 2002)

By acknowledging the ethnic conflict, the peace accords have reinforced this difference as the foundation of the post-conflict political system, while trying to put an end to the war. The DPA is often criticised for not creating an atmosphere conducive to building long-term peace (Mertus 2004)

- **Women's participation**

Generally, politics is perceived as a corrupt, male sphere (Helms 2003). Still, women have participated in the political life when BiH was part of Yugoslavia (Pupavac 2005). Nationalist discourses and practices in the Balkans have been infused with gendered images based on patriarchal norms which equate the public, political, and active with males and the private, domestic/familial, and passive with females (Helms 2003)

Table 2 below contains a brief of collected data on women's participation in political PCR along a timeline stretching from the socialist period in 1995 till today.

Pre-conflict 1943 Till 1992	During conflict 1992-1995 (including Dayton)	PCR- Recovery (2-4 yrs) 1996- 2000	PCR-Transition (5-10 yrs) 2001- 2010	PCR-development (+10 yrs) 2011 →
<p>Politics is perceived as a corrupt, male sphere (Helms 2003)</p> <p>24.1 percent of the representatives in the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 17.3 percent of the representatives in the municipal assemblies were women (Pupavac 2005)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women were, with very few exceptions, not among those who waged war and made/make political decisions since the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Helms 2003) However, reports show that 5,360 women participated as combatants as part of the army of RBiH to defend their areas (Spahić et al. 2014) Local women's groups were particularly active in counselling and materially supporting survivors of wartime abuses (Mertus 2004) Violence against civilians and forced expulsions took place in many 'ethnically-mixed' areas (Human Rights Watch 1998), which had significant toll on women. <p>Dayton:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gives no attention to women or gender, despite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grassroots work has been sponsored to enhance women's broader influence on the peace-building and reform process, such as the "There Are More of Us, Let's Vote" campaign in 1998. The campaign was conducted under the auspices of the League of Women Voters, a coalition of women's NGOs backed by USAID and the OSCE (Pupavac 2005) International organisations gave strong backing to the women's voter education project, although the turnout among women was relatively healthy, especially compared to that of young people (Pupavac 2005) International aid worked to build local female NGOs to work on women concerns (e.g. Delf & OSCE) aiming to increase the involvement of women in politics, which resulted in success through encouraging women to cross ethnic lines, but are criticized through failing to achieve concrete action. (Mertus 2000) Women's strong presence in the NGO sector failed to translate into greater political representation (Pupavac 2005) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women have lobbied, successfully, for the establishment of the International Criminal Court of former Yugoslavia, and were present during its operation as witnesses and tribunal staff (Mertus 2004) Local Bosnian women's organizations have been instrumental in finding and preparing witness, collecting testimony, and counselling those who give evidence at the court. (Mertus 2004) Although Bosnian women participated in ICTY as witnesses, investigators, prosecutors, defense attorneys, counsellors, and judges, which is unprecedented. Their participation was deemed as rare and it is declining as people continue to lose confidence in the Tribunal (Mertus 2004) Drafting the gender equality law with international organisations closely involved at every stage (Pupavac 2005) The Law on Gender Equality, as amended in 2009, envisaged at least a 40% representation in public administration (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) Art. 4.19(4) of BiH Election law requires "equitable representation" of both genders on electoral lists, in line with the Gender Equality Law (amended in 2009) (Veličković 2014) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The international's High Representative for BiH remains the most senior political authority in the country (Mertus 2004) A high level of institutional dysfunction dominates the political system of BiH. The central government needed 16 months to be formed after elections (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) BiH reached the 40% quota of political representation as defined by Gender Equality Law (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) In 2010 elections: the official figure of 11.95% of women as the top of the list candidates overestimates the participation of women. Further, only 20.3% of women on the lists for the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH were listed higher than the legal requirement, and the number is even lower for the entity parliaments (Veličković 2014) In 2013, the first female prime minister was appointed in the RS. Women represent 24% of the Government of RS. But, there is only one female minister in the Government FB&H, and no women at all are members in the State-level government (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014)

	<p>their importance to social and political organization, which Dayton addresses at length (Rees in Helms 2003)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As part of incorporating gender expertise in the central operations of the Court, a position was made and called 'the gender focal point', which is an official of the Prosecutor, charged with ensuring that prosecutors frame successful arguments in sexual violence cases (Mertus 2004) • Bosnian women human rights advocates demanded that war-time sexual violence be treated as a grave violation of international law and pushed for the inclusion of gender expertise at all stages and levels of the ICTY's organization (Mertus 2004) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The electoral system of BiH is currently proportional system, which is considered to be the most favourable for getting women elected (Norris& Krook in Veličković). It also operates with open lists, which allows voters to choose candidates from the list and are therefore more democratic. The lists are completely open for the seats in the lower levels of government (local and cantonal) and are semi-open for the entity and state level, where around 70% of seats are up for election, and 30% are used to achieve proportional ethnic representation (Kadribašić in (Veličković 2014) • Parties with gender sensitive programs and statutes and higher percentage of women in leadership positions will have a more equitable distribution of candidates on the lists and will have a higher percentage of female elected officials (Veličković 2014) • The prospects of entering into a Stabilization and Association Pact with EU, and possible future EU membership, provides strong incentives for implementing reforms that have stalled in the past (OED 2004) • Currently there are initiative to use gender sensitive language in the Parliament of FBiH and in National Assembly of Republika Srpska (Sarajevo Open Centre 2015) • In 2014 general elections to all levels of government 19.03% of elected were women (Mirović et al. 2015)
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Table 2- Collected data on women's participation in the political sphere of post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia (Author)

4.4.2. Economic sphere

When BiH was part of Yugoslavia, it was the least developed among the republics of the federation. The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was 35 percent below the Yugoslav average in 1981. By 1994 the GDP and GDP per capita had plummeted to less than 20 percent of the pre-war level (OED 2004). The war have damaged the economy of the country and added substantial burdens on its development, adding to the previously existing difficulties caused by transition from socialism to capitalism (Haynes 2002). At war's end, unemployment and poverty were widespread (OED 2004). It is estimated that over two-thirds of homes were damaged, with one-fifth totally destroyed (OED 2004). Industrial output had fallen to an estimated 5 percent of the 1990 level, with 45 percent of the industrial plant destroyed; electricity and coal production were at 10 percent of pre-war levels; and the livestock herd had shrunk to 30 percent of the pre-war numbers. The black market had thrived during the war, with black marketers selling illegal arms, cigarettes, food staples, and identity documents, and engaging in all types of smuggling (Haynes 2002).

The constitution of BiH, (Annex 4 of the Dayton Accords), declares the desire to 'promote the general welfare and economic growth as one of the constitution aims. The chosen way to achieve that is stated as 'the protection of private property and the promotion of a market economy' (Dayton Peace Agreement 1995). However, the political situation and fragmentation of the territories and administrations hindered the economic development. Through 'absence of consensus', legacies of war and 'Different legislative bases' thus making it difficult to engage in any cooperation' (Causevic & Lynch).

- ***Women's participation***

During the war, the lack of economic opportunities forced women towards informal and sometimes illegal activities. In addition to other atrocities committed during the war, reports circulated about markets were women and girls were being sold like cattle (The Arizona market is a famous example). Women had few other economic prospects and were lured out of their communities under false pretences. The traffickers usually told the women that they would be taken into Western Europe to work as hostesses, nannies, or hotel staff (Haynes 2002). On the other hand, the post-conflict period brought international aid and immediate economic growth and women naturally benefited from that. Some critics talk of failure to link this assistance to a broader economic strategy and representing the ethnic and class issues in BiH in the economic aspect of reconstruction.

Table 3 below contains a brief of collected data on women's participation in economic PCR along a timeline stretching from the socialist period in 1995 till today

Pre-conflict 1943 Till 1992	During conflict 1992-1995 (including Dayton)	PCR- Recovery (2-4 yrs) 1996- 2000	PCR-Transition (5-10 yrs) 2001- 2010	PCR-development (+10 yrs) 2011 →
<p>Before the war, women found themselves targeted for redundancy under restructuring programmes on the grounds that their salaries were secondary in the family. (Pupavac 2005)</p> <p>State sector employment has been important for women providing not only financial security but also fostering greater social independence as well as associated social benefits such as maternity pay and access to state nurseries (Pupavac 2005)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bosnian women were on the whole affected more by poverty than men,26 and in combination with the gender factor, particularly hard hit were the lowly educated, the ill, disabled and elderly (Jansen 2006) • Large-scale unemployment, has encouraged thinking receptive to a more gendered division of labour along with the ethnicised divisions (Pupavac 2005) • Black market activities and human trafficking also thrived during the war (Haynes 2002) • According to conflicted sources and human trafficking (especially women) remained active during the reconstruction period. (Haynes 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International microcredit programmes have often been directed towards women. The UNDP and other international organisations are keen to emphasise how their own programmes incorporate a gender dimension and how they strive towards a gender balance among their own employees (Pupavac 2005) • Donors have especially targeted women for projects of ethnic reconciliation and the reestablishment of cross-ethnic communication (Helms 2003) • The main post-war microcredit and income-generating funder, the Bosnian Women's Initiative (BWI) was established by the United Nations in 1996 BWI funds primarily income-generating projects but also community service projects (support to NGOs, clubs, media), vocational training projects, microcredits, and psychosocial support. It is criticised for not working directly with local women groups and lack of transparency (Mertus 2000) • Young, educated, urban women had good chance of employment as translators and local staff by International humanitarian organizations, especially given that local men were more likely fighting or imprisoned. (Mertus 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International policy-makers increasingly rely on micro-enterprise as the core of their employment strategy, through organizations such Zene za Zene (Women for Women) and Stope Nade (Pupavac 2005) • The proportion of permanent full time workers that are women was 32.2 per cent in 2009 compared to 38.2 per cent, the average for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) • Funding through micro-finance credit has assisted over 110,000 clients, about 50% of whom are women (OED 2004) • International organisations have acknowledged that 'privatising state firms will make things worse' for women, but nevertheless treat privatization as unavoidable. (Pupavac 2005) • Besides limited progress in infrastructure development and banking reform, there are hardly any successful post-conflict structural projects in B&H and very limited economic reconstruction (Tzifakis & Charalambos in Causevic & Lynch 2013) • The informal sector has actually grown, not shrunk, employing 410,500 people, representing over a third of employment in the country, resulting in people rely on patrimonial networks which women more subject to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's participation rate in the labour market is exceptionally low which stood at 33 per cent in 2012 (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) • Micro-enterprise, based on small-scale labour-intensive production or gendered service sector work, such as hairdressing, simply does not address the employment expectations of Bosnian women of working age and instead represents a step backwards. (Pupavac 2005) • In 2012, employment rate of women was almost one half lower than male employment rate (22.6 per cent of females and 41.5 per cent of males were employed) (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) • Occupational segregation shows that women are mostly clustered in low prestige low paid jobs. 60.6 per cent of working women are employed in the service sector, 22.7 per cent works in agriculture and 16.7 per cent work in industry, while 42.3 per cent of working men are engaged in the service sector, 38.3 per cent works in industry and 19.3 agriculture (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) • According to a 2012 Eurofund study, women earned an average of 20 per cent less

			<p>patriarchal relations. (Pupavac 2005)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the name of promoting 'a more flexible labour market' and 'reforming provisions that now keep women out of the labour market', women are losing protections they previously enjoyed such as 'very long maternity leave, prohibitions against their doing night work etc' (Pupavac 2005) • Few women qualify, for example, for veteran benefits, such as exemptions from health service charges. Furthermore, international policy favours addressing anomalies by taking away benefits rather than expanding eligibility (Pupavac 2005) 	<p>(estimation) compared to men (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government of the FBiH adopted an Action Plan for the Introduction of Gender-Responsive Budgeting in the FBiH 2010-2012 in the Pilot Area "Labor and Employment" (Mirović et al. 2015) • Maternity benefits are inadequate. The trend of laying off women due to pregnancy and maternity leave continues, especially by private employers.¹⁷ Certain cantons still do not pay maternity benefits or they are late, even up to several months (Čolak et al. 2015) • 24 per cent of applications for loans by women-managed firms were rejected compared to 14 per cent of application submitted by men-managed firms (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014)
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Table 3- women's participation in the economic sphere of post-conflict reconstruction (Author)

4.4.3. Social sphere

The conflict in Bosnia brought destruction to all social services in terms of infrastructure and delivery. Schools and service buildings were shelled, and many personnel died in cross-fire. The ethnic violence also damaged social relations of the society, and peace brought a new reality of political and social separation.

An estimated 30–40 percent of hospitals were destroyed and 30 percent of health care professionals were lost to death or emigration. At the end of 1995, up to 70 percent of school buildings had been destroyed, damaged, or requisitioned for other uses, and large numbers of teaching staff had been lost (OED 2004)

Reconstruction meant rebuilding the social fabric through crossing ethnic lines and rebuilding social services to support war victims and the displaced, reconciliation and integration. Initially, reconstruction focused on providing assistance to the refugees and necessary healthcare for injured. The basis of this work was, naturally, the existing social capital (most of which were women), and local organizations including women's NGOs.

Helping survivors of rape and sexual violence also took priority, and taking initiatives to reconnect social relations as part of the reconciliation process. As explained elsewhere, the PCR was dominated by the strong international presence. As of early 1999, an estimated 170 to 240 international NGOs maintained offices in Bosnia and tens of thousands of foreigners calling themselves aid workers lived there (Mertus 2000). This shaped the activities of civil society after the war in correspondence to funding opportunities.

- ***Women's participation***

Women in modern Yugoslavia enjoyed the freedoms guaranteed them by their communist ideology, and they were articulated in the country's 1946 constitution (Simmons 2010). Women's role as caretakers have gained importance during the war and long after it ended, it continues to label the activities of women's organizations.

The conflict had a predictably devastating effect on the lives of women in BiH. But the case of Bosnia was a turning point in international recognition of protection for women in conflict, and attempts by governments and aid workers to solve the problems of women and girls (Mertus 2000).

Table 4Table 3 below contains a brief of collected data on women's participation in social PCR along a timeline stretching from the socialist period in 1995 till today.

Pre-conflict 1943 Till 1992	During conflict 1992-1995 (including Dayton)	PCR- Recovery (2-4 yrs) 1996- 2000	PCR-Transition (5-10 yrs) 2001- 2010	PCR-development (+10 yrs) 2011 →
<p>Illiteracy remained high among the female population (23.3 percent in 1981), but was lower among men (5.5 percent) (Burg & Shoup 1999)</p> <p>In Bosnia, there's an underlying notion of female power in the realm of the household and family (Simić & Volčić 2012)</p> <p>This notion sometimes contradicts with the patriarchal society norms to a 'cryptomatriarchy' (Helms 2003)</p> <p>Ethnic violence wasn't the norm in BiH. However, it had urban/ rural differences in its inter-ethnic life style (Burg & Shoup).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of detention and rape camps, where women were beaten, sexually abused, or killed (Human Rights Watch 1998) • The systematic rape of an estimated figure between 20,000- 50,000 Muslim women by Serbian forces was used as a tool of "ethnic cleansing (Human Rights Watch 1998) • Some testimonies show some women were among the Serb groups that have contributed in detaining Bosniak civilians and among the armed soldiers (Human Rights Watch 1998) • Several activists spoke of women calling for even more violent measures to be taken against ethnic others than what was publicly advocated by the most extreme nationalist men, and of having nationalist and ethnically- exclusive women's organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On a strategic level, gender and women weren't a top priority for the international community (Helms 2003) • Many national and religious associations were established, as well as many non-partisan and non-governmental organisations and state institutions, whose programmes dealt with women's issues, their status in society and in the family (Grebo in Spahić et al. 2014) • women organized themselves and undertook a variety of humanitarian and community activities (Helms 2003) • Support and training provided for humanitarian relief, social service provision, and civil society building has, from the beginning, dealt quite a bit with women and women's NGOs (Helms 2003) • Some small, independent NGOs were formed out of women's peace movements abroad which channel funding from their own donors to implement projects locally in the region (Kvinna til Kvinna from Sweden, Medica Mondiale from Germany, and the STAR project from the U.S. are examples) (Helms 2003) • In general healthcare programs, where the focus was not on rape and sexual abuse, established by INGOs to aid all women or all members of the community, women (including 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Gender Action Plan for B&H, adopted in 2006, identified the increase in the participation of women in political life and decision-making as one of key priorities (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) • Raped women were largely excluded from programs designed by International Organization for Migration because they were not considered to be among the survivors of concentration camps and/or torture. Most of these survivors were male and thus a disproportionate percentage of male applicants to IOM were moved while a disproportionate number of females were denied. (Mertus 2000) • One project, Gender Equity and Equality Project (GEEP) is supported by the Finnish government and operates through the Gender Centre of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Gender Centre of Republika Srpska (RS). Both projects helped sponsor a Law on Gender Equality, passed in 2003 (Pupavac 2005) • In January 2011, the UN Committee against Torture issued a recommendation to BiH in which, among other things, it sought an amendment to the BiH Criminal Code in the section relating to rape (Mirović et al. 2015). • A total of nine women were accused of war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statistics from the Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina show that women have been the more educated gender since 2003 (Sarajevo Open Centre 2015) • Primary school enrolment rates are around 90% as compared to nearly universal rates in the OECD, and the primary school completion rate at 76% is lower than most regional peers (The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014) • In the academic year of 2013/2014, of the total number of college graduates, women constituted 60.1% (Mirović et al. 2015) • International economic governance is increasing the social vulnerability of women and the social burden placed on them by authorising the further erosion of state support systems (Pupavac 2005) • There are still no relevant data or special measures for protecting women with disabilities (Mirović et al. 2015). • Returnees and internally displaced women in BiH are still marginalized and often confronted with discrimination, social exclusion, and poverty (Mirović et al. 2015). • In BiH, there aren't any adequate statistics or any efforts by the competent institutions to document and protect the human rights of sex workers (Mirović et al. 2015)

	<p>among all ethnic groups in Bosnia (Helms 2003)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The UNHCR Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women and UNHCR guidelines on sexual violence did not exist at the onset of the war. (Mertus 2000) • International actors failed to give legal protection to women who faced gender-based violence and other abuse in their homeland, in flight, or in camps. (Mertus 2000) • Throughout the war, women reported tremendous difficulty in obtaining legal documentation of their status for themselves and their children, especially if they had spouses or other family members who were fighting or imprisoned elsewhere. (Mertus 2000) 	<p>survivors of sexual abuse) received meaningful health care and counselling. (Mertus 2000)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women in Bosnia have been quicker to act and have acted in greater numbers than men in humanitarian activities and initiatives for peace and cross-ethnic dialogue (Helms 2003) • A Gender Co-ordination Group was established, chaired by the OHR, with representatives from the OSCE, OHCHR (Office of the High Commission for Human Rights), the International Human Rights Law Group and other international organisations. Its remit includes implementing the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and integrating the gender dimension into “national legislation, public policies, programmes and projects (Pupavac 2005) • Some local women’s NGOs were created initially as projects through funding by international agencies and afterwards became independent organizations with donors leaving Bosnia of cutting funding with the end of the relief phase. Others that failed to become independent were abruptly abandoned after international missions were completed and organizations exhausted their funds (Mertus 2000) 	<p>crimes committed during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Spahić et al. 2014)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The measures by which local and international humanitarian groups awarded assistance failed to account for gender violence and abuse. (Mertus 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no strategy or program for solving the problems faced by LBT women ad they are systematically ignored (Mirović et al. 2015). • Istanbul Convention (the CoE Convention of Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence), entered into force in BiH on 1 August 2014. (Mirović et al. 2015). • In July 2013, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) issued conclusions for BiH and expressed its deep concern over the “long delays in the adoption of measures for addressing the needs of a large number of women victims of war (Mirović et al. 2015). • A study conducted by Medica Zenica and Medica Mondiale showed that, 20 years after the war, physical and psychological status of rape survivors is extremely alarming. 57% of the women surveyed (all victims of wartime rape) have PTSD (Mirović et al. 2015) • Gender Action Plan (GAP) defines priority actions in the duration between 2014-2017, however the implementation of the plan still hasn’t started (Čolak et al. 2015) • According to the existing laws in both Entities, war victims who survived concentration camps face numerous problems in accessing their rights to compensation for damages suffered because they are not recognized as a special category of war victims (Mirović et al. 2015)
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Table 4- women’s participation in the social sphere of Post-conflict reconstruction (Author)

The completion of this matrix concludes step one of the analysis. Now that the data is grouped into three spheres, and arranged along a relevant timeline, I can start with the second step of the analysis as explained in the methodology section.

The matrix design is based on the literature review; consequently the data was distributed among these three spheres since the 'private sphere' is not considered one of the pillars of the post-conflict reconstruction process. However, the next step of the analysis will introduce this as a fourth sphere in order to complete the understanding of women's participation in PCR in Bosnia.

4.5. Analysis

As explained in the methodology part, the second step of the analysis will be divided into four spheres in order to evaluate the participation of women in PCR along the conflict timeline.

This is based on a basic understanding that women participate in any society within these four areas. And that in a patriarchal society as that in BiH, women are perceived with power especially within the domestic and private sphere.

In each sphere three points will be discussed;

- a. **Temporal dynamics:** includes discussing the evolution of women's role along the timeline of the conflict, before, during, and after the war
- b. **Internal Vs local:** to explain how the international intervention and the way it was conducted have shaped the role of women in reconstruction in Bosnia
- c. **Power relations** between the different stakeholders of the reconstruction process including women groups.

4.5.1. Political sphere

As a general note, the way Dayton set to restructure the political and economic system of post-war Bosnia, have resulted in low levels of women participation in the political sphere. In particular, the evaluation of women's participation in the political sphere of reconstruction revolves around three points;

- a. Temporal dynamics: During the war, the image of women diminished to victims of war, rape and ethnic cleansing. However, many representations tried to recapture the alternative image in which women as individuals and community members have worked

in relief and counselling, even if they were not part of the political decision making during the war and the negotiations (Helms 2003).

The DPA gave no attention to women or gender, still during that period reports of mass rape and other gender-based crimes have put women in the spot of international attention and the response to these crimes helped shape a strong interest in improving women's situation in BiH. One of the results was the creation of the (ICTY) International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (Mertus 2004)

- The initial post-conflict period was marked by a weak government and strong international presence. Still, there were several attempts for 'inclusion' of women in elections and political life of the country as soon as peace was restored, most notably Women in Politics programme, set up by OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe), which delegated responsibility for supervising elections under Dayton. As part of its programme, the OSCE changed the electoral rules and required 30% of the candidates to be women on candidate lists. The measure did increase the number of women representatives in elected bodies. In the House of Representatives, the percentage of women leapt up from 2.38% to 26% under a closed list system (Pupavac 2005)

Many of the activities aiming to increase women's participation in political life were funded and sometimes initiated by foreign donors. This resulted in a general idea that the work of these NGOs is not authentic, and a gendered language is used to refer to them, in a way reflecting that women can't or shouldn't try to presume positions in the male-dominated sphere of politics or of public importance (Helms 2003)

The approach women NGOs followed is gender-conservative, placing women outside the male sphere of politics (Helms 2003) in order to get funding from non-political actors.

- After the immediate emergency phase, the international community, led by the OSCE, has also been pushing for increased participation of women in formal politics (Helms 2003). The most successful example of women's mobilization and activism is their work to establish ICTY in 1993, and afterwards participating in its events. There is currently a considerable presence of women in all levels of the tribunal is noted. The court has been working since 2003, closely with local judiciaries and courts in the former Yugoslavia. Also, the Gender Equality Law was drafted in 2001 and amended in 2009, therefore amending the Elections Law to require "equitable representation" of both genders on electoral lists. The gender equality law, was clearly drifted in English initially, as the International organisations were closely involved at every stage (Pupavac 2005). In summer 2001, the Gender Coordination Group discussed a draft which was then

'distributed for review' to the International Community and NGOs dealing with the issues contained in the draft.

After amending the election system by adopting open lists instead of closed lists, the percentage of women in the House of Representatives dropped from 26% to 14.28% (Pupavac 2005)

- Now with 20 years after the signing of the Peace Accords, the discussion on long term impact of the PCR is starting to take shape. The political atmosphere in the country revolves around EU pre-accession procedures and assistance. Research work done since 2011 reflects on the PCR process as a whole and provides insight on what should be changed for women's participation to be prominent. The quota for political representation has been achieved in some levels in government, and women's participation is gaining importance within election lists of different parties. However, in a country like Bosnia, gender identity of women becomes secondary to their ethnic and party identity (Veličković 2014).

The dynamic changes in political women's role in BiH are significantly influenced by two issues; rape crimes during the war and the introduction of the new gender equality law. The first had a negative impact on their participation but in the same time got them the attention throughout the PCR process, especially in the first two phases. However, this attention was not channelled towards political participation but towards healing from trauma. The third phase of PCR, with only 4 years on, so far has been marked by the implementation of the gender equality law, which is a positive step for women's rights, even with its 'western' construct it still offers a legal framework for action.

- b. Internal Vs local: The massive scale of international intervention in BiH have weakened the role of central government and local institutions in the PCR, keeping in mind that the government was already divided and weak, having just emerged from a civil war. Many initiatives advocating for political rights of women were initiated or funded by foreigners, women activists have lost their negotiation power and to an extent part of their credibility.

The much celebrated gender equality law, was drafted in English initially, as the Gender Coordination Group discussed a draft which was then 'distributed for review' to the International Community and NGOs dealing with the issues contained in the draft in summer 2001 (Pupavac 2005). This only reflects the extent of power the international organizations have over Bosnian public life rather than reflects an achievement of advocacy of women groups.

Moreover, the political structure as it is leaves the country's political decision under the 'supervision' of international actors. Mertus (2004) confirms that the international's High Representative for BiH remains the most senior political authority in the country, and consequently international actors are the biggest player in the political sphere.

- c. Power relations: Within the new political system, certain procedures were taken to ensure a 'suitable' amount of women's political participation. A 40% quota of women representation which is, if fully implemented, is more than most figures on women political representation in most Western European countries. However, the quota system only goes a long way, because ensuring effective political participation and representation requires informed capable individuals with political background and political training which is not the case of the majority of women after being marginalized for years. Other measures were; introducing changes on the election system, training women for political change, and channel funding towards gender-balanced projects and institutions. However, literature provides evidence that even when women have been present in number (through quota system or other tools) their power to enforce political change was very limited. This is caused by many factors; the county's political environment of international dominance, the ethnic priorities for most political leaders and parties. Veličković (2014) explains that gender identity of women becomes secondary to their ethnic and party identity in a country like Bosnia. Other authors like Pupavac (2005) question the meaningful representation of women without challenging the stunted and restricted nature of politics under international governance. Therefore, the power women had and continue to have over political matters is very limited and influenced by other dynamics, all outside the reach of advocacy groups.

4.5.2. Economic sphere

Economic structure of post-war Bosnia was directed towards liberalization along with the structural adjustments of economic transition from socialism to free market economy. Both which had a negative effect on women. The justification is presented through the same points below;

- a. Temporal dynamics: In sheer comparison with the socialist regime workers (both male and female) appear to have lost many benefits and rights through the economic transition. Adding to that the struggling post-war economy, which coping mechanisms couldn't compensate for, even more so with the recent economic crisis in 2008.

The post-conflict economy was dominated, in all three phases of PCR, by two main characteristics; the international intervention and transition towards market economy.

Both resulted in significant effects on women. The gendered division of labour intensified, and while women found new opportunities through support of the international organizations, the majority of women lost benefits and stable income.

- During the initial reconstruction phase, economic international presence was strong through funding of the reconstruction programme. The initial response of the BiH economy to the reconstruction effort was strongly positive. While poverty incidence and unemployment remained high (OED 2004). The international exposure was useful for women's groups and many individuals who benefited from economic assistance programs. International microcredit programmes have often been directed towards women. However, many of these programs were top-down or, at best were tailored for the available funding, and criticised for not working directly with local women. Still, the potential of women's role in cross-ethnic lines managed to secure proper funding for such programs (Helms 2003).

- After the initial reconstruction phase, and between 2000 and 2003, when growth was primarily aid-driven, the momentum of economic growth slowed significantly, with an estimated average GDP growth rate of 4.7 percent (OED 2004). Up till 2003, the economy of BiH was designed according to INGOs policies and reconstruction programmes. The WB, IMF and other Economic Policy Working group members (OHR, EU, USAID) introduced structural adjustments (as reforms of pensions, healthcare, social finance and started privatization). The Bank administrated 'reforms' on all financial matters including state budget, tax policies and establishment of a Treasury System and audit institutions (OED 2004). These measures resulted in many women losing not just their former benefits, but also their qualifications for new ones. Between 2000 and 2003 the World Bank had committed \$286.7 million for what they called 'the post-reconstruction period' (OED 2004). During this phase the WB worked on developing market-based institutions and creating a favorable environment for private sector development, through: developing a business environment that promotes competition; privatizing socially owned and state- owned assets; and developing a disciplined and competitive financial sector. Many donors have also supported private sector development (OED 2004). These privatization measures are proven to have negative effects on women and other economically- vulnerable groups.

- 20 years after the signing of the Peace Accords, the economy suffers from institutional deficiencies: political fragmentation; a lack of appropriate conditions for economic revival; and dependency on foreign economic aid (Tzifakis & Charalambos in Causevic & Lynch 2013). From 2011 till end of 2013, reconstruction assistance from international donors comprised 61 projects totalling €985 million (The European Bank

for Reconstruction and Development Transport 2014). In general, income-generating projects that are intended to foster economic growth are not linked into larger economic reconstruction. Currently, women's situation is a result of unsustainable economic reconstruction policies as women continue to face hardships in accessing better opportunities, while in the same time, losing their support from international donors with many international missions coming to end 20 years after restoring the peace.

- b. Internal Vs local: the overflow of aid created a hyper-active but dependant NGO sector. Although some women organizations succeeded in improving women situation, their success remains under the 'humanitarian' category, since it doesn't correspond to a larger economic strategy for reconstruction. On the positive side, INGOs funding represent the biggest opportunities women had so far to contribute to the economic reconstruction. It remains to examine whether some of the successful examples are sustained throughout the third and final phase of PCR.

In this sphere as well, the international actors are the most important in economic governance of post-conflict Bosnia. The national government and entity's governments can't introduce changes in the economic system with the current conditions, and cannot refuse changes dictated by these powerful actors because of the high dependency on aid. Jansen (2006) provides example on policy changes in public sector employment and salaries that were enforced by the Office of the High Representative, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Commission under the threat of cutting future funds.

- c. Power relation: The decrease of all economic indicators caused by the war increased vulnerability of women and added a new category in the labour market, which are women as household heads. Dayton didn't specifically address the new economic needs for women, although it failed, along with the post-conflict economic regime, to address some issues like illegal activities. Human trafficking networks were not immediately dismantled after the Dayton Framework was signed. Rather, the black marketeers and smugglers employed the same skills and smuggling routes they had devised during the war and simply began dealing in different goods. (Haynes 2002)
Most of economic reconstruction activities have also resulted in increasing the vulnerability of women as a group, and even more so as individuals when they belong to multiple vulnerable groups. Privatization have limited their participation in the overall economic development and further pushed them to depend more on aid and activities in the informal sector. The measures taken to promote 'more flexible labour market' resulted in keeping women out of the labour market.

The failure of the peace agreement to restore active the displaced have resulted in many losing their property or being forced to accept compensation and look for residence elsewhere in areas where the majority belongs to their same 'ethnic identity'. Thus expanding the loss to local businesses and professional networks and taking away some of the opportunities women could take part in.

On the positive side, women were able to benefit from microcredit initiative programs considerably; however as evident in the collected data, these programmes don't always recognize the full capacities and skills women have gained.

Overall, the economic governance of post war Bosnia reinforced the shadow economy and limited the opportunities of women to a thin minimum. The power balance in economic issues is highly skewed towards men in terms of participation, making decisions on economic matters, and employment opportunities.

4.5.3. Social sphere

The social sphere is probably the area where women's presence is both the most significant and visible in public life in BiH. In general, women undertook activities in the social sphere as an extension to their social reproductive role, the evaluation of women's participation in the political sphere of reconstruction revolves around three points;

- a. Temporal dynamics: With significant losses in service delivery and social relations, women had an active and important role in Bosnia, even if war-time violence, especially gender-based violence, had limited women's full participation during conflict time. After Dayton, there has been enormous growth in civil society in post-war BiH and in particular women NGOs (Mertus 2000). These organizations tackled many issues related to social services, counselling, education, and healthcare.
 - The initial post-conflict period, which was dominated by large international presence, has contributed in a considerably large attention to women's rights, thus creating opportunities for protection. A lot of this attention was directed towards counselling and health services for survivors of violence and rape.
 - In the transitional period, the attention of INGOs turned towards focusing on women's potential in reconciliation, which also falls into the category of social reproduction and reflects high moral value through de-politicization of women's organizations. Women were the first to cross ethnic boundaries just after the war ended and have continued to lead efforts at reconciling ethno-national groups driven apart by the fighting (Helms 2003). The focus is on women and mothers lobbying for justice and finding their missing ones such as the activism of 'Women of Srebrenica' and 'The Association of Mother and Sisters of Srebrenica and Podrinja' (Helms 2003).

Initially, the way of awarding assistance didn't account for gender violence, and equality in gender relations (Mertus 2000). As donors have shifted their priorities from emergency assistance and psychosocial work to reconstruction, microenterprise development, and income generation, subsequently, women's organizations switched their focus towards microenterprise and income generation. Also because of the non-political nature of women's activities, they become often excluded from programmes categorized as political. The Bosnian civil society is dominated by women running many NGOs, of which most are reluctant to become involved in politics.

- More recently, civil society activism directed its efforts towards improving legal frameworks to ensure a more effective participation for women in the public life. A gender equality law was passed, and the election law was amended. It also started focusing on issues of inclusion of multiple vulnerable groups, such as rural women, Roma women and women in disabilities (Sarajevo Open Centre 2015). The attention of women groups is shifting towards more social inclusion, looking into the role of media, rights of the disabled, Roma population and rural women (Sarajevo Open Centre 2015) whether these priorities are defined based on the need of society, or by tackling issues that appeal to the agendas of international donors remains hard to confirm.

- b. Internal Vs local: the Bosnian experience shows that influx of international assistance doesn't always result in the benefit of recipient groups. Assistance to rape victims is a case in point here. Journalists arrived to Bosnia, for the sake of interviewing "raped women" and some foreign humanitarian groups set up offices and treatment facilities for "raped women." Naturally, many women refused to identify themselves by that single criterion, and remained silent. Also, they had considerations to be subject of criticism and shame within their own communities, affecting prospects for future marriage and family life (Mertus 2000). In such sensitive issues, using foreign experts is proven to make things harder, and affects the way these health services are being provided. In Bosnia, some general health programs have helped many rape survivors without focusing too much on rape and without targeting their experiences in particular. Still, not every 'local' is always preferred, as the country still enclosed over ethnic identities, the international intervention succeeded in encouraging inter-ethnic cooperation in cases where women's role was prominent.
- c. Power relation: The post-conflict social structure is not in particular in favour of women. Many factors in the new system increase vulnerabilities of women. For example, focusing too much on women's reconciliation potential, although it deserves celebration, is somehow adding unachievable responsibility on women and diverting the discussion

away from addressing the root causes of conflict, which is an issue for the whole country not just its women. Moreover, most of the women NGOs operating in BiH are completely depended on external funding and are dominated by a small number of individuals from the urban elite (Pupavac 2005). Without external sponsorship, many local women's NGOs would collapse.

The peace agreement in Annex 7 stipulated the right of refugees and displaced persons (DPs) to 'freely return to their homes of origin', as opposed to the clauses of 'return to country of origin', more commonly used by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Jansen 2006). This added to complexities faced by women who have lost a spouse, many of whom were missing with no legal document to acknowledge their new status.

Therefore, the power balance in the social sphere is not in favour of women as a group. However, there's an interesting issue to be noted here. That is the way women can, sometimes, manipulate the power balance to their own advantage. As Elissa Helms (2003) explains women NGOs in Bosnia have followed gender-conservative approach, thus placing women outside the male sphere of politics. This is a double-edged strategy. On one had it limits women's visibility in the public political sphere, but on the other hand, it creates the perception that women are less threatening to the ambitions of politicians which eventually allowed them to get around into achieving results.

Over all, unsustainable and short term PCR policies, in addition to the usual decrease of funding as PCR advances, had a negative effect on women participation. As the country haven't succeeded in rebuilding its social capital 20 years after the war nor are women equipped to assume the 'sometimes overestimated' role they are expected to play. The political fragmentation of the country made the organizations working across ethnic boundaries the exception not the norm however, with international support from INGOs, women were encouraged to have a more advanced role in reconciliation and bonding the ethnically divided country. This was successful in areas were individuals and organizations that have already a tradition of working across ethnic and national lines by using already established social networks, with the exception of few examples. The data shows that inter-ethnic life style was characteristic of urban middle class, and this is particularly the class from which women were able to continue crossing ethnic religious border in the post-conflict area and attempting to restore that lifestyle.

4.5.4. Private sphere

The private sphere is where women's participation is the least noted, and also the least observed and studied. Nevertheless, literature includes scattered remarks on the influence women have in this sphere.

a. Temporal dynamics:

Ana Dević notes, as cited in (Spahić et al. 2014), that during socialism, the sphere of the private was regarded as a safe arena of anti-regime gatherings by both male and female dissidents. When the war broke out in Yugoslavia, new issues became relevant from a gender-studies perspective: war; nationalism; rape; and feminist identity and war. However, studies focus on women's visibility in all public spheres, and there's little attention to the role women can play in the private sphere.

The changes occurring on gender identities because of the war have challenged the traditional Bosnian- Herzegovinian women role. According to traditions, women, their primary role is in the family, as mothers, housewives and wives, while men occupy the public sphere.

b. Internal Vs local:

PCR also reflect this public/private distinction. All reconstruction activities aim to increase women's participation in the public sphere. Since the war, women are seeking not simply greater representation in all public spheres, but positions of authority within these spheres, taking the opportunity made available by the conflict but also, because all women were conceived as victims, with no power nor agency with no visible authority. Although Bosnian society is a patriarchal, the underlying notions of female power within family, and 'cryptomatriarchy' offer an important opportunity for change. International intervention has failed to understand the Bosnian society, and most of its interventions focus on increasing women's visibility in the public spheres. Little attention is made to assist women exercising their power in the community and achieve genuine change.

c. Power relations:

Power relations in this sphere follow the gendered public/ private distinction. Such is understood through the traditional division of labour, from the male/public and female/private roles. According to tradition of Bosnian- Herzegovinian women, their primary role is in the family, as mothers, housewives and wives, while men occupy the public sphere. One important example on the duality of women's role, is the operation strategy of women organizations, even feminist NGOs, would temper down their statements in public life in order not to appear too aggressive, and compromise their chance of making real change. Stereotyping gender roles, as women; victims, and men

as aggressors; violent is very much linked to this distinction. The discussion on nationalism is a case in point, through reports such as (This War is Not Mine) on Mostar women, which implicates that since women were not involved in the political decisions which led to war, they are all automatically against war and the nationalism which fueled it (Helms 2003), where it is implied that women (as a group) are more peace-loving than men. The rape crimes are viewed through this lens, even though there were women charged with war crimes including sexual violence.

Since war is a public sphere, women's participation is less visible than men. Hence this gendered distinction between public/ political and domestic spheres in Bosnia doesn't make this role easily recognized.

As a result, the settings of the PCR process in BiH didn't help women to gain an advanced role in the public life in Bosnia. And this continues to be the case even 20 years after the end of the conflict. On the other hand, a window of opportunity was created through unprecedented support for women issues and organizations, which resulted in changes most notably through legislations, and adopting gender-sensitive policies and approaches. But with the usual dynamics of international emergency aid, many of the short term activities for women were, (some still are), being viewed as an action on a check list to get donor funding. PCR doesn't consider the role women has in the private sphere and how this can influence change. It is assumed on behalf of women that greater visibility is the desired and the only way to change existing gender roles. However, little attention is given to understanding how different women might perceive change coming and whether they desire this type of change or not, and through what mechanisms.

On top of that, working in a context of fragmented administration and sensitive ethnic politics has resulted into de-politicization of women's activities and consolidation of the previously defined gender roles. The only exception were women of the educated urban middle class, which is the group with the best potential to benefit from the rising opportunities in order to challenge gender roles and take part of the political life. This however, does not lead to a genuine change in the community and certainly doesn't score high in terms of real decision making power.

[CHAPTER FIVE]

5. Conclusions

This research started from the assumption that women's participation in PCR is crucial to the success of reconstruction efforts, and embarked on an attempt to understand what influences this participation. My first research objective was to arrive to an understanding of the process of PCR, its changing dynamics, and participation in post-conflict scenarios. The literature review allowed me to establish connections between these three topics, and identify the main questions for my case study analysis.

My second objective was to examine an example and investigate the extent of women's participation in it, based on the points of analysis and questions acquired from the literature review. Below are some conclusions based on the analysis done for this research;

5.1. Regarding the case study

The war turmoil leads to familiar contradiction; the victimisation of women, but also to their empowerment. The Bosnian case perfectly embodies this contradiction; backed with a lot of support, Bosnian women were able to question gender relations at all levels and found themselves in new roles and positions. On the other hand, their image as victims was consolidated. The efforts of post-conflict reconstruction undeniably increased women's visibility in the public life, and helped them improve their opportunities in general. Yet, it limited their participation by confining their role to what would get them funded. Thus women moved from a local, patriarchal society that defines their gender roles, to another internationally- conceptualized one to empower them.

Little attention is given to the individuality of women, and most initiatives deal with women as a homogenous group. PCR interventions and policies regarded women as victims, powerless in need of assistance. Even when speaking of their potential, women were assumed to have general interest and capabilities in healthcare, education and inter-ethnic reconciliation. In reality, research showed that women had many different and diverse roles during and after the war. Some participated in fighting and others were victims of rape and torture. However, there are many attempts to shed light on the diversity of roles women have and continue to assume.

Moreover, with the power imbalance between local and international actors as it is in BiH, women cannot challenge traditional gender roles. Where even male politicians lack real power, the question is whether the political and economic system should be challenged

before challenging the social construct of gender roles. In a country with a large number of foreign personnel (over 200 international agencies), there's a risk of having changes enforced from the perspective of Western individualist agenda. Finally, it is impossible to evaluate the role of women without acknowledging their role in the private sphere as well as the public one.

The biggest, and perhaps the most successful, role women have played in post-conflict BiH is their involvement with the ICTY. In both succeeding to establish the court and then participating in its events, it shows the 'recipe of success' of combining international support with local efforts in pushing a cause that women view as a priority.

5.2. Regarding methodology

It is important to note that the aim of this analysis is to provide a base of discussion on PCR from the lens of women's participation. It tries to give a broad evaluation on their role over the course of time. From this perspective, the analysis of the Bosnian case doesn't seek to give a simple answer whether women's participation was effective or not. It merely attempts to put in one place the many arguments about the topic and further the understanding of the dynamic characteristics of PCR.

Through this exercise, I have the following conclusions in regards to implementation of the analysis;

- With a topic as complex and interrelated as PCR, some of the issues could be categorized under more than one sphere. This makes sorting out the data a challenging task and an understanding is needed of processes and results.
- More field research would allow the data collection to be more precise. This can be very helpful for focusing on a specific topic, region or programme. Also, it will allow obtaining sufficient data on some topics that current research hasn't completely covered such as women's influence in the private sphere.
- Due to the nature of available data, I worked on the national level in BiH. This was useful in providing insight on the country's situation as a whole as it enabled the analysis of general trends especially related to economic aid. Yet, applying the same analysis on smaller local entities will include further details especially on individuals and will probably going to produce different results.

5.3. Participation of women in PCR

The task of evaluating women's participation in a long term process is a challenging one, and this research doesn't claim to be able to respond fully to this challenge. However, through my literature review, I was able to confirm my assumption recognizing the value in women participation in post-conflict reconstruction processes. This value is evident not just through opinions of different authors, but also through observing the potential women could have as prominent players in the reconstruction process.

The literature review allowed me to cross reference three topics to compose the analysis. These are; post-conflict reconstruction, gender studies, and participation. Also, it enabled me to identify three discussion points to form my analysis around, and inspired the matrix for the data collection and organization. These discussion points; temporal dynamics, international/local influence, and power balance, are main points in any discussion on participation in post-conflict reconstruction.

Through investigating women's role in PCR using concepts proposed by participation literature, I was able to look at these three points from a specific lens. In the course of this thesis, my aim was to answer the following question;

To what extent do post-conflict reconstruction dynamics influence the participation of women in rebuilding processes?

The answer lies partially in the literature review part. Since works of literature extract knowledge from a wide array of case studies. To completely answer this question, the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a case in point, where the settings for the reconstruction have directly and profoundly influenced the role of women in every aspect of public life in Bosnia. In addition, the literature review guided me towards consideration of dynamics before the reconstruction period that is; before and during conflict. But it was not enough to link women's participation to PCR activities, and timeline, I was able to consider also the effectiveness of said participation in many examples, thus adding further a critical dimension to the discussion evolving from this research question.

Finally, the study concludes that real participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction relates to the changing priorities and goals of the reconstruction phase (here called temporal dynamics), negotiation over influence between international and local actors, and the power women can exercise in situations that increase of vulnerability. It also suggests that there's little attention given to understanding women's influence in the private sphere and its

potential to create change and overall increase women’s participation although in a less visible manner.

5.4. Final note

If we were to acknowledge that local circumstances affect the social structure of gender relations and the gender-differentiated response to PCR policies, it would be interesting for future research to collect data on women’s participation a more local level and observe whether national policies could lead to different levels of participation in different places.

Future research could be done on two levels. The first; national including policies, laws, tribunals, donor strategies etc. and the second; local including programmes, initiatives, small local NGOs, cities, etc. And it is the level on which the urban dimension of PCR can be analyzed.

Analysing only one case study makes the results rather limited. There are also limitations related to the timeframe and the data I could access, in addition to limited resources concerning the third and last phase of reconstruction and women’s participation in the private sphere. This case could have looked in more detail at urban planning policies and women’s participation in conceptualizing and implementation of physical reconstruction. Another case could also strength the analysis and allow research to compare similarities and maybe provide policy recommendations.

I envision this research as a first step in a long-term project dedicated to women and PCR. In this context, this research acts as a testing ground for further research activity. There are several possibilities to expand on the research as explained above. With enough time and funding, field research could expand to include more detailed phases as per Hasic (2004), and different spheres of the reconstruction process as per the following schedule;

	Pre-war	Emergency	Stabilization	Transformation	Revitalization	Structural change & adaptation	Prosperity	Sustainable development
Physical								
Economic								
Social								
Political								
Technological								
Environmental								
Intellectual								

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