Gender and Conflict Early Warning

Results of a literature review on integrating gender perspectives into conflict early warning systems

The UN has identified an ambition to "develop effective gender-sensitive early warning mechanisms and institutions"[1] as part of the women, peace and security agenda, and in recent years a range of research and guidance has been produced by INGOs, UN agencies and academics on gender-sensitising conflict early warning systems. Despite this, early warning systems have generally been gender-blind in their analyses and failed to include women as participants in their processes.

Saferworld recently conducted a review of existing research and guidance on the integration of gender perspectives into early warning systems.[2] The research found a lack of consensus on what is meant by gender sensitivity in the context of conflict early warning, resulting in a variety of different approaches. The findings of the literature review are outlined in this paper, along with Saferworld's recommendations for gender-sensitising early warning systems.

Key findings and recommendations:

- **Gender-sensitive early warning systems should be defined by two factors: the equal participation of women and men in early warning processes, and the inclusion of gender-sensitive indicators based on context-specific research into gender and conflict dynamics.**

- **Ensuring women's participation at all stages of the early warning chain can help to identify risks which may otherwise have been missed, including risks to women, as well helping to encourage women's participation in conflict prevention responses.**

- **Participatory conflict analysis methods provide an effective means of involving women and men in communities affected by conflict in the process of identifying and monitoring drivers of conflict.**

- **It is important that research and data collection processes are not purely extractive: consideration should be given to how women and men involved in gathering data can utilise it themselves and develop their own responses.**

- **Women's participation does not by itself guarantee that gender-sensitive indicators will be developed: the intention to do this must be made clear and a gendered analysis of conflict drivers must be carried out.**

- **Analysing measures of gender equality and women's empowerment is important for designing gender-sensitive peacebuilding and conflict prevention interventions and may be helpful in assessing the likelihood of gender-based violence (GBV), but there is currently little evidence that it helps with anticipating outbreaks of armed conflict. Further research is needed to understand the relationships between women's empowerment, gender equality and armed conflict.**

- **Indicators on gender norms which drive conflict – such as violent notions of masculinity – may be more useful for early warning but further research is needed to better understand how they can be measured and whether and how they can be used to anticipate armed conflict.**

- **The relationship between GBV and armed conflict is not well enough understood to suggest a simple causal relationship, though it may be a useful indicator in some contexts. GBV should also be understood as a form of violent conflict in itself, not just an early warning indicator for other types of conflict.**

- **Gender-sensitive early warning indicators should be developed at the local level based on research to determine which factors drive conflict in the particular context and which could usefully be monitored as part of conflict early warning systems. The existing evidence base suggests that gender-sensitive early**

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[1] United Nations, *2008-2009 United Nations System-wide Action Plan on Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security*.

[2] A literature review was conducted by Minna Lyytikainen for Saferworld between August and September 2013 as part of a broader literature review on gender and conflict analysis. The findings are summarised and expanded upon here by Saferworld. For a list of sources, see Annex 1.

warning indicators are unlikely to be globally applicable.

Applying a gender perspective: why and how?

Early warning systems typically involve the collection and analysis of information on actual or potential drivers and triggers of violent conflict over time in order to track conflict dynamics and anticipate outbreaks of violence. In theory, this information is then used to design responses, whether as a means to prevent conflict or mitigate its effects. Such mechanisms may include local monitoring teams, dissemination of the information they collect and mechanisms that feed the information back to actors who are able to respond, be they governments or civil society actors.

In the literature reviewed by Saferworld, two main arguments were put forward for gender-sensitising early warning systems: (1) that gender-sensitive early warning systems could bring benefits in terms of women's rights and gender equality in conflict-affected countries, and (2) that early warning systems which are gender-sensitive could be more effective in anticipating and preventing armed conflict.

Regarding the first point, it is claimed that the present exclusion of women from early warning processes results in a lack of attention to women's needs in conflict-affected contexts – for example, indicators developed without the participation of women may fail to include indicators measuring types of violence which particularly affect women. Therefore, a more gender-sensitive approach can assist with efforts to protect women's rights in conflict-affected countries. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1888, for example, calls for early warning indicators to be developed which specifically measure the risks of sexual violence being used against women in armed conflict, in order to aid prevention efforts.[3] It is also suggested that the lack of a gender perspective can result in responses that are harmful to women or exacerbate gender inequality.[4]

Regarding the second point, the literature highlights a consensus that, when done well, gender-sensitive conflict analysis and early warning systems have the potential contribute to more effective conflict prevention. A summary of explanations for this are outlined in Box 1.

Just as there are different views on why it is important to take a gender-sensitive approach, there are also different perspectives on how gender sensitivity should be put into practice.

Much of the literature focuses on increasing women's participation in early warning systems as the main (or only) strategy to improve gender-sensitivity. Others

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[3] UN Security Council (2009), *Resolution 1888*.

[4] UN Women (2012), 'Gender-responsive early warning: overview and how-to guide', p 4; OSCE (2009), 'Gender and early warning systems: an introduction', p 2.

[5] Hill F (2003), 'Women's contribution to conflict prevention, early warning and disarmament' in *Disarmament Forum: Women, Men, Peace and Security*; UN Women (2012), 'Gender-responsive early warning: overview and how-to guide', OSCE (2009), 'Gender and early warning systems: an introduction'.

[6] Arnando M (2012), 'Women's involvement in conflict early warning systems: moving from rhetoric to reality' HD Opinion, (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue); Schmeidl S and Piza-Lopez, E (2002), 'Gender and conflict early warning: a framework for action'.

[7] Anderlini S (2006), 'Mainstreaming gender in conflict analysis: Issues and recommendations'; Arnando M (2012), 'Women's involvement in conflict early warning systems: moving from rhetoric to reality' HD Opinion, (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue).

[8] Anderlini S (2006), 'Mainstreaming gender in conflict analysis: Issues and recommendations'; Schmeidl S and Piza-Lopez, E (2002), 'Gender and conflict early warning: a framework for action'.

focused more on the substance of what is analysed and monitored by early warning systems and the setting of indicators. Because there are only a few documented examples of early warning systems taking a deliberately gender-sensitive approach, it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of these two approaches; however, both appear to have their merits.

The next section considers how women's participation in early warning systems can be promoted, and is followed by a discussion of what it means to develop gender-sensitive early warning indicators and what these might look like.

Women's participation in conflict early warning processes

As noted in Box 1, a strong case can be made for ensuring the full and equal participation of women in all stages of the early warning process, and the literature presents a number of examples. Interviews with women in Kosovo and Sierra Leone, for instance, illustrate that women in those contexts had valuable information about the accumulation of weapons and attacks being planned, but had no channel for communicating this information to institutions who could respond.[9] In Mindanao, the deployment of all women monitoring teams to report on violations of the ceasefire between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front resulted in more women reporting violations in their communities, whilst also sensitising male leaders to the importance of women's participation in security provision.[10]

Involving women in practice

A number of projects have made special efforts to elicit the participation of both women and men in data collection and conflict analysis. This has been done through the use of participatory methods such as interviews, workshops, surveys or the establishment of hotlines. For example, UNIFEM undertook a gender-sensitive conflict analysis and early warning process in the Solomon Islands in which it worked with men and women to understand their experiences of conflict and to monitor conflict dynamics.[11] The approach included the participation of both men and women in the design of the research, data collection and analysis. Data was disaggregated by sex and the differences in men and women's responses to early warning questionnaires were highlighted in the advocacy and dissemination process. In another

example, MONUSCO developed early warning systems to prevent sexual violence which aimed to improve communication between women living in villages across Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and the UN mission by distributing mobile phones to hundreds of communities throughout the region, giving them direct contact to the mission.[12] Similarly, UNMISS and the Community Women Peace Dialogue Forum in South Sudan set up a 24 hour hotline and distributed communications equipment to at risk communities to enhance early warning efforts.[13]

Like other processes related to peace and security, early warning mechanisms tend to be male-dominated and concentrated in the hands of authorities, particularly at the national level. This may be less true of local-level initiatives: in Mindanao, for example, one study found that women were more involved in community-level early warning initiatives, but very few women were part of formal, high-level structures.[14] As a result, the author argues that the promotion of community level initiatives would be the most effective way to improve women's participation in this area.[15] However, linking these local efforts with more formal, national-level structures represents a challenge.

The benefits of participation

In Saferworld's experience, conflict analysis which involves marginalised groups and those directly affected by conflict and which reflects their views can help to fill a gap in the understanding of conflict and instability and improve conflict-sensitivity of policies and programmes.[16] Although more costly and time-intensive than desk-based research, it highlights issues which may be neglected or hidden from expert level and donor-driven analyses. Most of the literature reviewed here treats women as an excluded category, with relatively little attention to the need to ensure participation of women and men from across different social groups. However, Saferworld's experience of conducting participatory conflict analyses suggests that participation by a broad cross-section of society ensures a richer understanding of conflict and potential responses.[17] When done well, the process of a participatory conflict analysis can be a peacebuilding activity in itself, building local ownership and trust, creating opportunities for

[9] Hill F (2003), 'Women's contribution to conflict prevention, early warning and disarmament' in *Disarmament Forum: Women, Men, Peace and Security,* p 18.

[10] Arnado M (2012), 'Women's involvement in conflict early warning systems: moving from rhetoric to reality' HD Opinion, (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue), p. 13-14.

[11] Moser A (2007), 'The peace and conflict gender analysis: UNIFEM's research in the Solomon Islands', *Gender and Development* 15 (2), pp. 231 – 239.

[12] UN Women (2012b), 'Gender-responsive early warning: overview and how-to guide' (UN Women: New York).

[13] Reported in UN Women (2012b).

[14] Arnando M (2012), 'Women's involvement in conflict early warning systems: moving from rhetoric to reality' HD Opinion, (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue).

[15] Ibid p 9.

[16] See Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012), 'From conflict analysis to peacebuilding impact: Lessons from the People's Peacemaking Perspectives project'.

[17] For more information, see Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012), 'From conflict analysis to peacebuilding impact: Lessons from the People's Peacemaking Perspectives project'.

reflection, action and communication between groups who may not otherwise interact. However, if not done in a way that is sensitive to the context and needs of the participants, it could put them at risk or exacerbate tensions within the community. Conflict sensitivity must therefore be built into every stage of the process.

Overcoming obstacles

If there is resistance within the community to women's participation in data gathering and conflict analysis, it may be necessary to work with spoilers to build understanding around the value that women can add to such processes. Furthermore, some women may also find it difficult to find the self-confidence to speak up in fora from which they have previously been excluded.[18] In response to this, having the right kinds of facilitators (including both men and women) who have received training in facilitation skills and gender analysis is vital. In a project run by UNDP in Fiji, for example, there was concern that having younger women act as facilitators during a participatory conflict analysis process would be seen as "challenging the traditional power hierarchies of senior men or religious leaders".[19] In response, facilitators were trained in assertiveness skills and enacted role plays to develop strategies to deal with challenges posed by cultural and gender dynamics.

Handling sensitive issues

When undertaking participatory conflict analysis in conflict-affected communities, discussing gender relations, including potentially taboo subjects such as domestic violence and rape, can be challenging.[20] Often these topics are not considered to be relevant for a discussion about conflict or peacebuilding. One of the difficulties in including gender analysis in a meaningful way into early warning systems is that often they are mainly focused on dynamics in the public sphere and at the institutional level. Little space is devoted in early warning systems to analysis of conflict factors and sources of resilience in the 'private' sphere. Careful facilitation and planning is needed in order to bring out analysis of relevant issues and demonstrate their relevance while taking particular care not to put women or other marginalised groups at risk for speaking out about sensitive issues.

From analysis to response

As well as including women in the research and analysis phases, it is also important to ensure

participation of women in designing and implementing responses. There is a danger that data collection exercises can become purely extractive, and many studies underlined the importance of committing to a process which is useful and beneficial to the participants. As one study put it: "If the process of early warning is only extractive of data and information that serves external purposes, that system is not only alienating but also an exercise in futility for women in the conflict-affected areas who are in dire need of accurate and real time information".[21]

Placing women in decision-making positions within government institutions is key to ensuring a role in designing responses, but it should not be assumed that governments are the only actors capable of responding to early warning data. Civil society organisations, including women's organisations, can also play a role. Saferworld research in Kenya and Kyrgyzstan, for example, showed that civil society organisations are often best placed to respond to early warning signs of conflict by providing space for dialogue or other measures to de-escalate tensions.[22]

While women's participation at each stage of the early warning process is vital, it does not guarantee that early warning systems will pick up on relevant gender-related factors: this requires attention to the development of gender-sensitive indicators.

Gender-sensitive early warning indicators

There is no consensus on what makes an early warning indicator gender-sensitive. Most of the literature reviewed does not clarify the concept, but example indicators suggest a range of possible factors for consideration, including:

- Whether an indicator refers specifically to women or men (e.g. women's human rights violations, unemployment of young men)

- Whether an indicator refers to the state of gender dynamics and/or women's status in society (e.g. levels of GBV, number of women in parliament)

- Whether women as well as men are involved in developing and monitoring the indicator

- Whether data gathered against the indicator is disaggregated by sex/gender

A list of example indicators found in the literature is attached at Annex 2. This list demonstrates a lack of clarity on what kinds of indicators are relevant for early warning, which is further complicated by the fact

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[18] Shanahan Y (2006) 'Can conflict analysis processes support gendered visions of peace building? Reflections from the peace and stability development analysis in Fiji' (UNDP: New York).

[19] Shanahan Y (2006) 'Can conflict analysis processes support gendered visions of peace building? Reflections from the peace and stability development analysis in Fiji' (UNDP: New York), p 14.

[20] For more on gender-based violence as an early warning indicator see pages 5-6.

[21] Arnado M (2012), 'Women's involvement in conflict early warning systems: moving from rhetoric to reality' HD Opinion, (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue), p. 9.

[22] Saferworld (2011), 'Early warning, early response? Learning lessons from the 2010 crisis in Kyrgyzstan'; Saferworld (2012), 'Early Warning and Conflict prevention by the EU: Learning lessons from the 2008 post-election violence in Kenya'.

that it is not usually specified whether they are intended to be indicators of conflict risk or indicators of the impact of conflict on women and/or gender relations.

The discussion on gender-sensitive early warning indicators suggests two broad categories of potential indicators: those which measure women's empowerment, and those which measure gender norms. The next sections consider the merits of each of these in turn, and are followed by a discussion of the potential to use measures of GBV as an early warning indicator.

Indicators on women's empowerment

On the whole, the initiatives studied share a conceptual framework that focuses on the analysis of women's exclusion and empowerment, with little distinction made between causes, manifestations and impacts of conflict. Many make an explicit or implicit causal link between women's disadvantage or exclusion and greater risk of conflict. As a result, the monitoring of women's empowerment indicators is suggested as a way to track conflict risk. However, it is exceptionally difficult to make generalisations about the relationship between women's empowerment and the risk of conflict, and there is currently little empirical evidence that indicators of women's empowerment are a useful tool for anticipating the outbreak or escalation of conflict.

A number of studies have found a strong statistical correlation between countries' peacefulness and their levels of gender equality.[23] What is unclear from this evidence is the nature of this relationship: while some interpret gender inequality as a structural risk factor for conflict,[24] it is also plausible that armed conflict exacerbates gender inequality. Though there is evidence in certain contexts of women taking up arms in response to gender inequality, such as in Nepal and Liberia, such cases are relatively rare.[25]

A strong theoretical case can be made that certain indicators of women's empowerment are linked to risk of conflict, however a strong base of empirical evidence has not (yet) been developed. For example, the idea that women's political inclusion, particularly in decision-making on peace and security, is important for preventing conflict is embedded in the discourse on women, peace and security: UNSCR 1325 declares that "effective institutional

arrangements to guarantee [women's] protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security."[26] However, this is difficult to test empirically. Of course, this does not mean that there is no causal link, and further evidence linking indicators of women's empowerment to conflict risk may yet be developed. Furthermore, while indicators on women's empowerment may not necessarily assist with conflict early warning, their inclusion in conflict analysis can serve other important functions, such as helping to inform the design of gender-sensitive conflict prevention and peacebuilding interventions.

Indicators on gender norms

There is emerging evidence from a range of contexts that the patriarchal gender norms and identities which lie at the heart of gender inequality can fuel conflict and violence, particularly where militarised notions of masculinity are prevalent.[27] For example, research by Saferworld and others in parts of South Sudan reveals that participation in violent cattle raids, which perpetuate conflict between communities, is seen as a prerequisite to manhood.[28] In other contexts, such as the Western Balkans, the promotion of the idea of the warrior as an archetype of manhood in nationalist discourses has been deployed in the run up to the outbreak of conflict as a means of building support for the war effort.[29] One of the key challenges for gender-sensitising conflict analysis is reaching a solid understanding of how ideas about masculinity and femininity can shape conflict dynamics. This requires a shift away from measuring only manifestations of gender inequality towards the underlying ideas of gender identity that can shape a society's propensity to violence.

Some of the documents included in this study referred to the importance of understanding these so-called 'relational' aspects of gender and the role of certain ideals of masculinity in perpetuating violent conflict.[30]

[23] For example: Institute for Economics and Peace (2011), *Structures of peace,* p 17-18; Caprioli M (2000), 'Gendered conflict'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37(1), 51-68; Caprioli M (2005), 'Primed for violence: the role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict'. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(2), 161-178; Melander E (2005), 'Gender equality and intrastate armed conflict'. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(4), 695-714.

[24] OECD (2009), *Armed Violence Reduction: Enabling Development*, p 33. Development Assistance Committee.

[25] Saferworld (2010), 'Common ground? Gendered assessment of the needs and concerns of Maoist Army combatants for rehabilitation and integration'; International Labour Organisation (2006), 'Red shoes: experience of girl combatants in Liberia'.

[26] UN Security Council (2000), *Resolution 1325*.

[27] A range of evidence and analysis is set out in Breines I, Connell R and Eide I (2000), *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective.*

[28] Saferworld (2012), *People's peacemaking perspectives in South Sudan.* For further analysis of gender norms and cattle raiding in South Sudan see Small Arms Survey (2010), 'Symptoms and causes: insecurity and underdevelopment in Eastern Equatoria'; United States Institute of Peace (2011), 'Dowry and division: youth and state building in South Sudan'*;* Richmond M and Krause-Jackson F, 'Cows-for-bride inflation spurs cattle theft in South Sudan', *Bloomberg News*, 26 July 2011; Oxfam (2013), 'Challenges to security, livelihoods and gender justice in South Sudan'.

[29] Bracewell W (2000), 'Rape in Kosovo: masculinity and Serbian nationalism' in *Nations and Nationalism* 6(4), pp 653-90; Munn J, 'National myths and the creation of heroes' in Parpart J and Zalewski M (eds) (2008), *Rethinking the man question: sex, gender and violence in international relations*, pp 143-161.

[30] E.g. Anderlini S (2006), 'Mainstreaming gender in conflict analysis: Issues and recommendations', p 2; Schmeidl S and Piza-Lopez, E (2002), 'Gender and conflict early warning: a framework for action', p 14; Hill, F (2003), "Women's contribution to conflict prevention, early warning and disarmament' in *Disarmament Forum: Women, Men, Peace and Security,* p 21.

However, few suggested indicators were found on this topic, and measures of notions of masculinity have not been tried and tested as early warning indicators. This may be because evidence and analysis of the relationship between masculinities and conflict has not yet been developed for a wide range of contexts. In addition, analysing the role of masculinities and femininities in conflict dynamics can require a considerable time investment as these connections are not always immediately obvious. Most research on masculinities as drivers of conflict has been conducted by academics and not translated into concrete policy recommendations.

As gender dynamics are highly context-specific, it is unlikely that a set of global gender-sensitive early warning indicators would prove useful. For example, in parts of South Sudan and Northern Uganda where violent cattle-raiding is closely linked to the demand for bride wealth, high bride prices may indicate greater conflict risk. However, in other contexts demand for bride wealth may bear little relation to conflict dynamics, or may not exist at all.

Indicators on GBV

A number of sources reviewed suggested that some measurement of GBV could be used as an early warning indicator.

GBV is a form of violent conflict in itself. In this respect, it is an indicator that conflict is already occurring, rather than a warning sign that conflict may break out. Perhaps for this reason, UNSCR 1888 calls for early warning indicators measuring the risks of sexual violence being used in conflict zones, instead of regarding levels of sexual violence as an indicator of other types of conflict.

The relationship between GBV and other forms of violent conflict is complex and still not fully understood. It is well established that levels of gender-based violence are higher during and after armed conflict;[31] however it is not clear that there is a simple causal relationship between the two. While it is argued that armed conflicts increase levels of GBV as a result of factors such as conflict-related trauma, economic stress and proliferation of firearms, other evidence suggests that a high prevalence of GBV may be a trigger or enabling factor for armed conflict and instability at the national level.[32] It is likely that different forms of GBV have different relationships with conflict dynamics. For example, intimate partner violence may be less likely to indicate a potential for armed conflict than GBV committed by members of one community or social group against another, or than GBV committed by security providers against civilians.

The lack of long-term data on GBV makes it difficult to determine the nature of this relationship, and therefore to establish whether levels of gender-based violence can serve as a useful indicator of the risk of other types of conflict. It is also likely that the relationship between GBV and armed conflict differs across contexts, meaning that any indicator that was developed could not be applied in the same way across contexts. Further research is needed to better understand this area, which requires significant improvements in data gathering on prevalence of GBV.

Conclusions

There are clear theoretical arguments for integrating gender sensitivity into early warning systems, and a small number of case studies provide evidence that it can have benefits for both gender equality and conflict prevention. A review of existing literature on gender and early warning suggests two distinct but related aspects of integrating gender sensitivity: ensuring active participation of women and men in all stages of the early warning process and designing gender-sensitive indicators based on an analysis of the conflict context.

A range of possible approaches could be adopted to ensure broad participation in early warning systems, including participatory conflict analysis methods, the use of technology to allow communities to feed in early warning information, and supporting communities and civil society organisations to use and respond to this information. While a participatory approach can require greater investment of time and resources, it brings demonstrable benefits, in terms of the quality of data and analysis and promoting broad participation in designing responses for the prevention of conflict.

Despite growing interest in developing gender-sensitive early warning indicators, there remains a lack of clarity over what makes indicators gender-sensitive. The literature suggests that gendered factors which could be relevant for measuring conflict risk and designing responses are highly context-specific. Further research is needed to better understand how factors such as gender-based violence, militarised masculinities and other manifestations of gender inequality interact with conflict dynamics, and what the implications are for early warning systems.

The growing interest in gender-sensitive early warning systems in recent years is to be welcomed. However, as this review demonstrates, much remains to be done in terms of clarifying concepts, developing the evidence base and putting theory into practice if the prospective benefits of integrating gender perspectives into early warning systems are to be fully realised.

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[31] See, for example, International Rescue Committee, *Let me not die before my time: domestic violence in West Africa,* (2012).

[32] For a more in-depth discussion of this relationship, see Saferworld (2013), 'Preventing violence against women and girls: the G8 and beyond'.

About Saferworld

Saferworld is an independent international organisation working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives. We work with local people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace. Our priority is people – we believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from insecurity and violent conflict.

We are a not-for-profit organisation with programmes in nearly 20 countries and territories across Africa, Asia and Europe.

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Annex 1: List of sources

Anderlini, Sanam (2006) *Mainstreaming Gender in Conflict Analysis: Issues and Recommendations,* Social Development Paper No. 33, Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

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Annex 2: List of example gender-sensitive indicators

The following is a summary of early warning indicators that were suggested in the literature reviewed.

	Indicators	Sources
Structural factors	Male/female life expectancy at birth	UN Women 2012b
	Gender ratio at birth	UN Women 2012b
	Percentage of female headed household	UN Women 2012b
	Access to maternal health and family planning services	UN Women 2012b
	Fertility rate	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women (2012b)
	Maternal mortality rate	UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Use of contraception	UN Women 2012b
	Infant and child mortality (of girls)	UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Percentage of adult women with HIV/AIDS	UN Women 2012b
	Equality and protection of men and women in front of the law	UN Women 2012b
	Women as voters, election monitors, candidates	UN Women 2012b
	Percentage of women in parliament	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Female suffrage	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Ratio of men to women in power	UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Awareness of the security sector and attitudes towards violence against women	UN Women 2012b
	Impact of gender training among the military	UN Women 2012b
	Levels of domestic violence	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012b
	Prevalence of sexual violence	UN Women 2012b
	Level of impunity for perpetrators of violence against women	UN Women 2012b
	Prevalence of female genital mutilation	UN Women 2012b
	Women's perception about changes in the level of violence	UN Women 2012b
	Policies of forced birth control	UN Women 2012b
	Existence and quality of legislation around GBV	UN Women 2012b
	Existence of crisis centres or hotlines to support women	UN Women 2012b
	Women's participation in water and land resource management	UN Women 2012b
	High number of young (unemployed) men within the population	UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Percentage of women in the (formal) labour force	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012b
	Increased economic burden faced by women	UN Women 2012b

	Men and women's access to productive resources, including water and land	UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Average level of female education	UN Women 2012b
	Female literacy rate	UN Women 2012b
	Male/female expected years of schooling	UN Women 2012b
	Existence of gender equality programmes in schools	UN Women 2012b
	Primary/secondary school enrollment rates for girls and boys	UN Women 2012b
	Women's unmet expectations about education and health	UN Women 2012a
	Land disputes	UN Women 2012b
	Reintegration of male and female combatants	UN Women 2012b
	Incidence and frequency or intergroup or interethnic marriages	UN Women 2012b
	Level and quality of funding to women's organisations	UN Women 2012b
	Legacies of previous wars: children of rape, war widows, orphans	UN Women 2010a
	Corruption as it affects men differently from women	UN Women 2012a
	Military spending	UN Women 2012a; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002
Proximate factors	Unusual movement of all male groups	UN Women 2012b
	Incidents of rape	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012b
	Incidents of domestic violence	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012b
	Other types of violence (bar fights, violence against subaltern men)	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Presence of military bases (linked to increased human trafficking, prostitution, sexual harassment)	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012b
	Move from open to close societies, control of women's sexuality and behavior	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Adoption of restrictive laws, especially for women	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012b
	Restrictive interpretation of existing laws	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Reward for aggressive behavior	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Gender expression of ethnic difference	UN Women 2012a
	Propaganda emphasising a militarised masculinity (often in defence of a violated or threatened femininity)	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Sex-specific displacement, refugee migration	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012b
	Gender-specific killings	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012b
	Sex-specific unemployment	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women

		2012a
	Sale of jewelry or other precious metals	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Increase in remittances	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Hoarding	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Media scapegoating women, accusing them of political or cultural betrayal	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012b
	Women in the informal (war) economy (e.g. prostitution)	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012a; 2012b
	Resistance to women's participation in peace processes	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Lack of presence of women in civil society organisations	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012b
	Short term empowerment of women and communities	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Growth of discriminatory movements e.g. fundamentalism	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002); UN Women 2012b
	Gender-insensitive response by international actors	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Changes in female headed households	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; UN Women 2012b
	Changes in HIV/AIDS or STI cases in areas with illegal armed groups	UN Women 2012b
	Conflict-related deaths (male/female)	UN Women 2012b
	Sexual abuse by security forces	UN Women 2012b
	Discriminatory practices and attacks against indigenous populations	UN Women 2012b
	Threats to politically active women	UN Women 2012b
	Restrictions posed by illegal armed groups on women and their organisations	UN Women 2012b
	Forced recruitment and conscription	UN Women 2012b
	Utilisation of women by illegal armed groups to infiltrate to the community or to obtain information	UN Women 2012b
	Pressure by men/women to migrate for work	UN Women 2012b
	Security threats while working on the land	UN Women 2012b
	Level of personal security while crossing borders or traveling to markets; disruption of women's trade activity	UN Women 2012b
	Avoidance of markets or cross-border trade by women due to fear	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2002; UN Women 2012a ; 2012b
	Changes in sex work/survival sex in areas with armed groups	UN Women 2012b
	Stability of bride price/dowry	UN Women 2012b
	Changes in school enrollment/attendance by girls/boys	UN Women 2012b
	Threats to female teachers	UN Women 2012b

	Women's lack of participation in social gatherings due to security threats	UN Women 2012b
	Marriage break-ups	UN Women 2012a
	Upsurge in acquisition, transportation, concealment and training in weapons by men, women and children	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2006
	Crime reports and eye-witness accounts of women about the types of weapons being used	Hill 2003; Johnson Sirleaf and Rehn 2006
Capacities for peace	Existence of NGOs addressing the specific needs of men and women	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Existence of peace organisations, especially women's peace organisations	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Existence of programmes promoting women's participation in peace processes	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Existence of programmes promoting gender-sensitive peacebuilding policies	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez 2002; UN Women 2012
	Gender-sensitive international assistance	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Traditions of peaceful conflict resolution, especially at local level	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Long term empowerment of women alongside empowerment of communities	Schmeidl and Piza Lopez (2002)
	Women's involvement in the management of tensions between groups	UN Women 2012b