Tailoring Training in Gender, Peace, Conflict and Development

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Introduction

This article provides an overview of the training package that was developed under the three year British Council INSPIRE project between the Division of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford and the Department of Defence and Diplomatic Studies at Fatima Jinnah Women University (FJWU) in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Academics, students, policymakers and parliamentarians in Pakistan were the intended stakeholders in the project, which began in 2009. The package comprised six modules and accompanying learning materials that aimed to develop practical and applied skills for analysis of peace and conflict related issues, with the objective of enhancing teaching and research on Pakistan's multiple-level conflicts, and capacity to scrutinise the policies and programmes of government, NGOs and donors.

After introducing the intellectual and practical context that framed the training package, the article discusses the content and approach of the six modules. As such, the article serves more broadly as an overview of those toolkits and methods that have been developed by donors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to enhance oversight of government and to minimise the risk that policy and programme interventions will cause "harm" and that they can maximise the opportunities to promote peace by being conflict and gender sensitive. Highlighted here is the importance of developing knowledge and understanding of these analytical frameworks in "recipient" countries, of building capacity to engage with externally designed toolkits and methods, and for these to be more effectively adapted to, and absorbed into, the country context in order that local ownership and capacity can be improved.

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Project Context

Academia

The most important target audience of the "curriculum" of six modules in the training package was women and girls, on two levels: as students and academics in education and as representatives in parliament and provincial assemblies.

FJWU is a women-only university in a country where females face significant impediments to their education. Improving the qualifications of its graduates to contribute to public life is the mission of the University. This ambition is set within the broader context of women facing constraints in their access to employment, health, security, representation, and autonomy. These barriers range from the moderate to the extreme, determined by class, geography, religion, caste and tribe. Owing to multiple and entrenched norms of exclusion, women are marginalised from critical debates on peace and security. The adversity of this pre-existing exclusion can be unintentionally reinforced by government and donor programmes that are benign in concept and ambition but insensitive in design and implementation.

Staff from Peace Studies at the University of Bradford and the Department of Defence and Diplomatic Studies (DDS) at FJWU developed the modules with the aim of laying the foundations for the study and promotion of peace by female students at FJWU and strengthening research and teaching capacity of DDS staff in this area. The aim was to develop a stream of learning that developed detailed understanding of the causes and impacts of conflict and knowledge of the frameworks for reducing the risk of violence and promoting prospects for peace. In particular, there was a focus on developing skills of critical analysis and of engaging with gender dynamics and impacts.

As discussed at the 2011 Islamabad conference convened by the INSPIRE partnership, colleagues in the Pakistan academic community were of the view that established ways of understanding and exploring conflict in the country were framed by "traditional" security perspectives and realist conceptions, pivoting around the study of international and regional level conflicts in which the state of Pakistan was or had been engaged. This mainstream approach was regarded as unhelpful in advancing understanding of the country's evolving complex of multiple and multi-layered external and, more specifically internal, conflicts, their causes and consequences.

Academic colleagues and students argued that by enhancing their own capacity to systematically assess the causes of conflict they would be better positioned to debate and critique government policy in Pakistan and the role of foreign actors and organisations engaged in the domestic affairs of Pakistan and bordering states such as Afghanistan. The acquisition of practical conflict analysis skills was therefore understood as a means of expanding academic and applied knowledge and of improving the ability of scholars and students to independently scrutinise the drivers of instability and violence in Pakistan. Through learning in this area, it was hoped that female graduates aiming to pursue a variety of careers from journalism to the civil service, or with think-tanks and donors, would have a skills base that would give them a stronger voice on peace, conflict and development

issues. Presentation of the proposed modules to a diverse audience of academics, students, donors, NGOs and officials at the Islamabad 2011 conference led to a lively discussion on skills gaps and the need for more analytically focused teaching and learning. There was consensus on the need to engage with new methods and approaches where these can deepen knowledge and scrutiny of Pakistan's multiple political, economic and security challenges and improve the position of women and girls within society.

This position was echoed by Mr Muhammad Rashid Mafzool Zaka, the Director of Research and Information Services of the Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services (PIPS) at the Islamabad conference and in an interview with Julia Buxton at his parliamentary office. Mr Zaka emphasised the important role that female students trained in peace, conflict and gender issues can play as parliamentary interns, assistants and researchers, serving a particularly important constituency for knowledge in this area - the Women's Parliamentary Caucus (WPC).

Parliament

Despite a number of obstacles, Pakistan has made strides in addressing the under-representation of women in politics over the last decade. The Inter-Parliamentary Union's World Classification for Women in Parliament 2012 ranked Pakistan at number 57 out of a ranking of 144, with 22.5 per cent of seats in Parliament (77 seats out of 342) held by women and 16.3 per cent in the Senate (17 out of 104) following the 2008 general elections. This was above the UK (at number 58 in the Classification), Italy (number 61), USA (number 80), India (number 118) and Brazil (number 119). A key turning point for female representation was the 2002 amendment to the Political Parties Act, which introduced a 17 per cent quota for women in the National Assembly, Senate and provincial assemblies.[1] Before the change of 2002 initiated by President Pervez Musharraf, only 89 women had ever been elected to the national assembly since 1947, when Britain partitioned India and Pakistan under the Indian Independence Act.

Although small in number, some female representatives have been a powerful vehicle for the promotion of women's rights and interests in Pakistan, none more so than Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah and Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz.[2] Elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1948, they pioneered the Muslim Personal Law of Shariah, which granted Muslim women ownership and inheritance rights, and set out provisions for equality of status, opportunity, pay and rights. The 1956 Constitution in which Shahnawaz was also pro-active in integrating women's rights, along with the 1961 Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, built on the Personal Law, with the 1956 Constitution establishing the principle of reserved seats for women and dual voting rights (one for reserved seats and the other for general seats).

The 1973 Constitution introduced by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the left-leaning Pakistan Peoples Party sought to further institutionalise gender equality and female participation by setting out full legal equality for women and mandating their participation in all spheres of national life.

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[1] Bano, Saira (2009). Women in parliament in Pakistan: problems and potential solutions. *Women's Studies Journal* Vol. 23, No. 1, pp 19-35.

[2] Shami, Asma Afzal (2010). Political empowerment of women in Pakistan. *Pakistan Vision* Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 141-150. http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Artical%20-%208.pdf.

Discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex in the appointment of public officials was prohibited, thereby ending the previous ban on women's employment in the Foreign Service, and the Constitution guaranteed reserved seats for women in Local Bodies. As in 1948 and 1956, the promotion of women's interests was attributed to a small number of female politicians who were influential in guiding constitutional and legislative change, in this instance Begum Nasim Jahan and Begum Ashraf Abbasi.

However the history of Pakistan has been a struggle of countervailing narratives on the role and rights of women and their position within Pakistan's Islamic society. Legal frameworks and declaratory principles proved difficult to translate into practice, despite a progressive framework. According to Weiss:

> "The very concept of women's rights elicits disparate, conflicting images in contemporary Pakistan. What constitutes women's rights, who defines them, and where responsibility lies for ensuring them is highly contested, and there appears to be little room for compromise among the contending sides… The state has undertaken the difficult task of constructing culturally appropriate definitions of women's rights as well as culturally acceptable mechanisms for implementing them, but with problematic results. Thus Pakistan persists as an amalgamation of often contradictory political enterprises, with two cohesive strands articulating divergent views on the rights of women and rhetoric to incorporate more laws and institutions derived from Islam."[3]

The clash between the *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (Islamic System) and liberal pluralism was exemplified in the lurch from the Bhutto government, which used parliamentary democracy to advance gender equality, to General Zia-ul-Haq's (1977-1988) Islamisation project. This set out to restrict the role of women in public life under the General's vision of a *wahabbi* influenced Sunni Islamist state. The introduction of the Hudood Laws defining crimes and enforcing punishments as interpreted from the *Sharia* discriminated against women, particularly in relation to *zina* (adultery and fornication), while the 1983 Law of Evidence prevented women from testifying or required other women to corroborate claims before they could be heard. As a result of the Hudood laws, women could be punished for adultery without evidence having been presented by male accusers and those that suffered rape could be charged with adultery without consent. Demonstrative of the punitive enforcement of the Hudood, it was estimated in 1998 that a third of women imprisoned in Lahore, Peshawar, and Mardan were awaiting trial for adultery.[4]

Layered on top of the contested vision of females in society held by secular and Islamist forces are traditional customs and norms that embed structural and direct violence against women. The persistence of practices such as *swara*[5] (forced marriage of girls as a blood money payment), *karo-kari* ("honour" killings), savage "domestic" violence and the use of acid in the punishment of women have frustrated both *sharia* and parliamentary law. The introduction of quotas in 2002 combined with pressure

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[3] Weiss, Anita (2012). *Moving Forward With the Legal Empowerment of Women in Pakistan*. United States Institute for Peace Special Report No. 305. http://www.usip.org/files/resources/SR305.pdf.

[4] US Department of State (2002). *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2001.Pakistan*. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, March 4, 2002, 10, www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2001/sa/8237.htm. [accessed 07 Sept. 12.].

[5] Swara is a Pashto term; it is called Vani in the more populous Punjab, and Dand or Badda in the Sindh.

on Pakistan to meet its international obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women enabled religious and ideological fault lines to be bridged by the influx of female parliamentarians.

An increase in the number of female representatives does not automatically translate into an improved voice for women, or enhanced representation of their needs and interests. In Pakistan, females elected to national and provincial assemblies have been criticised (both historically and after 2002) by women's groups and NGOs at home and internationally for failing to advance the status of women. The discrimination and violence faced by women and girls was not raised in a unified voice by female representatives, and the country's first female Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990 and 1993-1996) did not address or reverse the Hudood laws.

Mirroring society more broadly, there was no consensus among female representatives on the role and status of women and girls. Culture and ideological affinity to either secular or Islamist parties prevailed over gender interests and as a result female representatives did not work together as a vehicle to protect and promote the rights of other women. Female representatives were variously criticised for the corruption and cronyism born of dynastic politics and an election system that filled the reserved seats through national, closed lists put forward by the parties. The women elected did not represent geographically bound constituencies and they were seen as tokenistic placements, nominated on the lists as a result of family ties and/or slavish political loyalties.[6] According to Mr Zaka of PIPS, the female parliamentarians elected in 2008 had to be both convinced of the urgency to prioritise issues affecting women and accept the idea that as a numerically large block, they could be a potent force championing the rights of women and children.

An important catalyst for change was the election of Pakistan's first female speaker of the House, Dr Fehmida Mirza, following the February 2008 elections. Capitalising on an air of reconciliation among political parties and a new commitment to the democratic system following the assassination in December 2007 of Benazir Bhutto during the election campaign, Dr Mirza dedicated eight months to engineering cross-party support among female parliamentarians for a national commission on the status of women. A key step in this process was a briefing targeted at the female parliamentarians on the need for the commission. Dr Mirza's strategy was "that there should be no discussion of personal differences […] do not let them focus on the differences that they have, but what they agree on, issue by issue."[7] On 21 November 2009 and after nine months of negotiations, the Women's Parliamentary Caucus (WPC) was launched, linking from the left to the conservative right across the Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Muslim League and Jama'at-e-Islami. The initiative was resisted by the Islamist parties, but minimum consensus was reached on investigating impediments to women's access to justice through researching local police stations and their response to violence and harassment of women.

[6] Goetz, Anne-Marie & Jenkins, Rob (2005). *Reinventing Accountability: Making Democracy Work for Human Development*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. See also Tripp, Aili Mari and Alice Kang (2008). The global impact of quotas on the fast track to increased female legislative representation. *Comparative Political Studies*. Vol. 41, No. 3, pp. 338-361 and Jahan, Rounaq, (1987). Women in South Asian Politics. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 848-870.

[7] Author interview with Mr Zaka, Parliament of Pakistan, March 2011.

In the course of the WPC's work, they found that the government of Benazir Bhutto had launched a women-only police stations initiative in the early 1990s but these had no powers to investigate or register cases, and they were quickly reabsorbed into main (and male) police stations. Policing legislation in 2000 had made no provision for women-only stations and did not acknowledge the cultural and social stigma faced by women in reporting violence, abuse, discrimination and harassment. WPC delegations visited local police stations to understand the challenges women faced and to determine the physical, financial and human resources required in order to improve women's access to justice and make police forces more sensitive to gender issues. The WPC's work was presented to Parliament and the Ministry of the Interior resulting in a series of legislative reforms and initiatives in police training, recruitment of female officers, women-only facilities, helplines for women and improved processes for the reporting of offences and prosecution of offenders.

The WPC considered other aspects of gender discrimination in their work, which proceeded on the incremental "issue by issue" strategy of Dr Mirza that was necessary to maintain the consensus between the heterogeneous group of female parliamentarians. The WPC was the driving force behind the 2010 Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Work Place Act, the 2012 Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act and changes to the guardians code to establish custody by the female parent of any boy under seven or girl under 16. However, progress in addressing the discrimination experienced by women and girls in Pakistan was offset by the country's war on terror after 9/11 and the resulting impact of regional conflict on security and development in the country. The response of the WPC was to find entry points for female voices in national security debates, and also to highlight the differentiated impact of the conflict and related violence on men and women. In May 2010, the WPC convened a National Convention of Women Parliamentarians to examine the role that female MPs could play in peacebuilding and national reconciliation initiatives. According to parliamentarian Madame Farzana Raja in her keynote speech at the 2011 Islamabad conference, the initiative was intended to break with the popular perception that conflict and peacebuilding was exclusively a male domain. For Madame Raja, empowering women parliamentarians to contribute to debates and to promote gender-sensitive approaches to issues such as internal displacement, humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation was contingent on developing the research skills necessary for critical assessment of policy, and for the formulation of recommendations.

The need for enhanced research and analytical skills was also stressed by Madame Raja in relation to the work of the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) of which she is chair. This conditional cash transfer initiative was developed by President Asif Ali Zardari, widower of Benazir Bhutto, and was introduced by Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani in 2008. Reaching three million families, or approximately 35 per cent of those below the poverty line, the BISP operates in the Islamabad Capital Territory, the provinces of Balochistan, Sindh, Punjab, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, the federally administered regions of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. For Madame Raja, the BISP is a break-through social policy initiative in recognising the important role of women in development and by seeking to empower them by delivering assistance through female householders, providing targeted training opportunities and access to credit facilities (the Waseela-e-Haq programme). Certainly the BISP is not without its

critics,[8] particularly in relation to the funds available, the sustainability of programming, and methods of identifying impoverished families (initially by recommendation of local MPs). However for Madame Raja, these limitations should not detract from the achievements of the BISP, which she maintained can be enhanced by developing the analytical skills of administrators and policymakers, particularly in relation to monitoring and evaluation, identifying best practice and incorporating lessons learned into future strategy.

As with the gender debates during the Pervez Musharraf presidency in the early 2000s (when changes to the Hudood laws were opposed by Islamist groups), the WPC finds itself caught between conservative resistance on the one hand and pressure to embrace a wider agenda on the other. In respect of the criticism that it is doing too little too slowly, Mr Zaka responds that: "we are not an NGO, not an implementing body…there are two basic rules of the caucus, one: build a national consensus for better legislation and two: better oversight of state institutions."

Better legislation requires capacity to scrutinise government and donors, to assess the gender and conflict-sensitivity of policy, and identify the differentiated impacts on men and women. It requires an ability to evaluate how an initiative may exacerbate Pakistan's conflicts and tensions and to formulate alternative approaches that can contribute to peace, security and development. Academics, parliamentarians, researchers and donors consulted by the INSPIRE project team concurred that improved access to resources, training and education in this area would be of high value and that there would be significant benefits from sharing and mainstreaming methods that could enhance research informed teaching and policymaking.

The Training Package

The content of the training package developed for staff and students at FJWU and for the Women's Parliamentary Caucus (through the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services) was developed through identifying gaps in knowledge and learning and detailed discussion of the toolkits and frameworks used by colleagues at Bradford. In particular, there was keen interest in adapting the training that Peace Studies staff had delivered to participants on professional short-course programmes such as the three Chevening courses sponsored by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the six courses delivered to the UK's Ministry of Defence and the EU/MED funded training for officials from Jordan's Ministry of Political Reform, all hosted by Peace Studies.[9]

After identifying the most relevant and pedagogically coherent set of learning materials, six modules were developed: Democratic Audit; National Security Assessment and Security Sector Reform (SSR); Conflict Analysis; Conflict-Sensitive Design; Gender, Conflict and Development, and Gender Audits. These incorporated frameworks for analysis, practical exercises, contextual information, reading materials and policy documents. Staff from the Department of Defence and Diplomatic Studies visited

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[8] See for example Khan, Shanza N. and and Qutub, Sara (2010) *The Benazir Income Support Programme and the Zakat Programme: A Political Economy Analysis of Gender*. Overseas Development Institute (ODI). London. http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7247.pdf [accessed 09 Sept. 12.].

[9] See "The Practitioners' Perspective" in this edition.

the UK to attend training sessions, with the aim of developing their capacity to deliver learning and research in this area.

Module 1: Democratic Audit

Democratic and good governance is an implicit element of the peace and security agenda of the international community, on the basis that mechanisms for accountability, representation and justice reduce the propensity for corruption, exclusion and violence found in authoritarian systems. For colleagues in Pakistan, there was particular interest in interrogating the quality of democracy in the country and engaging with academic and policy debates on the inter-relationship between democracy, development and peace.

The first of the modules in the training package focuses on the framework for assessment of democracy and human rights developed by Democratic Audit, a UK-based independent research organisation supported by the Joseph Rowntree Trust.[10] The Audit's four block assessment process had proved extremely popular with participants from overseas that had attended the professional short course programmes in Peace Studies. Working through the Audit process, participants had reported that the results of their surveys at community, regional or national level had changed their perception of political and democratic weaknesses in their home countries and highlighted areas for improvement that were necessary to reduce the risk of future conflict and violence.[11]

Divided into four units, with multiple search questions, the first block of the Democratic Audit relates to "Citizenship, Laws and Rights". This is broken down into four sections that examine nationhood and citizenship; the rule of law and access to justice; civil and political rights; and economic and social rights. There are 25 search questions in this section, which include:

- How far are cultural differences acknowledged, and how well are minorities protected?
- How secure is the freedom for all to practise their own religion, language or culture?
- How far do constitutional and political arrangements enable major societal divisions to be moderated or reconciled?
- How independent are the courts and the judiciary from the executive, and how free are they from all kinds of interference?
- How much confidence do people have in the legal system to deliver fair and effective justice?
- How effective and equal is the protection of the freedoms of movement, expression, association and assembly?
- How effectively are the basic necessities of life guaranteed, including adequate food, shelter and clean water?
- How extensive and inclusive is the right to education, including education in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship?

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[10] http://www.democraticaudit.com/

[11] Participants on the Chevening course "Using Democracy for Peace" that worked through the Democratic Audit came from a diversity of countries that included Liberia, Serbia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Burma, Jordan, Cameroon, Kenya, Cambodia and Nepal.

The practical exercise enables participants to evaluate internal inclusiveness and state recognition of distinctive identities, as well as the extent to which rights are respected and upheld and access to justice guaranteed. After completion of Block 1, the Audit progresses to representation and accountability of government with a focus on evaluating how free and fair election processes are; the democratic role of political parties; government effectiveness and accountability, civilian control of the security sector and corruption. There are 34 search questions, which include:

- How far is appointment to governmental and legislative office determined by popular competitive election, and how frequently do elections lead to change in the governing parties or personnel?
- How inclusive and accessible for all citizens are the registration and voting procedures, how independent are they of government and party control, and how free from intimidation and abuse?
- How far does the legislature reflect the social composition of the electorate?
- How effective is the party system in forming and sustaining governments in office?
- How far is the elected government able to influence or control those matters that are important to the lives of its people, and how well is it informed, organised and resourced to do so?
- How much public confidence is there in the effectiveness of government and its political leadership?
- How extensive and effective are the powers of the legislature to scrutinise the executive and hold it to account?
- How publicly accountable are the police and security services for their activities?
- How far does the composition of the army, police and security services reflect the social composition of society at large?
- How free is the country from the operation of paramilitary units, private armies, warlordism and criminal mafias?
- How effective are the arrangements for protecting officeholders and the public from involvement in bribery?

Block 3 considers civil society and popular participation into sections that include: the media in a democratic society; political participation; government responsiveness and decentralisation. Examples of the 20 search questions in this section include:

- How independent are the media from government, how pluralistic is their ownership, and how free are they from subordination to foreign governments or multinational companies?
- How free are journalists from restrictive laws, harassment and intimidation?
- How extensive is the range of voluntary associations, citizen groups, social movements, etc, and how independent are they from government?
- How far do women participate in political life and public office at all levels?
- How equal is access for all social groups to public office, and how fairly are they represented within it?

- How open and systematic are the procedures for public consultation on government policy and legislation, and how equal is the access for relevant interests to government?
- How accessible are elected representatives to their constituents?
- How accessible and reliable are public services for those who need them, and how systematic is consultation with users over service delivery?
- How independent are the sub-central tiers of government from the centre, and how far do they have the powers and resources to carry out their responsibilities?
- How far are these levels of government subject to free and fair electoral authorisation, and to the criteria of openness, accountability and responsiveness in their operation?

The final element of the Audit is Block 4, which examines "Democracy Beyond the State". In this section the focus is on establishing the international dimensions of democracy: the extent to which the country under assessment is free from external subordination; how far its policies and actions are determined by actors outside of the state (and over which the country does not exercise control); and the transparency of a country's relationships with external actors and institutions. Also audited in this section is the extent to which the country in question is engaged in the promotion of democracy and human rights abroad – including government respect for international human rights treaties and obligations. The search questions in this section are straightforward and include:

- How free is the governance of the country from subordination to external agencies, economic, cultural or political?
- How far are government relations with international organisations based on principles of partnership and transparency?
- How far does the government respect its international obligations in its treatment of refugees and asylum seekers, and how free from arbitrary discrimination is its immigration policy?
- How consistent is the government in its support for human rights and democracy abroad?

Each block requires those undertaking the Audit to assess what measures are being taken to remedy identified problems in each specific area and to evaluate the extent to which these remedies are both publicly supported and a political priority.

Module 2: National Security Assessment

Following from the Democratic Audit exercise, there was particular interest in developing capacities to conduct a national security assessment and for information on security sector reform (SSR) processes. Knowledge in this area was seen as being of particular significance given the primacy of Pakistan's security situation in national and international debates, and due to the powerful role of the country's military in political affairs.[12] Academic and parliamentary stakeholders in the INSPIRE project were strongly of the view that in order to be able to contribute to security debates and scrutinise security policy, it was necessary to develop knowledge of best practice in configuring a gender-

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[12] See for example Samad, Yunas (2011). *The Pakistan-US Conundrum: Jihadists, the Military and the People, The Struggle for Control*. New York: Columbia University Press; Haqqani, Husain (2005). *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace..

sensitive security sector capable of maintaining peace, security and the rule of law. Experience of conducting national security assessments was also seen as vital if the role and impact of foreign defence assistance on national security and, in particular, the security of women and girls was to be fully understood.[13]

The learning materials in Module 2 begin with readings on security sector institutions[14], before introducing a framework for analysis of security contexts and vulnerabilities at either community, regional or national level. The threat of military intervention, terrorism, violent conflict or gender-based violence is explored, with impacts mapped against wider national or regional strategies such as poverty reduction[15] or access to justice. After considering current security sector roles and responses, the exercise proceeds to the drafting of a Security Assessment. This highlights capability gaps, mechanisms for addressing vulnerabilities and establishes which institutions and agencies have responsibility for delivering the required policies and security sector capabilities. An important element of the assessment is identifying stakeholders in the assessment and also potential spoilers that may be an obstacle to implementing the proposed strategy.

The Security Assessment forms the basis of a Security Sector Reform process, with the security sector defined as: firstly core security agencies such as the armed forces, the police, intelligence agencies, national guards, border guards, coast guard and narcotics/crime squads. The second layer of the security sector is those agencies responsible for security governance and oversight, such as ministries of defence, interior and security; national security councils; the national legislature and committees, ombudsmen and traditional authorities. The final element of the security sector is the justice ministries, judiciary, court services, prisons and traditional justice mechanisms that comprise justice and penal systems.[16]

In the 1990s, reform of the security sector became an important element of defence diplomacy, conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction strategies. According to the UK's Global Conflict Prevention Pool: "A democratically run, accountable, competent, effective and efficient security sector helps to reduce the risk of conflict and enhance the security of the citizens of the country, and in the process helps to create the necessary conditions for development." Donor programmes in this area include technical training, advice and support for security assessment. The UK has become a lead international actor on SSR and has been engaged in SSR processes in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Latin America and the Balkans. The objective of the UK's SSR strategy is to "support governments of developing and transitional countries so that they can fulfil their

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[13] For example, in 2009, the USA allocated U$4.9m in support to the Pakistan police force. By contrast $731m was allocated to the country's military. See http://www.ssrnetwork.net/documents/ssrbulletin/ssrbulletin_apr09.pdf.

[14] http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/2012/01/13/ssr-issue-paper-security-sector-governance-in-pakistan-progress-but-many-challenges-persist/ [accessed 07 Sept. 12].

[15] See for example http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/SecuritySectorPRS-wb.pdf [accessed 11 Sept. 12].

[16] See for example the SSR network http://www.ssrnetwork.net/index.php [accessed 05 Sept. 12].

legitimate security functions through reforms that will make the delivery of security more effective and democratic, thereby reducing the potential for both internal and external conflict."[17]

The UK's engagement on SSR is informed by OECD/DAC principles, which are incorporated as core reading in Module 2.[18] These include that SSR programmes must be owned by the country in question; that civil management of the sector is essential and that civil society should be encouraged to get involved. The OECD/DAC's guide to SSR reform presents approaches and guidelines for conducting SSR assessments, which the module encourages the reader to follow.[19] Another important framework is the *Security Sector Reform Assessment Framework* developed by the Swedish National Contact Group on Security Sector Reform. This builds on the OECD/DAC model and provides resources and guidelines for planning and undertaking SSR analysis, designing SSR processes and monitoring and evaluating outcomes.[20] Other key learning materials in Module 2 are toolkits and training manuals for integrating gender perspectives into SSR. Women, girls, men and boys have distinct security experiences, needs and priorities. Assessing and integrating these into SSR processes is essential to ensure effective local ownership, oversight and operational capability as well as the institutionalisation of international obligations such as United Nationsl Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325.

Module 3 and 4: Conflict Analysis and Conflict Sensitive Design

Over the last twenty years interventions by Northern governments and NGOs to support peace, development and democracy in countries of the Global South have accelerated. This is a result of evolving factors of insecurity in the post-Cold War era such as the horrors of the "new wars" and the violence of non-state actors, interlinked with a heightened concern with global poverty and inequality, as exemplified by debt relief initiatives and the Millennium Development Goals. These external interventions have been legitimised through concepts, norms and discourse that are embedded in international and regional institutions, such as Human Security, Responsibility to Protect, the Democratic Peace, and most recently, the war on terror.

The assumption that external humanitarian, development and peace building interventions are inevitably benign, with nothing other than positive impacts, was strongly challenged by the practitioner community in the early 1990s through the pioneering research of the Local Capacities for Peace Project (LCPP). This collaboration between international and local NGOs examined how well-meaning aid interventions in conflict contexts interacted with the actual conflict (or multiple-level conflicts) that they sought to mitigate. The profoundly political dimensions of external assistance were addressed in the landmark *Do No Harm Handbook* and Anderson's 1999 book on the same.[21] This approached aid as a

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[17] "Introduction". GCPP SSR Strategy 2004-2005. Government Conflict Prevention Pool. London: UK. See also DFID Understanding and Supporting Security Sector Reform http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/supportingsecurity[1].pdf [accessed 07 Sept. 12].

[18] The Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is a key forum for leading donor countries to discuss aid policy.

[19] OECD DAC. *Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*. Paris: OECD.

[20] See for example http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/2010/06/21/security-sector-reform-assessment-framework-a-useful-tool-for-ssr-analysis.

[21] Anderson, Mary B. (1999). *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace - or War*. Boulder CO.:Lynne Rienner.

potential conflict resource due to its distributional impact on intergroup power relations through, for example, theft and looting, the manner in which aid was distributed, its impacts on prices and wages in local markets and its role in developing and sustaining war economies.

This *Handbook* was not a call to end external aid. The LCPP recognised that the effects of providing no aid or diminished levels of external assistance could have deleterious consequences in humanitarian crises or for conflict-affected populations. The recommendation therefore was that external aid interventions be conflict-sensitive in design and implementation, minimising the potential to cause harm while maximising the opportunities to promote peace. To guide the initial target audience of humanitarian organisations in developing conflict-sensitive approaches and policies, the Do No Harm (DNH) project introduced a *Framework for Analyzing the Impact of Assistance on Conflict*.[22]

As set out in the *Do No Harm Handbook*, the framework was intended to ensure not only more effective assistance with better effects but also that: "those of us who are involved in providing assistance in conflict areas can assume responsibility and hold ourselves accountable for the effects that our assistance has in worsening and prolonging, or in reducing and shortening, destructive conflict between groups whom we want to help." (p. 1) The Framework was a descriptive rather than a prescriptive tool based on seven steps that were intended to systematise the information necessary to predict the impact of assistance programmes (p. 5).

Step 1: Understanding the Context of Conflict: Identifying the most destructive divisions in society (intergroup Dividers);

Step 2: Analyzing Dividers and Tensions: Identifying what factors divide social groups and if these are long-standing (root causes) or recent (proximate causes);

Step 3: Analyzing Connectors and Local Capacities for Peace (LCP): Identifying institutions, attitudes, symbols and experiences that are or can be shared by groups in conflict and those social actors whose role is to maintain intergroup peace;

Step 4: Analyzing the Assistance Programme: How it is staffed and by what criteria assistance is distributed;

Step 5: Analyzing the Assistance Programme's Impact on Dividers and Connectors: who does and does not benefit from the assistance provided, and whether this overlaps with conflict divisions and strengthens or weakens Local Capacities for Peace;

Step 6: Considering (and Generating) Programming Options: Reframing the assistance programme if it is shown to exacerbate dividers and overlook opportunities to strengthen connectors;

Step 7: Test Programming Options and Redesign Project: Re-running Steps 1-6 following project re-design.

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[22] Local Capacities for Peace Project. *Do No Harm Handbook: The Framework for Analyzing the Impact of Development Assistance*. Cambridge MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects.

The influence of the Do No Harm approach extended beyond its original audience in humanitarian operations to government agencies with development mandates that were operating in the proliferation of inter- and intra-state wars and humanitarian crises of the 1990s and 2000s. North American, European and Australian government departments evolved their own frameworks to ensure that well-intentioned interventions in, for example, health or education did not inadvertently exacerbate conflict and insecurity. There was recognition that external assistance could shift power relations and trigger conflict, be that between ethnic groups or between men and women. The resulting frameworks for conflict analysis included the *Strategic Conflict Assessment* of the UK's Department for International Development (DFID); the European Commission's *Conflict and Policy Assessment Framework*; the *Conflict Assessment Framework of* the USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation; the *Conflict Diagnostic Handbook* developed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the *Strategic Conflict Assessment* approach of Sida, the Swedish international development cooperation agency . These are incorporated into the training package, with the reader encouraged to conduct a conflict analysis using these frameworks. For example, the DFID Strategic Conflict Assessment Framework develops a conflict analysis through assessment of:

1. *Structures:* Analysis of long-term factors underlying conflict: security, political, economic, social factors;

2. *Actors:* Analysis of conflict actors: interests, relations, capacities, peace agendas, incentives;

3. *Dynamics:* Analysis of long-term trends of conflict, triggers for increased violence, capacities (institutions, processes) for managing conflict, likely future conflict scenarios.

NGOs and regional and international inter-governmental organisations similarly developed frameworks for conflict analysis in order to ensure conflict-sensitive programming. These differed in terms of their level of application (community or national), scope of enquiry and methodological approach (in-depth or rapid response, desk- or field-based) and sectoral focus, that is, whether they sector-wide or focused on specific areas such as education or health. Included in the training package are the *Conflict Analysis for Project Planning and Implementation* used by Germany's agency for international cooperation, GIZ (formerly GTZ); *FAST Methodology* developed by Swisspeace; Responding to Conflict's *Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action*; CARE's *Benefits/Harms Handbook*; World Vision's *Making Sense of Turbulent Contexts: Analysis Tools for Humanitarian Actors*; the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) *Better Programming Initiative;* the World Bank's *Conflict Analysis Framework*; the UN System Staff College *Early Warning and Preventive Measures*; *Conflict Analysis and Response Definition* produced by the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER), West Africa Network for Peacebuilding, (WANEP) and the Centre for Conflict Research (CCR), and the Dutch Clingendael Institute's *Conflict and Policy Assessment Framework*.

In some of these frameworks, the aim of the analysis is not only to advance conflict sensitive approaches, but also to develop strategies for conflict transformation. This broader approach

introduces a new lexicon through a more detailed and comprehensive assessment process, as in the framework developed by the NGO Responding to Conflict[23], which is based on the following steps:

1. *Stages of conflict*

   Identify stages of the conflict

   Predict future patterns

   Select a particular episode for further analysis

2. *Timelines*

Clarify the local conflict history; explore people's (different) understandings of history

3. *Conflict mapping*

   Identify actors, issues and relationships

   Identify potential allies and entry points for action

4. *ABC (Attitudes, Behaviour and Context) Triangle*

Gain insight into the motivations of conflict parties and the structures or systems in place that contribute to the conflict

Identify the key needs of each party

Find entry points

5. *Onion*

For each conflict party, an "onion" of three concentric circles is drawn. The three circles represent (from inside to outside), needs ("what we must have"), interests ("what we really want"), and positions ("what we say we want"). This helps to identify common ground between conflicting parties as a foundation for conflict transformation and reduction.

Move beyond the public positions of each party

Prepare for facilitation, mediation or problem-solving interventions.

6. *Conflict tree*

The conflict tree symbolises the core problem of the conflict (trunk), its underlying causes (roots) and effects (branches). Developing the conflict tree helps in identifying the relationship between cause and effect and core priorities, thereby focusing interventions.

7. *Force-field analysis*

Clarify negative and positive forces that are working for or against the continuation of violent conflict

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[23] Available at http://www.respond.org/pages/who-we-are.html [accessed 05 Sept. 12].

Develop strategies for reducing/eliminating the negative and building on positive forces

8. *Pillars*

Find ways to weaken or remove the factors supporting a negative situation.

9. *Pyramid*

Find the right approaches for working at different levels

Position one's own work

Identify potential allies.

Learning materials provided in Module 4, Conflict-Sensitive Design, explore how the conflict analysis is applied to project, programme and policy cycles, detailing how the conflict analysis should inform planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Module 5 Gender and Conflict

During the course of the INSPIRE partnership, it became evident that engagement with gender-based issues is a major challenge, provoking conservative responses from Islamist and secular groups alike. Discussion on gender between project partners and at the Islamabad conference demonstrated that the concept is largely understood as referring only to women and girls and that analysis of gender and gender-related issues is see as a distinct academic and intellectual enterprise that has no crossover into areas such as political science or international relations. There were acknowledged gaps in relation to international resolutions on gender and the academic literatures that address the differentiated impacts of conflict, poverty and violence on men and women, boys and girls.

To address the lack of access and engagement with policy documents and teaching materials, a fifth module was introduced as a precursor to training on gender audits (Module 6). Based on the research and teaching of Dr Fiona Macaulay, an expert on gender and development in Peace Studies, the fifth module addresses the complex question of the inter-relationship between sex, gender and sexuality, encouraging a questioning of how male and female identities are constructed and interrogation of the cultural practices and social norms that sustain them. From here, the module progresses to consideration of gender in social processes and specifically in relation to conflict and violence. Learning materials in the module analyze the extent to which nature or nurture affect different types of violence exhibited by men and also women, and the gender impacts of different types of violence. The module explores how gender roles shift and change during conflict and also peace processes,[24] with key readings on gender, peace agreements and post-conflict reconstruction framed by national obligations under UNSCR 1325.

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[24] See for example Banaszak, Klara et al. (eds.) (2005).*Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes.,*New York: UNIFEM; International Alert and Women Waging Peace. *Inclusive Security: Sustainable Peace. A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. London: International Alert. www.peacewomen.org [accessed 05 Sept. 12].

Dr Macaulay presented her research at the Islamabad conference, stimulating lively debate on the value of focused academic engagement on both the concept and idea of gender as well as the importance of understanding conflict from a gender perspective. Linking with the theme of gender, peace and conflict, the module introduces key documents and readings on gender and development, focusing on the inter-relationship between under-development and the exclusion of women from economic, social and political processes. Having worked through the package of materials, the reader is positioned to understand the salience of gender and identify gender gaps in policies and programmes. This learning forms the basis for Module 6, Gender Audits.

Module 6 Gender Audits

There is growing understanding of the importance of mainstreaming gender considerations into programme and policy initiatives in order to maximise the benefits accruing to women and girls, promote gender equality and to minimise unintended and regressive consequences. *Gender mainstreaming* refers to analysis of public policy, legislation, regulations, allocations, taxation, donor activities, peacebuilding and social projects for their effect on the status of women and men.[25] Gender audits can be used to promote organisational learning on gender responsiveness, on how to implement gender mainstreaming effectively in policies, programmes and structures and on how to assess the extent to which mainstreaming is institutionalised in an organisation, programmes and policies.[26] Module 6 introduces frameworks for conducting gender audits in a diversity of settings and through a variety of approaches.

The variety of assessment methods suggested in the training package develop skills that enable critical gaps and challenges to be identified and recommendations formulated while also documenting good practice and lessons learned for gender equality. The value of gender audits for stakeholders in the INSPIRE project, and most specifically the WPC, lay in providing the information necessary for gender responsive institutions and policies, and the baseline data necessary for effective monitoring and evaluation. Practical experience of conducting gender audits was provided through the frameworks that have been developed by a range of groups and organisations and which include Acord International,[27] the UK Women's Budget Group,[28] InterAction[29] and the International Labour Organisation.[30]

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[25] See for example Mehra, Rekha and Rao Gupta, Geeta. (2006). *Gender Mainstreaming: Making it Happen*. Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women http://siteresources.worldbank.org

[26] Moser, Caroline (2005). *An Introduction to Gender Audit Methodology: Its Design and Implementation in DFID Malawi*. London, Overseas Development Institute. http://www.odi.org.uk [accessed 02 Sept. 12].

[27] For example http://www.acordinternational.org/acord/en/our-work/a/gender/ [accessed 02 Sept. 12].

[28] http://www.wbg.org.uk [accessed 02 Sept. 12].

[29] http://www.interaction.org/document/gender-audit-overview [accessed 02 Sept. 12].

[30] http://www.ilo.org [accessed 02 Sept. 12].

Conclusion

The INSPIRE project provided an important opportunity for the sharing of ideas and approaches. The utility of toolkits and training packages developed by Northern NGOs and donor governments was acknowledged by Pakistan-based stakeholders. Beyond generic application and capacity building, the value of this learning will ultimately be contingent on the adaptation of methods and resources to be more fully reflective of the Pakistan context. Developing ownership of assessment processes is central to the sustainability of new approaches, while making them available to women in provincial government and universities will require translation and dissemination that was beyond the scope of this project.