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**BACKGROUND PAPER FOR THE
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The Clash of Violent Conflict, Good Jobs, and Gender Norms in Four Economies

Patti Petesch

World Bank Consultant (ppetesch@verizon.net)

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Abstract

This study draws on a large qualitative dataset from Afghanistan, Liberia, Sudan and West Bank and Gaza to explore the effects of violent armed conflict on gender norms, men's and women's perceptions of agency and empowerment, and the strong normative frameworks that surround economic participation. The findings reaffirm the sharply different effects of conflict on women and men found in the wider literature. Men widely report emasculation as their economic opportunities deteriorate due to conflict. For women, by contrast, the stressful conflict environment seems to weaken some confining norms and structures, opening up space for them to exercise more authority in their households and gain more economic independence. The study finds limited evidence, however, that by itself women's increased empowerment in such harsh circumstances can accelerate change in inequitable gender norms, or make local markets and other community institutions more welcoming of their initiatives. Men's and women's agency appears to be interdependent, and together shape the prospects for gender norm change and inclusive post-conflict recovery processes

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Study Approach	2
Community-Level Comparative Analysis and Study Concepts.....	2
Study Sample and Data Collection Tools	5
The Polarizing Effects of Conflict on Men's and Women's Agency	8
Women Climbing, Men Falling in a Gaza Border Town.....	10
The Strong Normative Assessments Shaping Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, and No Jobs	12
Discriminatory and Abusive Treatment of Working Women	15
Power Structures and Norms under Stress	18
Gaining and Losing Power and Freedom.....	18
Women Navigating Old and New Norms	20
Gender Norms and Agency: Countervailing or Reinforcing Forces?.....	22
Men and Women Climbing in a Liberian Border Town	24
Concluding Reflections	27
References	29
Annex 1. Background on Political Conflicts in Sample Economies	32
Annex 2. WDR2012 Rapid Qualitative Assessment Data Collection Tools.....	35

Introduction

"Now women can go out for work and hold a high rank job even in the army and the police. This is a great change since our parent's time."

—*Young man, neighborhood of Khartoum, Sudan*

"Now the intifada made her personality stronger, raised her voice."

—*A village woman, Dirbas (a pseudonym), Hebron, West Bank and Gaza*

Let's be clear. Wars bring unspeakable horror and damage. And civilians are now more than ever direct targets of this terror. But amidst the mayhem of violence and suffering, confining gender norms for women's and men's roles in their societies frequently relax out of dire necessity. The period during and after conflict often marks a phase when many women assume a larger public presence in their communities and begin or increase their economic participation.¹ Meanwhile, many men endure frustration and disempowerment as conflict crushes their roles as leaders, protectors, and providers for their families and communities. Civilian men's difficulties coping with conflict and recovering in its aftermath are less understood and addressed by the international development community (Bouta, Frerks, and Bannon 2005).

As background to the *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*, the World Bank commissioned rapid qualitative assessments in 20 countries.² Of the nearly 100 sample communities reached for this field work, a quarter reside in the conflict-affected economies of Afghanistan, Liberia, Sudan, and West Bank and Gaza. This dataset presents an opportunity to learn from women and men on the ground who have been affected by violent conflict, and contribute to a small but growing comparative literature on the nexus of gender, conflict, and development issues.

The investigation's findings strongly reaffirm the sharply different effects of conflict on women and men reported in the wider literature. To shed light on the forces that are driving these differences, this paper explores women's and men's understandings about how they gain and lose power and freedom in their lives and the normative frameworks that are shaping their agency and economic participation. Wartime conditions greatly frustrate men because their status and sense of identity rests strongly on their access to desirable jobs, and conflict destroys many of these. By contrast, the stressful conflict environment seems to weaken some confining norms and structures that limit women's autonomy, opening up space for them to exercise more authority in their households and gain more economic independence. Yet, if women come to widely perceive greater empowerment, the evidence gathered for this study indicates that this by itself is not a sufficient force for changing inequitable gender norms. In particular, the study finds that the jobs accessible to women in this sample are very limited and may often be hazardous to their safety and reputations. However, the study closes in a context where women's empowerment is changing gender norms and local level institutions, and what is happening to the local men is also an important part of this story.

¹See, for instance, Brück and Vothknecht (2011), Petesch (2011), Menon and Rodgers (2011), Bouta, Frerks, and Bannon (2005); Bop (2001); Meintjes (2001); El-Bushra (2000), and Sørensen (1998).

²The analysis and findings presented in this paper build on the analysis and findings with the global sample that will be presented in Muñoz Boudet, Petesch, and Turk (2013 forthcoming).

Much of the gender and conflict research has brought to the fore how conflict periods can intensify aggressive forms of masculinity and give rise to more and less coordinated forms of sexual violence and other horrific crimes and violence by armed groups against women and also men. This study in no way seeks to diminish these very important challenges, or to suggest that violent conflict should be used to advance gender equality. But post-conflict periods seem to offer a rare opportunity to accelerate local development in ways that advance gender equality because of the shock of conflict to local norms and structures, and because of women's and men's strong determination to recover peace and rebuild their lives.

Study Approach

This study draws on a new 20-country qualitative dataset to explore the effects on gender norms and agency of exposure to violent political conflict. Although it is difficult to isolate specific forces that may be shaping norms and agency on the ground, the analysis is able to explore and compare these processes in 24 communities from 4 conflict countries, and also compare these findings with the much larger 16-country nonconflict dataset.

The analysis sought to inform the World Bank team working on the 2013 *World Development Report on Jobs*, and hence focuses principally on the areas of the qualitative dataset that address issues of economic agency. This first section sets out the main study questions, community-level research design, and key concepts used to inform the analysis. This is followed by a presentation of the sample and data collection tools, with a focus on the Ladder of Power and Freedom exercise that was used to assess agency and empowerment.

Community-Level Comparative Analysis and Study Concepts

“The community looks badly at the uneducated woman and doesn’t appreciate her. But the educated woman has the right to go out and move because she completed her studies.”

— *A young woman, neighborhood of Hebron, West Bank*

This study takes the community as the principal unit of analysis, and uses the following questions to analyze the data: i) How does conflict affect men's and women's perceptions of empowerment in the sample communities? ii) What evidence is there of gender norm relaxation, and what forms is this relaxation taking? iii) What jobs are perceived to be desirable and undesirable for women and men in their localities, and how does conflict shape these perceptions? and iv) What effects do women's and men's perceptions of empowerment trends for their sex have on gender equality and on their communities more generally?

To address these questions, the analysis draws principally on qualitative comparative case study methods. These techniques are helpful for examining agency and gender norm relaxation. First, they allow for analysis of factors and processes over time. Second, they facilitate data interpretation that is grounded in the context of specific communities and women’s and men’s

own experiences and perceptions of what is significant (Yin 2003, Ragin 2008). The approach, including the numerical findings on agency presented in this paper, builds on "bottom-up" techniques for assessing poverty escapes which were developed over the course of three community-level studies with the World Bank's very large Moving Out of Poverty (MOP) dataset.³

Additionally, the analytic approach was informed by a small but growing empirical literature in the gender and development field that draws on community-level analysis.⁴ In their review of studies that measure women's empowerment, Malhotra, Schuler, and Boender (2002, p. 18) find that community-level "contextual factors are often more important in determining women's empowerment and its outcomes than individual-level factors." Mason and Smith (2003) similarly conclude in their five-country study that a woman's domestic empowerment can be predicted more reliably by her country and community than by her personal characteristics. This study suggests that similar conclusions could be drawn for men's agency processes as well.

Two dynamic concepts inform the analysis below: gender norms and empowerment.

Gender norms. Social norms refer to the informal and formal rules that govern what people can and cannot do as they go about their daily lives (Portes 2006). The gender dimensions of social norms stem from a society's deepest values about the proper status, roles and conducts of women and men. Women in the traditional communities in this sample, for instance, may be harshly scolded or physically punished for dressing or speaking inappropriately in public, while men may face ridicule for not acting tough.

In the literature, gender is often conceived of as a relational phenomenon that is socially constructed from day-to-day social interactions. As Judith Butler (1990, p. 43) explains, gender arises from: "a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being. People constantly reference or invoke a gendered norm, thus making the norm seem like a timeless truth." Norms surrounding unequal gender relations are not abstract from their social context. They are products of social interactions between men and women - interactions where men almost always dominate women. Such mechanisms of control, however, operate mainly through routine conducts, and through hidden and subconscious psychological processes. Foucault (1995), for instance, argues that social control most often transpires through internalization, self-discipline, and vigilance rather than external coercive mechanisms that inflict pain. Other scholars such as Connell and Messersmidt (2005), nonetheless, show how men routinely resort to more overtly aggressive and sometimes violent tactics to position themselves favorably. Conflict contexts may intensify this aggression (see, for instance, Bouta, Frerks and Bannon 2005).

³ The three studies that informed this work include: i) a 296 community study of local development processes in four states of India (Narayan, Petesch and Paul 2009); ii) a 102 community study from seven conflict-affected countries, presented in volume 4 of the Moving Out of Poverty series (Narayan and Petesch 2010); and iii) a study of 125 women's life stories from 37 communities in four conflict-affected countries (Petesch 2011).

⁴ For discussions of the comparative empirical literature on the development dimensions of gender and conflict issues, see Bruck and Vothknect (2011) and Petesch (2011).

Social norms are strongly linked to power, and they "come together in organized bundles known as roles."⁵ In most if not all societies, gender-ascribed roles interact with norms to create higher expectations and more opportunities for males than females to wield power and control resources.

However, as shown below, the exigencies of conflict often trigger at least a temporary relaxation of these normative pressures on men and women to conform to strict codes for their gender-ascribed roles and behaviors.

Conceptually, it is helpful to distinguish a relaxation of a gender norm from an actual change in a gender norm. In this paper, a *relaxation* refers to indications that traditional customs or beliefs are no longer being practiced, but that this change in local practices is not yet registering in local understandings of prevailing norms or in perceived gender roles and behaviors. For example, many rural women in this study may be engaging in new livestock activities or additional farm labor to help their households cope with conflict. Yet, the men and women of these communities do not regard the women's livelihood activities as actual work and they still identify local women solely as housewives and mothers. This quote comes from a village woman in Red Sea state, Sudan, where local customs dictate that women generally do not work for pay unless under exceptional circumstances: "Women in our area do not work on farms as farm labor; they help only, in seeding and harvesting." A gender norm *change* indicates that a new behavior or role can be observed, and that this is acknowledged as an acceptable practice for that gender. In Liberia, as discussed later, more women than ever are earning independent incomes and exercising leadership roles, and their new roles and influence are openly recognized (although not always well received).

Empowerment. The second key study concept, empowerment, is also a dynamic factor. Empowerment is loosely defined here as a product of the interaction between agency—or men and women making purposeful choices to advance their interests—and local opportunity structures.⁶ Of course, not all of women's and men's intended goals are achieved; opportunity structures matter greatly in discussions of agency and empowerment. Local opportunity structures embody a community's normative climate as well as economic, political and civic structures, and these may combine in ways that restrain, enable, or perhaps even motivate agency. As such, they affect the likelihood that men and women will take initiative and their actions will result in favorable outcomes, such as greater female empowerment or more gender equitable economic opportunities. Gender norms and structures most often privilege men, but they have been undergoing change around the world through diverse pathways, including through processes that directly affect individual aspirations, assets, and capacities (e.g. via education or media exposure) or through processes of negotiation at the household level. The intent here is to explore how conflict changes opportunity structures at the community level, and

⁵ Portes (2006, page 238). For a useful conceptual discussion of the gender dimensions of institutions, see West and Zimmerman 1987.

⁶ See Kabeer (1999) and Malhotra, Schuler and Boender (2002) for insightful discussions of gender and empowerment issues, and Narayan (2005) and Ibrahim and Alkire (2007) for analysis of key concepts and measures for assessing agency and empowerment that goes beyond gender. Petesch, Smulovitz, and Walton (2005) discuss conceptual and measurement issues related to interactions between agency and opportunity structures with a focus on more macro-political and governance dimensions, and Narayan and Petesch (2007a) explore agency-opportunity structure interactions in the context of socio-economic mobility processes.

how these forces, in turn, impact women's and men's agency in ways that may be seen on the ground as empowering or disempowering.⁷

For development planners, the heterogeneity and changing fortunes of communities pose formidable challenges for interventions. Policies and programs that can engage such complexity in their design and implementation are still evolving. Local markets, other institutions, and gender norms may be creating a climate that is more or less supportive of gender equality and local development; and they may each be changing at a different pace. Such complexity points to the benefits of conditions that better enable local women and men to have power and freedom to influence the structures and norms that are affecting their lives (Sen 1999).

Analysis of the 102-community sample from the seven conflict-affected countries of the Moving Out of Poverty (MOP) dataset found that local experiences with direct conflict can present development opportunities. The set of communities that were exposed to violent episodes had more rapid recovery and poverty reduction than communities that were only indirectly exposed to conflict (Narayan and Petesch 2010). A follow-up study found conflict periods to be associated with women's empowerment (Petesch 2011). We return to the findings from MOP in the concluding section to reflect on the characteristics of opportunity structures that seem to be more welcoming for men and women to exercise agency and experience empowerment amidst times of great risk and uncertainty.

Study Sample and Data Collection Tools

*"It is not possible for a weak man to get a good job because his personality is weak."
—A man, neighborhood of Hebron, West Bank*

Table 1 presents the study sample. All four of the sample economies weathered periods of intense and widespread political violence over the observation period of the study, which roughly spans the years of 2000 to mid 2010/early 2011 when the research teams were in the field. The annex offers a brief introduction to the four political conflicts. At the time of the data collection, security conditions remained poor in large areas of Sudan and West Bank and Gaza. By contrast, security had largely been restored for five or more years in the areas sampled of Afghanistan and Liberia.

Within countries, the sample was selected to provide a mix of urban and rural contexts as well as more modern and traditional gender norms. In every country, teams conducted fieldwork in both middle class and poorer neighborhoods of cities and towns, as well as in prosperous and poor villages. The sample was designed to provide a range of local experiences with changing gender norms, and the findings presented cannot be deemed "representative" in any statistical sense. The focus groups were organized by sex and age group. Male and female adolescents, youth, and adults each met separately (also see table note).

The rapid qualitative assessment was not designed to assess the effects of conflict, and the dataset contains limited systematic information about conflict experiences in the sample

⁷ Sarah Haddock (personal communication, June 12, 2012) helped here with specifying more clearly the relationships under investigation in the agency-opportunity structure framework.

communities. But most key informants and focus groups responded to general questions with information of varying detail about local experiences with conflict. In rural areas, the focus group discussions suggest that many communities faced periods of insecurity when farming and trade were not possible, and there were also reports of property damage. Urban neighborhoods also experienced property damage, economic disruption, and unemployment. Reports of local civilian deaths, mass evacuations, and numerous widows can also be found.

Table 1. Study sample

Country	Urban communities	Rural communities	Total Communities	Focus groups
Afghanistan	2	2	4	8 adult, 8 youth
Liberia	6	3	9	18 adult, 18 youth,
Sudan	1	4	5	10 adult, 10 youth, 10 adolescent
West Bank and Gaza	4	2	6	12 adult, 12, youth, 12 adolescent
Total	13	11	24	118 focus groups

Note: In each of the 24 sites in the sample, researchers convened separate male and female adult focus groups (ages 25 to 60), and separate male and female youth focus groups (ages 18 to 24). In Sudan and West Bank and Gaza, additional funding made it possible for teams to hold separate focus groups with adolescent girls and boys (ages 12 to 16).

More generally, the four conflicts in this sample spilled across borders, were widespread and prolonged, and not contained to specific population groups in peripheral regions, as some wars are. The youths surveyed in Liberia, Afghanistan, and Sudan widely reported limited or no local schooling opportunities during their childhoods; nor were other public services available in much of this sample even where peace had been restored for several years. The exception is West Bank and Gaza, a middle income economy where the Palestinian Authority has been able to provide key public services during the conflict there. Nevertheless, over the decade-long study period, security and economic opportunities plummeted and poverty skyrocketed among this relatively well educated and healthy population (World Bank 2011).

The sample features larger gender disparities than much of the rest of the world, although specific indicators on women's status relative to men's do vary. Afghanistan, Liberia and Sudan, as shown in table 2, rank quite low on the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index (GII).⁸ West Bank and Gaza is not rated on this index; however, women there, along with men, enjoy good educational opportunities and long life expectancies. Yet, it is doubtful that West Bank and Gaza would rank high on the GII index because its female labor force participation rate is among the lowest in the world.

⁸ The GII is a composite index that captures country outcomes on reproductive health, empowerment (gender differences in secondary education and parliamentary seats) and labor force participation. For the GII 2011 rankings and a link to a technical note discussing the index, see: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2011_EN_Table4.pdf

An overview of the data collection tools and topics covered can be found in Annex 2. A guiding principle for the research was not to impose pre-conceived analytic concepts, but to give primacy to local people's own perceptions and interpretations of their experiences. Doing this with such a large sample, however, is challenging, and requires more standardization than is typical of qualitative inquiries. The focus group facilitators in every country worked from a common methodology package and asked the same set of questions to every focus group, although some topics and questions were tailored to the different generations. The facilitators had freedom to probe more deeply on topics of particular interest to the focus group or local context. The detailed field notes were then coded thematically using social science software to support systematic content analysis. For readers interested in a fuller discussion of the study methodology, please see World Bank (2012a forthcoming). Limitations with the analysis related to issues of purposive sampling, the subjective nature of the dataset, and recall techniques are addressed more fully there.

Table 2. Indicators of Gender Inequality, Four sample economies

	Gender Inequality Index (out of 187 countries)	Inequality Rank of 187	Ratio of female to male school enrollment (% total enrolled)	Female labor force participation rate	Male labor force participation rate
Afghanistan	141		51 (46)	33	85
Liberia	139		n.a.	67	76
Sudan	128		88 (39)	31	74
West Bank and Gaza	n.a.		108 (86)	17	68

Note: The second column provides the ratio of the female to male gross enrollment rates in secondary school; and the final two columns contain the female and male % of population in the labor force aged 15 and above.

Source: World Bank data: <http://data.worldbank.org/topic/labor-and-social-protection>; and <http://data.worldbank.org/topic/education> (accessed 3-28-2012).

The study gathers information on factors and trends shaping women's and men's perceptions of empowerment using a data collection method entitled Ladder of Power and Freedom. Rather than introduce academic concepts like agency and empowerment, their dynamics were explored with the focus groups using the more common terms of power and freedom. An introduction to the ladder exercise is provided here because it will be necessary for understanding the findings presented below. For simplicity's sake, the ladder tool is explained in the context of a women's focus group, although the activity is exactly the same for the men's focus group, except that men discuss factors shaping the power and freedom of local men rather than local women.

A facilitator opens the ladder activity by asking the focus group of women to reflect on what having power and freedom means, and whether they think these are good or bad things. The focus group is then asked to identify the characteristics of the most powerful and freest women who live in their neighborhood or village. The focus group next discusses the qualities of the least powerful and least free women in the community. The facilitator draws a ladder on a large

flipchart, adding notes about the traits next to each ladder step as the focus group members contribute information. The top step depicts the traits of the most powerful and free women, and the bottom step the traits of the least powerful and free women. The group is invited to add as many steps between the top and bottom ladder steps as they deem necessary to capture the different levels of women's power and freedom perceived to exist in their community. The flipchart gradually fills up with multidimensional characteristics for each ladder step. Usually the ladders are completed with three to five steps. The focus group then shares their views of the factors that lead to movements up and down the different steps of their ladder.

In the span of an hour or so, the ladder can only provide a rough mapping of the power structures and norms shaping differences in women's status in a community. Some of the information provided will be normative rather than based on actual women and their characteristics. Namely, focus groups often seemed to conceive of the men or women on their ladders as in a nuclear family; for instance, widows only appear on some ladders. At the conclusion of the ladder exercise, the focus group sorts 100 "representative" women to indicate symbolically the present distribution of power and freedom among community members of their own gender. This numerical sorting is valuable because it provides a broad-brush sense of whether the focus group perceives that individuals of their own gender are mostly rising, stuck, or falling as a group on their community's Ladder of Power and Freedom. If they perceive many rising (or falling), the community would seem to provide conditions that are supportive (or unsupportive) for individuals of that gender to exercise agency and perceive empowerment.

The Polarizing Effects of Conflict on Men's and Women's Agency

"I do not like [my mother's life]. I want to learn and work in a good job. And I am being encouraged by my mother."

—A young village woman, Blue Nile state, Sudan

"I would like to do more work and less sleep."

—21 year old man, neighborhood of Rafah, West Bank and Gaza

We begin our exploration with this large dataset by jumping right to the study's striking findings on how conflict-affected local opportunity structures unleash quite different effects on men's and women's perceptions of trends in empowerment for their own gender. From this general picture, we move to focus group accounts from a border town of Gaza that displays these findings in order to explore the nexus of forces on the ground behind this pattern.

Again, at the close of the Ladder of Power and Freedom activity in the focus groups—after they discuss the traits of the ladder steps and the triggers for climbing and falling on their ladder—the focus group collaborates in distributing their 100 women (or men) to each of their ladder steps to indicate the share on each step *now* in their communities and the share on each step *a decade ago*. The "mobility index" in this study captures changes in power and freedom and not the more traditional summary statistics of changes in income or consumption that are used in studies of mobility. It is not possible to compare the ladder distributions directly because communities and ladders differ greatly, but it is possible to undertake rough comparisons of the mobility trends on the ladders over the study decade. To do this, we synthesized the frequencies from the ladder

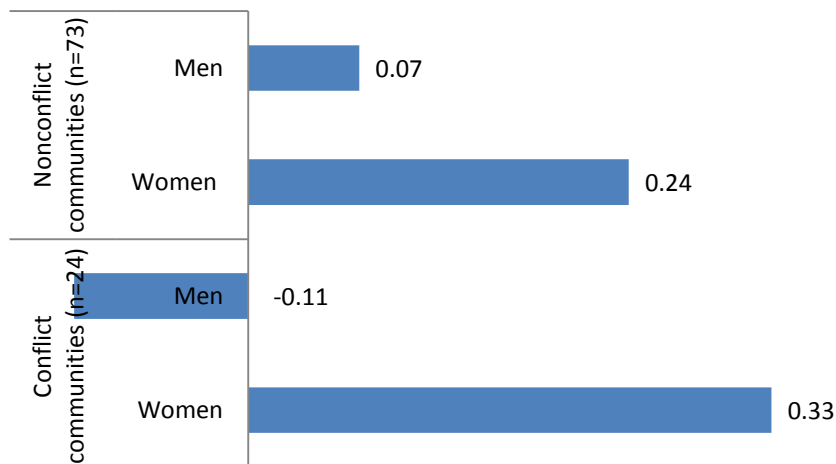
sorting exercise into a summary statistic that equals the difference between a ladder's mean step now and mean step ten years ago.

Figure 1 compares the average mobility rates for women and men in both the conflict and non-conflict portions of the global qualitative assessment dataset.⁹ Overall, conflict-affected women register a strong sense of being more empowered to shape their lives, while men widely report themselves to be falling on their ladders, and losing control and authority. Very similar outcomes are obtained from calculating the median of the mobility indexes, except the men's downward mobility in the conflict contexts eases to a -0.06.

In non-conflict contexts, women are also feeling their agency grow relative to men. Across the world, a host of factors is contributing to the relaxation of gender norms, and women are enjoying greater freedom of action to shape their lives and participate in their communities. If men in non-conflict communities are not exhibiting as much empowerment as women, this is to be expected because they have been enjoying diverse opportunities to exercise agency for some time, while these are opportunities that some or many women may be tasting for the first time.

Figure 1. Average mobility index on women's and men's Ladders of Power and Freedom

(189 focus groups, 97 communities, 20 countries)



While about a tenth of the women's ladders feature downward mobility in the conflict sample, more than half of the men's ladders register this. The men's downward mobility was especially concentrated in two samples. Every single men's focus group from the 11 communities covered in Sudan and West Bank and Gaza reported falling on their ladders. Again, risks of armed

⁹ The five women's focus groups in Sudan did not carry out the final sorting exercise that provides the mobility index at the close of the Ladder module. Thus the conflict sample in figure 2 encompasses 24 focus groups for the men's average mobility index, and 19 for the women's. The Sudanese women's discussions of their ladders are very consistent with the women's accounts from the other three countries, and their empowerment trends would not have been likely to change the pattern of findings in figure 1.

conflict still hung over these sampling contexts. The set of ladders from the more secure Afghan and Liberian communities is more of a mix of men falling and climbing.

Women Climbing, Men Falling in a Gaza Border Town

"The weak woman can work as a warden-serving coffee, at a sewing factory or as a secretary, nurse or teacher; and the economic situation that makes her work, can make her strong."

—A village woman, West Bank

The contrast between men feeling emasculated while women sense empowerment was widely on display in the focus groups from a town of Rafah district in Gaza. In this community, gender norms remain traditional, with women charged with household affairs and men the sole providers and dominant authorities of their households. The war context, however, has forced a relaxation of these norms and roles, with women perceiving more voice and control and men acutely frustrated by poor security and a stifled local economy.

This town of 5,500 residents lies next to the border with Egypt. The local population has endured repeated bombings from Israel, and the economy suffered deeply with the tightening of cross-border trade and travel. Poverty is estimated by a key informant to affect roughly 35 percent of the community. He explained that it is "no longer a secret" that some local men are earning a living by risking their lives digging tunnels in order to conduct commerce with Egypt: "And because people need to be able to provide for their families they no longer fear bombing or dying. After the war, our neighborhood was very badly affected, especially economically. Now the price of land is down by half."

In the two focus groups conducted with younger and older men, half were unemployed among the dozen older men and all of the ten youths (ages 18 to 24) reported themselves to be out of work. Six of the young men had bachelor's degrees and seven were young fathers of two-to-five children each. When asked about their goals, one of the young men replied, "My goal was to get a proper job, but nobody helped me. And what got in my way is the horrible political and economic situation and the fact that I don't have high contacts like other people."¹⁰ The young men also talked about all the free time on their hands, and how many are unemployed and struggling with "despair and depression." "In the past, [the men] used to work in Israel, now they play cards. Even those who used to work for the [Palestinian] Authority ... don't work. Instead of that they fight with us," explains a local woman in her focus group.

For these men, and indeed men around the world, economic factors are key determinants of their standing on the ladder, and the health of their economy greatly shapes their sense of agency.¹¹ According to the men's focus group, the "strong men" of the neighborhood enjoy stable work with a good income, are decision makers, and have freedom to travel (see table 3). Three initiatives that can help a man climb onto this top step include: "Work in trade and earn a lot of money and become rich. Get promoted. Start a successful project." The focus group estimates that ten years ago perhaps 30 percent of the men in their community resided on the top step, but

¹⁰ For additional findings from this field work on how the war context is affecting the adolescent and youth of West Bank and Gaza, see World Bank (2012 forthcoming).

¹¹ See chapter 4, Muñoz Boudet, Petesch, and Turk (2013 forthcoming).

the share had since dropped to 20 percent. At the other end of the ladder, their bottom step men are described as "weak," "uneducated," and relying on an "unstable job." The men think that their bottom step has doubled in size, and now holds 40 percent of the neighborhood's men. Among the triggers that can send men falling down the ladder are business and job losses, dealing drugs, and imprisonment.

Table 3. Selected Traits of the Top and Bottom Steps of the Ladder of Power and Freedom, Men's and women's focus groups, Border town of Rafah District, Gaza

<i>Strong men</i>	<i>Strong women</i>
<i>Has a good job with a good salary</i> <i>His salary is 5000 dinars a month</i> <i>Able to travel as he likes</i> <i>Wealthy</i> <i>Educated with a university degree</i> <i>A decision maker</i>	<i>Higher Education</i> <i>Money</i> <i>Big Family</i> <i>Being a leader at a political party</i> <i>Being employed</i> <i>Strength of character</i>
<i>Weak men</i>	<i>Weak women</i>
<i>Can't travel</i> <i>Unstable job</i> <i>Weak social network</i> <i>Poor</i> <i>Uneducated</i> <i>Unable to make a decision</i> <i>Doesn't own anything</i>	<i>Almost weak women: Abused by husband or family</i> <i>Has a powerful husband</i> <i>Poor</i> <i>Uneducated</i> <i>No children \ small family</i> <i>No party affiliation</i> <i>Unsocial</i>

In contrast to the men's frustrations and perceptions of losing power and freedom, the women in the neighborhood perceive that the war has forced them to take charge of their households. In explaining the traits of women at the top steps of the ladder and the factors that trigger movements up their own ladders, the women's focus group spoke of how many local women became better educated and had to develop stronger characters to help their families cope with the greater insecurity in their lives. The top-step women's households may be wealthy or have numerous children, and this "helps and protects her." The women's ladder differs from the men's in that their domestic roles, and not just economic factors, are viewed as important to their position on the ladder.

Despite conservative gender norms, religious traditions, poor security, and the weak economy that surrounds them, the focus group indicates that the share of women on their bottom two steps has plummeted from 60 to 20 percent in the past decade. They say they have gained power

through "marriage, work, a university degree." Few women, in fact, are reported to work for pay in this town by the local key informant. Nor do they generally venture out in public unaccompanied by a male, although the few female job holders can move about independently. As explored in more detail below, practices of women's seclusion are common across the communities in this sample outside of Liberia. But in addition to norms of seclusion, getting to jobs is difficult because the commercial center of the district requires a lengthy commute on bad roads. Nevertheless, with the men's agency crippled, these women say they have had to develop strong characters to pull their households through the tumultuous years.

Due heavily to gender norms and how slowly they are changing in this Gaza town, the conflict has had sharply different effects on men's and women's sense of power and freedom. The men report deep unhappiness and question how they alone can meet their household's daily needs. The women, for their part, report that their harsh circumstances have compelled them to take more initiative, even though the outlets for this -- economic or otherwise-- are very limited in their community.

The Strong Normative Assessments Shaping Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, and No Jobs

*"Bad jobs are bad because morally they are wrong."
—An adult man, Hebron neighborhood, West Bank*

*"More women are making business now and can do anything for themselves."
—Woman's focus group, village in Suakoko district, Liberia*

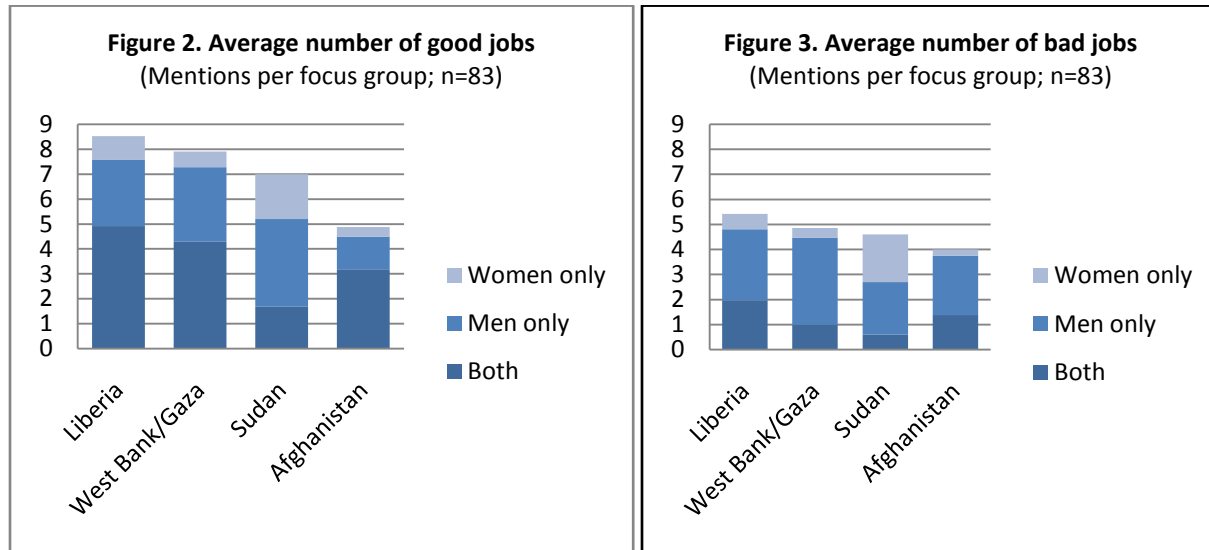
It is plainly evident from the focus group discourse about the jobs available in their local economies that traditional gender norms very much color men's and women's conceptions of which jobs are desirable and acceptable for which sex. This data also highlights how conflict periods diminish men's good jobs while their bad jobs flourish. The same is true for the much smaller set of jobs accessible to women.¹²

In every community, focus groups compiled a list of what they deem to be the best and worst ways to earn a living for workers residing in their communities. After drawing up the list, the groups then classified each of the local jobs by whether it is performed mainly by women or by men in their locality, or accessible to both. The focus groups made clear that "good" jobs pay well and reliably, and bring status and respectability to the workers who hold them. "Bad" jobs, meanwhile, pay poorly or unreliably; involve immoral, undignified, or illicit conducts; and run great reputational and physical risks.

On balance, figures 2 and 3 reveal that men and women identify more desirable than undesirable jobs for workers in their communities; however, relative to women, men can access both more of the good and bad jobs. Moreover, the bad jobs that are perceived to be acceptable only for men outnumber the gender neutral and women-only bad jobs *combined*. The men-only bad jobs also outnumber men-only good jobs. When compared to the global sample, the biggest differences

¹² For a review of the steep human and development costs of war, see chapters 1 and 5 of World Bank (2011a).

are with the conflict sample's far more numerous men-only bad jobs and the scant women-only jobs, of any kind (World Bank 2011b, page 211).



The gender neutral good jobs seen to be desirable include: education and healthcare professions; public sector jobs, positions requiring college or advanced degrees, and successful businesses in retail, agriculture, and home-based work in garments and handicrafts (except in Sudan¹³). The men-only desirable jobs are the next largest share of good jobs identified. Men's work covers the full range of skilled building trades, technical professional fields such as engineering, senior positions in the public or private sectors, security jobs (military, policing, and private security work) and driving for hire. By comparison, the desirable areas of the economy dominated by women in this sample are few and far between (also see box 1). Women enjoy sole access to just nine percent of the good jobs identified. These jobs mirror their gender-ascribed roles. Domestic jobs, market activities that draw on home-based activities preparing foods, and tending small livestock and vegetable gardens could sometimes be women-only desirable work.

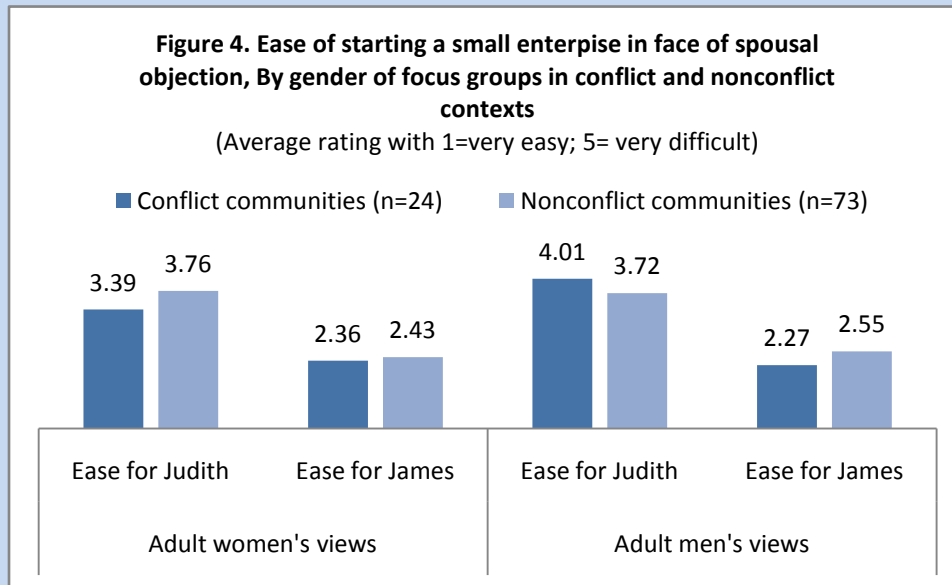
When it comes to bad jobs, it is even more of a man's world. Most of these undesirable jobs involve poorly paid, risky, unreliable, and physically demanding daily wage jobs in construction, farm work, and extractive industries. In an Afghan village, local men say bad farm jobs offer "very low pay for men" but require hard work because there is no modern farm equipment and "at times there is no job available and they are forced to go out of their community." In Khartoum, Sudan, the men's group describes bad jobs as the ones "not requiring special qualifications, they don't ensure stable remuneration; you may work for someone and he may not pay you." All over Liberia, focus groups note men's hauling jobs, which they call "wheelbarrow", to be bad ways to earn a living.

¹³ In Sudan, only the male focus groups systematically sorted their jobs by gender, and they identify by far the most women-only jobs of the focus groups. For example, they labeled healthcare, teaching, and tailoring as women's work, while in other countries these jobs are most often gender neutral.

The men's focus group from Hebron held one of the most provocative discussions about the effects of bad jobs. They observed how bad jobs don't just damage the reputation, self-esteem, and bodies of those who do them, but have much wider harmful effects on communities. They commented on how bad jobs like money laundering, drugs, and the sale of other illicit goods are "destroying the society's institutions," "destroying the economy of the country," and spreading "bad morals and disease" and "corruption all around." Good jobs, by contrast, are religiously acceptable and bring value, good pay, and improve the local economy and the community.

Box 1. Women Perceive Somewhat Lower Barriers to Entrepreneurship in Conflict Contexts

Significant gender disparities in livelihood choices were evident in a vignette posed to the youth and adult focus groups about the likelihood of male or female entrepreneurship in a given situation. The moderator inquired about the chances that a wife named "Judith"¹⁴ would launch her own small enterprise if "James", her husband, was not supportive. Most focus groups considered it somewhat difficult for Judith to move forward (figure 4). Nevertheless, the women's focus groups in the conflict contexts thought she might be the most likely to go ahead with it, and the Sudanese women's groups gave her the highest odds. Men in the conflict communities gave Judith the greatest difficulty. The vignette exercise wrapped up by asking about how easy it would be for James to start his own enterprise if Judith objected. Focus groups widely considered that to be fairly easy.



Men and women also provide numerous reports of local workers engaged in illicit activities. Again, men have a far stronger presence in these types of jobs than women. Livelihoods involving theft, armed robbery, drug trafficking, gambling, criminal gangs, money scams, contraband, and other illicit doings are widely identified as bad ways that men make a living in communities across Liberia, Sudan, and West Bank and Gaza. In some of these localities, and particularly in Liberia, women also earn income illegally, but focus groups are more likely to report women's illicit activities to involve prostitution. In some Liberia communities, men's bad

¹⁴ This was a popular name in Lima where this tool was developed; and teams substituted other popular names for the vignette like Princess and Prince for the hypothetical couple in Liberia.

jobs also include providing sex. Given the sensitive nature of this topic and this study's reliance on rapid data collection in focus groups, it is not possible to get a clear picture of the extent of illicit livelihoods in this sample. Nevertheless, the numerous reports of local workers with these types of jobs strongly suggest that the underground economy is larger and more important in conflict contexts than often presumed.

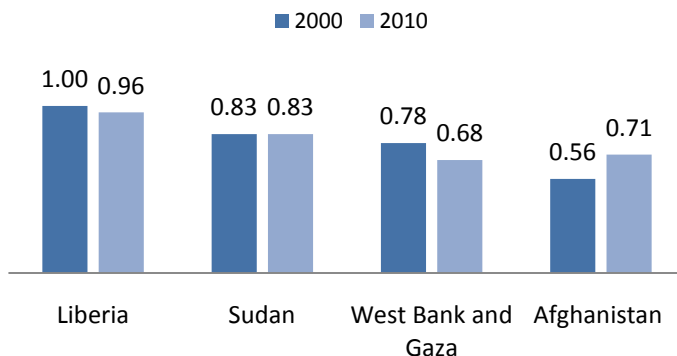
When asked about whether women and men are better at different jobs, their responses —as with the sorting of local jobs by gender— are laced with traditional notions of women's and men's gender roles. "Women excel in health, education, and housekeeping. But men excel at everything else, like engineering and police," suggested a woman from a neighborhood of Rafah in Gaza. In another neighborhood, of Karta e-Bakheter in Afghanistan, women explain that "tailoring, embroidery and weaving of carpets are for women, and construction, metal works, carpentry and jobs in the government are for men." In a neighborhood of Monrovia, women are servers at "drinking spots" while men purchase supplies and handle the cash. Jobs requiring feminine skills in social relations can be deemed better for women, and jobs involving authority, technical knowledge, strength, or public safety are men's. In rural areas, a sharp gender division of labor is also reported. In the Red Sea state, Sudan, for instance, village women bring grass for the cattle, but men milk them. In many villages, focus groups observe that men do the initial tilling jobs because of their greater strength, but depending on the locality, women sometimes then take over and manage the ongoing work of sowing, weeding, harvesting, and selling crops. In the village visited in the Tchien district of Liberia, only men sold palm wine and only women sold bread, although presumably palm wine provides higher returns. The dictates on gender differentiated tasks and market niches appear to be as varied as the sites visited.

Discriminatory and Abusive Treatment of Working Women

Here we probe more deeply into some of the forces that contribute to and perpetuate gender segregation in labor markets, and how conflict contexts may intensify these. Figure 5 presents the gender wage gap for unskilled local workers reported by the local key informants. On average, women's wages amount to 79 percent of the men's across the sample in both periods. While the findings cannot be deemed representative, among the sites covered, women in Liberia appear to have the fairest earnings opportunities in low-end jobs, and women in West Bank and Gaza the least.

Figure 5. Average local wage gap by sex

(Key informant estimates; gap = unskilled women's wage/unskilled men's wage)



The focus group accounts of women's experiences with daily wage jobs in Liberia complicate the findings about their wages. In the majority of communities visited there, women describe strong expectations on them to provide sexual favors in exchange for low-end jobs and sometimes for working as informal vendors. "Women are now working since the war ended. Sex is part of the deal, and this gives women an advantage in the labor force," remarks a village woman of Suakoko district in Liberia. Some in Liberia refer to these exchanges with the term "Godpa" (Godfather). A young man from a town in the Tewor district perceives that sex for work "has become almost a natural phenomenon," and men can also be expected to provide sex although this appears to be less common. Some women throughout the ages have resorted to sex to gain power. But in contexts where such strategies seem almost normative and expected, and where good jobs are exceptionally scarce, can wage equality for low end work be a marker of gender equality?

Perceptions of women's desirable jobs in the sample outside of Liberia are colored by seclusion practices and other traditions that strictly discourage women's mobility beyond their immediate communities and social interactions with the opposite sex. In a village of Red Sea State, Sudan, local jobs of any kind are scarce but young women cannot work outside the village because they may "meet with strangers." Across the Sudanese focus groups, one of the worst jobs for women is hawking tea, coffee and homemade food because it requires them to "work for long hours on the street and deal with different types of people who may treat them indecently." Tea sellers under age 40 could be treated like prostitutes, and older women harassed as well. Unmarried women in Sudan doing domestic work risked sexual advances that "deprived a girl of modesty." Women's jobs cleaning schools and selling in telecom centers and shops are also deemed undesirable for these same reasons. The numerous focus group accounts of the dangers facing working women may be more reflective of cultural views rather than women's actual experiences and risks, but either way such perceptions have the practical effect of discouraging women's economic participation and returns.

In West Bank and Gaza, the environment for women in the labor force also appears very stressful, and likely contributes to the very low female labor force participation there, despite high levels of education.¹⁵ According to the women's focus group from Old City in Hebron, "the father would say that because of the political situation it is better to stay home than get harassed ..." Women in low-status jobs are reported to be earning even less relative to men than they did a decade ago in West Bank and Gaza. Women say that they must maintain strict codes of silence about any harassment on the job or when moving about in public lest they be accused of inviting it. "The girl even when she is not at wrong she will be blamed," warns a young woman from Hebron. These risks, moreover, are not only confined to low status jobs. According to a focus group of young women in a neighborhood of Hebron, "The secretary at a private office is [a bad job] because something might happen to her..." Such interactions are feared not only because they may potentially place a woman's reputation and integrity at risk, but they may also harm an entire family's honor and status in the community.

This is hardly an environment where women can press for better treatment and pay. These normative pressures, moreover, are no doubt intensified by men's frustrations with their limited work options. A 39 year-old Hebron man confided that young men in his community would get jealous if their sister had work and they did not. On a similar note, a man from another urban

¹⁵ For additional analysis, see World Bank (2011) and World Bank (2012 forthcoming).

neighborhood of the West Bank argued that the lack of public safety for women is a troubling consequence of the transition underway in gender norms: "Women have just started entering society, so the man is still trying to maintain his control."

The reports of women's reputational and physical risks while earning income must be embedded within a larger context of gender norms that continue to sanction disregard for and violence of women in diverse contexts around the world (see, for instance, World Health Organization 2006). Additionally, a climate of lawlessness, crime, and violence can be pervasive during wartimes and persist for very long periods in their wake. A theoretical and empirical literature is now growing that seeks to explain the varied patterns of sexual and other forms of violence perpetrated against women, and also some men, during armed conflicts. The victims are more often civilians but soldiers also suffer. While in some of these contexts sexual violence remains limited and opportunistic in nature, cases of mass rape of women in the wars of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for instance, are now increasingly being understood as war tactics that are quietly or overtly sanctioned by the leadership of armed groups. Such tactics are designed to terrorize communities and emasculate men, and in some cases, reward or tighten bonds among troops.¹⁶ Although systematic evidence remains limited, there are many indications in the literature that wartime violence spills into civilian life and intensifies men's resort to violence "as a way of maintaining a sense of power and control" in contexts where their authority and provider roles face great challenges and women's independence is often growing.¹⁷

In sum, what is harder to see in a general analysis about the effects of conflict on labor force conditions are the strong normative assessments that govern whether and where women may work, and which may well be accompanied by more and less coercive power struggles in the workforce, other public spaces of communities, and also many households. The economic hardships induced by conflict relaxes gender norms and sends women in larger numbers into the labor market at possibly the *worst* time for them to be trying to exercise greater economic independence in their lives. If men are not supportive of more women in the workforce, then this should be of little surprise. Working women are taking away scarce jobs and customers, costing employers a good deal less, and are vulnerable to mistreatment and abuses. If we do not observe women's increased economic participation transforming inequitable gender norms and structures, this should not be surprising. Gender norms and women's empowerment do not necessarily change together. How local opportunity structures are affecting men's agency also seems to matter greatly. Yet somehow, despite their harsh realities, women report conflict periods as times when they can more easily take initiative and *climb* their ladders, due, in part, to greater

¹⁶ Bastick, Grimm, and Kunz (2007) document sexual and physical violence during and after wartime in 51 countries between 1987 and 2007. Brück and Vothknecht (2011) cite further country studies showing rising problems of domestic violence in the wake of conflict. Women and girls are the primary victims, although men and boys may also be affected in some contexts. There is a growing literature about the causes of wartime sexual violence, including especially useful works by Wood (2006 and 2011) and Cohen (2010). Focus groups outside of Liberia discussed domestic violence against women for this study. They generally report it to be occasional problems for women in their communities, with focus groups in Afghanistan and Sudan reporting a reduction in the prevalence compared to ten years ago. See chapter 2 in Muñoz Boudet, Petesch, and Turk (2013 forthcoming) for further discussion.

¹⁷ (Sideris 2002). For additional analysis of how gender-based violence and other anti-social behaviors can intensify as men struggle to adapt to their changing economies in conflict contexts, see Bouta, Frerks, and Bannon (2005) and the very rich and insightful case studies in Bannon and Corria (2006).

economic independence. For women, as for men, bad economic opportunities and greater freedom of action seem to be more desirable than lives with scarcely any choices at all.

Power Structures and Norms under Stress

"[A good wife] helps the family if the husband's financial situation is difficult."

—A village woman, River Nile state, Sudan

In this section, we draw on more of the Ladder of Power and Freedom findings and other data from the focus groups to probe more deeply into how and why gender norms do not necessarily change as women report greater empowerment in their efforts to help their households and communities survive and recover from conflict periods. We then conclude the ladder analysis in a post-conflict town of Liberia where the local opportunity structure has been providing more promising outlets for both women's and men's agency and empowerment.

Gaining and Losing Power and Freedom

"According to the tradition of our village, women cannot move freely. But the old women who are in step 2 or the top step can move and go to the relatives, friends and neighbors' homes."

—Village woman, Naw Da, Parwan, Afghanistan

"The main role for a woman is to raise the children, but if she could work and help provide for her family and still be the mother she is supposed to be then that would be great."

— Young man, neighborhood of Rafah, Gaza Strip

Men's and women's ladders of power and freedom share important features. Both perceive that economic factors and behaviors and attitudes play important roles in their status on the steps and their movements up and down them.¹⁸ Where gender differences emerge is that women in the conflict environments sampled often report extensive empowerment regardless of local economic conditions, while men's ladder positions and mobility are tightly linked with their economy. Women's ladders also differ from men's in that gaining a larger say in their domestic role will also fuel their empowerment, and reports of these dynamics were common from conflict-affected women.

For the men's focus groups, frankly, one's occupation, and position of authority in that occupation, matter intensely to perceptions about the status that a man will command in his community. The top-step men on the ladders are the giants of local farming, business, politics, religious institutions, and sometimes civic groups. The men on the top of the ladder in a neighborhood of Buchanan, Liberia, for instance, had "White collar jobs: bankers, lawyers, superintendants, mayors, big businesspeople, decision-makers." In the village of Red Sea state

¹⁸ For a fuller discussion of the traits and mobility factors that emerged from the ladder activity, please see chapter 4 of Muñoz Boudet, Petesch, and Turk (2013 forthcoming). The leading upward mobility factors include occupational and economic factors, a range of desirable behaviors and attitudes, strong financial management, education, marital and familial relations, and social networks.

Sudan, similarly, the man on top is a businessman, owns a car, a graduate, and "has a permanent high ranking job either in the public or private sector." In addition to authority roles, the most powerful men are frequently described as educated, wealthy, and skilled in financial management. They may be perceived as having freedom to travel and also great confidence, a healthy marriage and family life, and excellent social skills and networks.

By comparison, women's jobs and leadership roles at the heights of their ladder are often of lower status than top-step men's. In Liberia, nevertheless, local women are highlighted who command quite significant political, economic, and civic power. In a community outside Zorzor, their top-step women might be community leaders or run big farms that hire workers. Because women's levels of power in the public domain are greater in the Liberian sample, we are going to set aside these nine communities here and turn to them in later sections. It should be mentioned, nevertheless, that the Zorzor women say they can also gain top-step status due to having nine or ten children and "many more grandchildren and relatives." Large families are a common marker of status on the ladders throughout the conflict sample, while in the larger global sample it is not unusual for women and men to identify these households on bottom steps.

Both women's and men's focus groups also attach great importance to conducts and attitudes throughout their discussions about power and freedom. For example, those on top steps are frequently perceived to have strong leadership and social skills and command great respect, and upward mobility requires honesty, ambition, hard work, and being helpful to others. In the other direction, those on lower steps are more often described as withdrawn or voiceless, and ladder descents can be triggered by deceit, laziness, or wasteful spending. In a neighborhood of Rafah in Gaza, for instance, men on the top step are deemed to have "honesty," a "strong character" and an "honorable" family background, while men on the bottom step have a "weak character," "bad reputation," and are "unsocial." Or, in the IDP camp visited in Darfur, Sudan for the field work, which is heavily populated by women and children, the woman on their top step were described as "courageous ... able to help others, honest and has good morals, modest and good at dealing with others;" but women on the bottom step were described as "careless" and "problematic and backbiters; gossiping and wanderer; liar; evil; wanderer; notorious; careless about her house and children." Such moral assessments arise from deeper values about what is "good" and desirable in a society, and "bad" and undesirable, and these perceptions underpin acceptable and unacceptable behaviors for different positions on the ladder.

A key point to keep in mind is that many behaviors and attitudes deemed necessary to gain power and freedom fit squarely with men's gender-ascribed roles: be decisive, take charge, exercise strong leadership, and work one's social connections. When men tumble on their ladders or remain trapped at step one, they are breaking norms for their gender. In the neighborhood of Hebron, West Bank, the men on the bottom would be: "a weak man ... not taking responsibility; weak faith; does not have self confidence; does not have the ability to spend money on his kids, he would tell his son to take money from the wife; has no authority over his children; no personality; violent in his home." Men's groups repeatedly discuss problems of bottom-step men who abuse their authority and misbehave.

The narratives about men on bottom steps describe depression, anger, physical health problems, and anti-social behaviors when men became jobless for long periods or are forced to rely on unstable and status-damaging jobs. A 35 year-old Gaza woman warns that men are affected more than women by losing work, and this "leads to frustration and generation of family

problems and in some cases leads to the use of violence by men against women and children, and may lead to illness." Focus groups widely perceived that the pressure of gender norms on men to be good providers created great stress on them that was vented, sometimes violently, at their partners and families.

What is especially striking in this dataset is that the men's focus groups could assign a substantial share of their "100 representative men" to their very harsh bottom steps. In Afghanistan and West Bank and Gaza, they allocated, on average, about a quarter of their men to the bottom step, while this grew to 35 percent in Sudan, and an enormous 60 percent in Liberia. The share of bottom step women could be high as well, averaging about half of women in Afghanistan and Liberia, and 20 percent in West Bank and Gaza. But a fundamental difference is that women widely perceive their share of powerless women to be shrinking.

Women Navigating Old and New Norms

"Yes, it is good for women to be strong because a powerful woman breeds good sons, and she is the one who can extract women's rights from men. She is the woman who works hard on the farm and endures the hard living conditions and deteriorated material situations."

—A village woman, Red Sea State, Sudan

If gender norms fuel men's capacities to exercise agency, the dictates for women prescribe submission, modesty, limited physical mobility and social interaction, and an overriding prioritization of their domestic duties. Unlike men, women have to constantly press on the frontiers of acceptable conducts as well as roles for their gender in order to climb their ladders. In the urban community visited in Parwan, Afghanistan, the focus group describes their bottom step women as "uneducated, unskilled, and have no authority. So they can do nothing because elders and husbands are the people who have the authority in the home." To move out of this step, women often describe sets of initiatives that require carefully navigating old and new norms with their conducts.

For example, rural women of the Red Sea state in Sudan stressed that to climb up their ladder, women need to be "daring and honest in dealing with men; and the more she can serve women in the village, the higher she ascends the ladder." The level of agency, or "daring", that men need to muster to approach other men is not comparable to the agency—and norm breaking—that will be required of women seeking to advance their interests in this Sudanese village. Also recall that the women in this sample are pushing against an environment where many men may be deeply frustrated.

Still, the exigencies of conflict seem to provide women with somewhat more latitude for exercising agency. In this village of Red Sea state, "a powerful woman, in the first place, should be old in age and have the courage and audacity talk to the men and demand the rights of women." This group specified varied roles and responsibilities for local woman with great power and freedom:

- a powerful woman.

- the one who helps with farm works.
- the one who raises her children in a good manner.
- the one who runs her house and has income from her enterprise.
- the one who can make others understand.
- the one who trains women on tailoring.

The Sudanese group explained that girls attending school and women working for pay are new for the village. While they do not earn much from their crops and other small ventures, the money is valued and contributes to their family's wellbeing. Women continue to face many barriers to working because they cannot do jobs that require mixing with men, selling in the market, or traveling beyond the village unaccompanied.

Women's reports from other traditional villages also indicate an easing of local customs that limit their freedoms to move around their communities and work for pay. In Naw Da (a pseudonym), the village visited in Parwan, Afghanistan, the women's top step of their ladder is reserved for the village women who are "aged and old," and who can move freely without a veil, "usually a widow." They placed 20 percent of the community's women on this step. The entry of many women into the public spaces of their village reflects the difficult reality that war takes on many men, and gender norms have to relax so women can support their households. Some of these women are reported to have jobs involving tailoring and embroidery or doing unspecified work for local villagers. Although their earnings are likely to have been tiny, the greater freedom in public and work nevertheless accords them status in that context. On most ladders for the global sample, widows reside on bottom steps.

Evidence of gender norm relaxation is more evident in the urban sample, but even there women need to be cautious in how they navigate old and new norms. In urban Shirabad Ulya of Kabul Province, Afghanistan, some are attending school, commuting to jobs, or shopping at stores outside of the neighborhood. They say that women can move up with hard work and being decisive in their households, but they "must not quarrel with the family members." In addition, they need to educate their children, "refuse" extra expenses, and reach out to and meet with their friends whenever they can to gain information and help from them.

Across the many localities visited where seclusion is practiced, it is deemed permissible for educated women with good jobs to move about unaccompanied by a male guardian; and by far the most educated women in this sample resided in the West Bank and Gaza communities. A focus group of men from a neighborhood of Hebron explained that professional women's greater freedom to move about in public is due to their education and knowledge of how to conduct themselves in ways that would not harm family honor if someone might call them names or be otherwise abusive in public. It is also acceptable in Hebron for female students, as well as older women, to move around. The same view applies to women heads of households (who usually tend to be widows or divorcees) to move outside their own community if family circumstances compel them to go out and work. Hence, for educated women with good jobs, female students, older women, widows, and divorcees, gender norms regarding their physical mobility have certainly relaxed in this urban community.

Conflict and recovery periods provide moments when gender norms for women relax and this is reflected in ladders that become more porous and inviting for them to exercise agency and claim somewhat more autonomy and dignity for themselves. Still, in many contexts, women's working lives could be incidental or missing entirely from their accounts about what is driving their sense of empowerment. According to a 35 year old woman living in a neighborhood of Hebron:

"I agree with what the other women said: a strong woman has to empower herself by herself, just like her mother. Since we are living in a state of war, most of the Palestinian women's husbands are either in prison, or they are widows. So these women who have sacrificed to raise their children may not have been educated, but that doesn't change the fact that such a woman's children may become doctors."

Women's caretaker roles in bringing their families through conflict can be very empowering. One way the men of Hebron identify for climbing back up their ladders was "If the wife takes the initiative to lead the family, his family will become better. If not, it will lead to problems."

Taken together, in Afghanistan, Sudan, and West Bank and Gaza we can observe varied evidence about gender norms relaxing in villages, and these forces are even more prevalent in their urban samples. This relaxation, however, is occurring under stressful circumstances and not yet really transforming expectations for women's and men's roles and conducts in these societies.

Gender Norms and Agency: Countervailing or Reinforcing Forces?

" [We have] freedom of movement; we can now sit down among ourselves, something we could not do during the war.... We were in distress because of ill treatment, but now the President [Ellen Johnson Sirlief] has brought happiness among us.

—Adult male, Raymond's town, Liberia

In Liberia, gender norms had shifted enough in the majority of the communities visited to allow for some women, if not many women, to be powerful leaders, to accumulate and control significant resources, and to enjoy great freedom of choice and action. In the urban community visited in Monrovia, Liberia, women on the top step ran big businesses and travelled to "bring goods in from China, Dubai, and Nigeria."

Especially noteworthy was that the data captured women serving as local elected leaders in six of the nine Liberian communities visited. Not one local woman was reported to be holding local political power in any of the other fifteen communities in the conflict sample. The women's electoral victories in Liberia are all the more remarkable considering that there are no formal gender quotas for political office in the country. In addition, key informants named women's organizations to be the most important community civic group in four of the nine communities. Numerous focus groups of both genders mention being inspired by Ellen Johnson Sirlief's presidency, and there is little doubt that female role models who break through normative

barriers can be very inspiring and open doors for other women to follow in their path.¹⁹ On many levels, greater gender equality seems to be permeating across the institutional landscape there.

Conflict weakens the norms and power hierarchies that shape how institutions function in a society. But this weakening does not necessarily leave women, or men who are not elites, much scope for reshaping them to better serve their interests. Despite seven or so years of peace, men are still struggling on their ladders in four communities in the Liberian sample. As shown above, the men-only bad and illicit jobs are just as numerous in Liberia as in the other three samples. Many men in these contexts openly point to women's gains in power as challenges to their authority if not causes for their loss of power. Women meanwhile often voice frustration at men's inability to adapt to women's new roles or to the changing economic environment in their communities. Gender relations seemed especially tense in urban localities.

In a town of Greenville district in Liberia, women are working in larger numbers than ever, and the elected chairlady established a new marketing association for them. Yet, women report that men have become less supportive, for instance, leaving women to themselves to do the arduous work required to "cut palm nut and brush the farm." Women are gaining power, but men in this Greenville town are falling in droves on their ladder. Just half of the men were sorted onto the bottom step ten years ago, but the men's group placed an astonishing 90 percent of themselves there now. And this is how they describe their step-one men:

Not working, no business; they cut palms and give them to their wives to sell before they can get food; do weeding and brushing contracts; collects kiss me (tiny snails) to sell; cut wood, make coal to sell; the day they don't work, no food for them; they live in thatched houses; junior high school level; has a fine and happy family that go to church together and sits together... fighting relationship; grumbling everyday; both women and men fuss everyday (even today with this time been spend in a focus group gathering the question will be why didn't the man go to the farm? Will this sitting give us our daily bread for today? And that will be another source of conflict between the man and woman for the day).

And in a town of Harper district, another place where men report extensive disempowerment, they express frustration with how, since the war, women have taken over leadership positions at the local university and in the local market. At the same time, jobs that used to provide men with good and reliable income, such as at the local port or with logging companies, had not been recovered. Now men on the bottom step must "work along with their wives under constraints..." The men's jobs include undesirable farm work and selling coal, bicycle taxis, and "wheelbarrow" jobs hauling coal and wood. The men speak of providing for 10 or more children, "which is also the source of the hard time." They relate with frustration that when men demonstrate in the streets for better opportunities, their voices are dismissed; but when women are out demonstrating, the media and politicians pick this up. The men of Harper and Greenville feel voiceless and trapped.

¹⁹ For the wider beneficial effects of women's political leadership in local governance, see for instance, Beaman, Duflo, Topalova 2012.

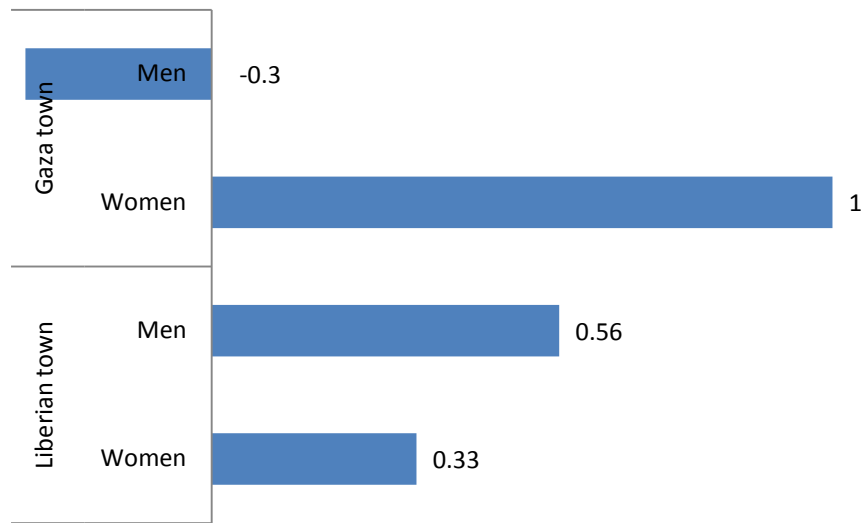
But in the five localities sampled in Liberia where men are climbing their ladders, women are all also reporting upward climbs. In most of these contexts, the normative framework shaping gender roles and behaviors and local level institutions seems to have changed to allow for more cooperative and productive gender relations. In the village visited in the Tchien district of Liberia, for instance, the men's focus group mentions the presence of community farms where women and men work together: "the women have their leader and the men have their leader. It is not good for women to do hard work labor but when it comes to decision making, they are participating because they always have sound ideas." Men's and women's movements on their ladders seem to be interdependent, and together shape the potential for gender norm relaxation and change. The next section goes into some detail on instances of "twin climbing" in one of the other Liberian communities.

Men and Women Climbing in a Liberian Border Town

A town in the Tewor district of Liberia is unique in our sample of 24 localities. It is the *only* community where both women and men report that a substantial share of their own sex is rising on their ladders and gaining power and freedom. To show this graphically, figure 6 compares the outlier extensive twin climbing in the Liberian town with the more prevalent polarized mobility pattern of the Gaza town featured above. Both communities are Muslim and happen to be border towns, but not much else about them is the same. The Liberian town is far poorer and its people much less educated. It is also now peaceful.

In the global dataset, such twinning of a large share of men and women rising on the ladders in the same locality seems to be a rare phenomenon. Only 8 communities in the 97 from the global sample feature this outcome. Where both many women and men are able to sense opportunities for exercising agency, however, this seems to have favorable catalytic effects for local level institutions and development processes that extend beyond the climbers themselves. Some detail is provided about these effects in order to provide evidence of how they are spanning genders, generations, and institutions in this town.

Figure 6. Mobility index on women's and men's Ladders of Power and Freedom, Two border towns
(4 adult focus groups)



The Tewor town lies on the border with Sierra Leone and holds a population of some 10,000, perhaps 75 percent of whom are poor according to the local key informant. Although a good-sized town, the local economy remains heavily reliant on agriculture. That both women and men are able to perceive so much empowerment in a poor and remote border town may seem odd. Their views, however, need to be understood within the context of a town that was under siege a decade ago. Armed groups were continuously passing through, lawlessness ruled, and most residents had to eke out a living with subsistence farming and hunting and gathering what they could from the surrounding forests. Presently, the town hosts an active weekly market that provides an important source of income for many households. Also, some public services have improved since the end of the war, although very few households have electricity or piped water.

In contrast to the male focus groups in the Gaza border town, not one of the members of the older or younger men's focus group indicated themselves to be jobless in Tewor. They likely could not afford to be. The men's group said that they were all on their bottom step of their ladder a decade ago, "penniless" and "working in the bush." Perhaps 40 percent of them have now pulled themselves up to steps two and three—as farmers, teachers, customs officials, drivers, tradesmen, businessmen, and in other jobs. Similarly, the women put just about all of themselves on their bottom step a decade ago, and report that almost a quarter of them have now climbed up and out: "After the war, we started making our own businesses..." The women largely run the local market, and in the process say many have gained more voice and freedom for themselves, and can now also afford to send their children to school. Women are climbing by having an attitude of "seriousness" and by, "selling every day and leaving 100 dollars on the side and from there you can build a house." It was relatively rare even in the global sample for women to say that they could accumulate and control such assets.

What is so important about this context where both women and men perceive that many are climbing their ladders is that gender norms for women's roles in this community have *changed*. Women are not only active in the town's economy, but they are exercising significant political and civic leadership. The women report that the town's elected leadership is split "50-50" between women and men. The town chief is a man, and they have a chairlady. There is a commissioner position held by a man, and another township commissioner is a woman. The clan chief is a man but a woman is the "Supervisor for all mosques." One young woman describes the changes she has witnessed accordingly, "At first, only men used to talk and the women used to be in the kitchen. Both men and women can now talk and make decision. The women can be more [numerous] than the men in the meetings this time." The young women's group also pointed out that their community is now constructing a senior high school due to the efforts of their female commissioner. Both the women and men also report access to local "susu" groups and "clubs" that help them to save and make major purchases.

In comparison with the Liberian communities where men reported loss of power and freedom, the men in this community seem at ease and welcoming of women's new roles. One of the adult men suggests that there is "nothing a husband will do without the consent of the wife or vice versa;" although these men make clear that they remain in control of major household decisions.

The young women's group from Tewor spoke with great optimism about their own future. And they somehow had this confidence in themselves despite limited education (most did not reach high school), marrying and having babies very young (some at 14 and 15), and living in a context where polygamy is still practiced and poverty extensive. The young women say that they—rather than the men—are currently taking decisions on family size. Several of the young women in the focus group already had two or three children, in fact, and seemed well on their way to the large families that are still typical in the town; however, they report access to family planning and say they plan to stop at five or six children instead of the ten or more that their mothers had. Also, when they were asked about the vignette with "Judith" going forward with a small business without a husband's support, the young women thought the wife would have a fairly easy time of it. In fact, on balance the group suggested that it would be easier for Judith than James to start a business without their spouse's support. This likely reflects women's strong roles in vending in the town's market. These young women's reports of their capacities to control their fertility and venture independently into businesses against a spouse's wishes are relatively uncommon even in the larger global sample. When asked about their hopes for the future of young people in their village, the young women stress that "the girls must learn" and stay in school.

The young women's autonomy and aspirations are valuable resources that hold promise for helping their town to become more prosperous and equitable in the future.

This border town offers a hopeful picture of possibilities that can take hold when men see rising opportunities in their lives at the same time and in the same place where women are also making strategic decisions over their own lives and gaining economic, political, and civic power in the community. By comparison, the town in Gaza enjoys a much more educated population, a more diverse economy, and greater governmental capacity; but there, continued war, high unemployment, and very sticky gender norms leave few avenues for men and women to find ways to put their own lives and their community on a better path.

Concluding Reflections

"I agree that a woman has to be strong. She became strong because of the circumstances she went through with the closures and curfews in this area. In the past everything was easy and the economic situation was better. She was able to go out and find a job easily. Today, no. She has to struggle and work hard to find a job opportunity so that she can live."

—48 year-old woman, neighborhood of Hebron, West Bank

"...these days in Liberia with a good job you can have a happy marriage and a home."

—Young man, neighborhood of Monrovia, Liberia

Men's and women's agency seems to be interdependent. For each to realize their potential, ideally both need to feel in control of their destinies. Gender equality and development goals that aim narrowly at transforming women's lives will likely miss their targets. The findings point to the challenge for community interventions that can support both men and women to climb their ladders in tandem, and in conflict contexts this will very often mean helping men to recover their provider and authority roles while supporting women to gain more and more strength in these roles.²⁰

A previous analysis of 125 women's life stories from conflict-affected regions of Colombia, Indonesia, Philippines and Sri Lanka—part of the Moving Out of Poverty (MOP) sample—also found exposure to conflict to be very empowering for women (Petesch 2011). Moreover, as in Tewor, where women reported greater ability to engage and contribute to the economic, political, and civic life of their communities (mainly in Indonesia and Philippines in the MOP study), the evidence strongly suggests that this helped to speed the recovery of their communities.²¹ In addition to residing in middle income countries, these high performing MOP conflict communities featured diverse favorable conditions: they had established some semblance of local security; gender norms were generally supportive of women working for pay; both sexes were finding ways to access and benefit from active local markets; and local governance was adequate enough to attract and make good use of post-conflict aid and other external resources. In other words, as in the Tewor town, shifts towards greater gender equality in the wake of conflict seem to be associated with other favorable dynamics that bring prosperity, security, and cohesion to communities. This suggests that post-conflict interventions with gender targets likely require holistic policy frameworks that can recognize and work on multiple barriers at once to foster a virtuous cycle of inclusive recovery processes.

Innovation is especially needed in conceptual models and program designs to better account for the powerful force of slowly changing gender norms and the strong gender differences in the

²⁰ These conclusions are not new. Speaking of rural Kenya, Amuyunzu-Nyamongo and Francis (2006) argue that "Reempowerment of men may be required if real growth and greater social cohesion is to be achieved..."

²¹ The life story study drew from the larger MOP research program on poor people's mobility (discussed in footnote 4), and could compare ratings that assessed women's empowerment with locally generated data on poverty dynamics. The conflict communities with the most rapid recovery and poverty reduction featured more empowered women than conflict communities with slower recovery (Petesch 2011).

effects of violent conflict not only on agency but also on risks. From the discussions about local jobs, we can see that "men-only" jobs that are low-paying, dangerous, and illicit flourish during and after conflict; and this is deeply emasculating for men. A further challenge is that conflict pushes women into the economy in larger numbers although they may face even greater hazards than men to their safety and reputations. Local policing and job-creation strategies are needed that go hand-in-hand, and recognize that men and women face different opportunities and risks. To reduce barriers for women, creative programs are needed to change mindsets about acceptable treatment of working women, and investments must be made to strengthen local law enforcement and provide women with meaningful recourse for both workplace and intimate partner harassment and sexual violence.

Over time, the ladder data suggests that inclusive local market opportunities can provide valuable stepping stones for both women and men on lower steps to reach the better and perhaps more gender neutral jobs and leadership posts on higher steps. Again, gender norms are at their strictest and most unequal for those with little power and freedom, and at their most relaxed for those at the top with great power and freedom. In the village of Naw Daw, the women allocated 80 percent of themselves to the bottom steps where they "do not have jobs, freedom, education. They cannot go anywhere. Nor do they have income sources. And there is no school they can go to. They cannot make decisions and their husbands are uneducated..." None of them had found ways to climb their ladder over the past decade. In order to have more power and freedom, they felt that they would need to be supported in their efforts by the "government, NGOs, elders and the Mulla. They should know the rights of the women and push the men to accept these rights. In the present situation, we do not see any chance for women to change their life." These powerless and isolated women on the bottom step say that to start this process of climbing, men must be helped up their ladders first. This way, men will be more willing to allow women to start climbing theirs.

The slowness of change in gender norms for men's roles and behaviors in conflict settings appear to trap men in unproductive phases for very long periods and drag down whole communities. Consequently, women are pushed to figure out how to turn times of shock into times of opportunity and change. The Liberian women didn't stop at gaining a stronger presence in their local markets. They marched on into other political and civic institutions in their communities to figure out how to make these also work better for them and their communities. And where there was a bit more support in the local opportunity structure for men as well as women to be agents of their lives, gender norms did more than relax. They changed.

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Annex 1. Background on Political Conflicts in Sample Economies

Afghanistan: Ahmad Shah DURRANI unified the Pashtun tribes and founded Afghanistan in 1747. The country served as a buffer between the British and Russian Empires until it won independence from notional British control in 1919. A brief experiment in democracy ended in a 1973 coup and a 1978 Communist counter-coup. The Soviet Union invaded in 1979 to support the tottering Afghan Communist regime, touching off a long and destructive war. The USSR withdrew in 1989 under relentless pressure by internationally supported anti-Communist mujahedin rebels. A series of subsequent civil wars saw Kabul finally fall in 1996 to the Taliban, a hardline Pakistani-sponsored movement that emerged in 1994 to end the country's civil war and anarchy. Following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C., a US, Allied, and anti-Taliban Northern Alliance military action toppled the Taliban for sheltering Osama BIN LADIN. The UN-sponsored Bonn Conference in 2001 established a process for political reconstruction that included the adoption of a new constitution, a presidential election in 2004, and National Assembly elections in 2005. In December 2004, Hamid KARZAI became the first democratically elected president of Afghanistan and the National Assembly was inaugurated the following December. KARZAI was re-elected in August 2009 for a second term. Despite gains toward building a stable central government, a resurgent Taliban and continuing provincial instability - particularly in the south and the east - remain serious challenges for the Afghan Government. In January 2011, Afghanistan assumed a nonpermanent seat on the UN Security Council for the 2012-13 term.

Liberia: Settlement of freed slaves from the US in what is today Liberia began in 1822; by 1847, the Americo-Liberians were able to establish a republic. William TUBMAN, president from 1944-71, did much to promote foreign investment and to bridge the economic, social, and political gaps between the descendents of the original settlers and the inhabitants of the interior. In 1980, a military coup led by Samuel DOE ushered in a decade of authoritarian rule. In December 1989, Charles TAYLOR launched a rebellion against DOE's regime that led to a prolonged civil war in which DOE himself was killed. A period of relative peace in 1997 allowed for elections that brought TAYLOR to power, but major fighting resumed in 2000. An August 2003 peace agreement ended the war and prompted the resignation of former president Charles TAYLOR, who faces war crimes charges in The Hague related to his involvement in Sierra Leone's civil war. After two years of rule by a transitional government, democratic elections in late 2005 brought President Ellen JOHNSON SIRLEAF to power. The UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) maintains a strong presence throughout the country, but the security situation is still fragile and the process of rebuilding the social and economic structure of this war-torn country continues.

Sudan: Military regimes favoring Islamic-oriented governments have dominated national politics since independence from the UK in 1956. Sudan was embroiled in two prolonged civil wars during most of the remainder of the 20th century. These conflicts were rooted in northern economic, political, and social domination of largely non-Muslim, non-Arab southern Sudanese. The first civil war ended in 1972 but broke out again in 1983. The second war and famine-related effects resulted in more than four million people displaced and, according to rebel estimates, more than two million deaths over a period of two decades. Peace talks gained momentum in 2002-04 with the signing of several accords. The final North/South Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed in January 2005, granted the southern rebels autonomy for six years followed by a referendum on independence for Southern Sudan. The

referendum was held in January 2011 and indicated overwhelming support for independence. South Sudan became independent on 9 July 2011. Since southern independence Sudan has been combating rebels from the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states. A separate conflict, which broke out in the western region of Darfur in 2003, has displaced nearly two million people and caused an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 deaths. The UN took command of the Darfur peacekeeping operation from the African Union in December 2007. Peacekeeping troops have struggled to stabilize the situation, which has become increasingly regional in scope and has brought instability to eastern Chad. Sudan also has faced large refugee influxes from neighboring countries primarily Ethiopia and Chad. Armed conflict, poor transport infrastructure, and lack of government support have chronically obstructed the provision of humanitarian assistance to affected populations.

West Bank and Gaza: The September 1993 Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements provided for a transitional period of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Under a series of agreements signed between May 1994 and September 1999, Israel transferred to the Palestinian Authority (PA) security and civilian responsibility for many Palestinian-populated areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Negotiations to determine the permanent status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip stalled following the outbreak of an intifada in September 2000. In April 2003, the Quartet (US, EU, UN, and Russia) presented a roadmap to a final settlement of the conflict by 2005 based on reciprocal steps by the two parties leading to two states, Israel and a democratic Palestine. Following Palestinian leader Yasir ARAFAT's death in late 2004, Mahmud ABBAS was elected PA president in January 2005. A month later, Israel and the PA agreed to the Sharm el-Sheikh Commitments in an effort to move the peace process forward. In September 2005, Israel unilaterally withdrew all of its settlers and soldiers and dismantled its military facilities in the Gaza Strip and withdrew settlers and redeployed soldiers from four small northern West Bank settlements. Nonetheless, Israel still controls maritime, airspace, and other access to the Gaza Strip. In January 2006, the Islamic Resistance Movement, HAMAS, won control of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). HAMAS took control of the PA government in March 2006, but President ABBAS had little success negotiating with HAMAS to present a political platform acceptable to the international community so as to lift economic sanctions on Palestinians. Violent clashes between Fatah and HAMAS supporters in the Gaza Strip in 2006 and early 2007 resulted in numerous Palestinian deaths and injuries. In February 2007, ABBAS and HAMAS Political Bureau Chief Khalid MISHAL signed the Mecca Agreement in Saudi Arabia that resulted in the formation of a Palestinian National Unity Government (NUG) headed by HAMAS member Ismail HANIYA. However, fighting continued in the Gaza Strip, and in June 2007, HAMAS militants succeeded in a violent takeover of all military and governmental institutions in the Gaza Strip. ABBAS that same month dismissed the NUG and through a series of presidential decrees formed a PA government in the West Bank led by independent Salam FAYYAD. Fatah and HAMAS in May 2011, under the auspices of Egyptian-sponsored reconciliation negotiations, agreed to reunify the Palestinian territories, but the factions have struggled to finalize details on governing and security structures. The status quo remains with HAMAS in control of the Gaza Strip and ABBAS and the Fatah-dominated PA governing the West Bank. FAYYAD and his PA government continue to implement a series of security and economic reforms to improve conditions in the West Bank. ABBAS, who on behalf of the Palestinians in September submitted a UN membership application, has said he will not resume

negotiations with current Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin NETANYAHU until Israel halts all settlement activity in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Source: The World Factbook (CIA)

Annex 2. WDR2012 Rapid Qualitative Assessment Data Collection Tools

Data Collection Method	Time required	Purpose	Respondents
Activity 1. Community Questionnaire	1 hour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To gain an understanding of the local context, and community level factors that may contribute to gender differences and changes in gender norms and practices surrounding economic decision-making and access to opportunities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 or 2 key informants
Activity 2. Focus Group Discussion with Youth: Making Economic Choices	2.5 hours	<p>To explore with young women and men:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Happiness - Daily time use - Decisions surrounding transitions from school to work and family formation - Independence , cooperation, and obligations in economic decision-making processes - Divorce, family dispute resolution mechanisms - Local economic opportunities - Savings practices - Community participation - Knowledge of gender-related rights - Role models - Hopes for the future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 FGD of 8 to 12 female youth, ages 18 to 24 - 1 FGD of 8 to 12 male youth, ages 18 to 24
Activity 3. Focus Group Discussion with Adults: Ladder of Power and Freedom	2.5 hours	<p>To explore with adult women and men:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Happiness - Differences in the exercise of power and freedom, with a focus on economic decisions - Local economic opportunities - Independence , cooperation, and obligations in economic decision-making processes - Divorce, family dispute resolution mechanisms - Sources of economic support - Household gender relations - General patterns of domestic and community violence - Hopes for the future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 FGD of 8 to 12 female adults, ages 25 to 60 - 1 FGD of 8 to 12 male adults, ages 25 to 60*
Activity 4. Mini Case Study	1 to 2 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To provide in-depth analysis of a finding that emerges as important for understanding gender norms or structures shaping economic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 or 2 key informants

		decisions in that locality.	
Activity 5. Focus Group Discussion with Adolescents: Reaching for Success	2.5 hours	To explore with male and female adolescents: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Happiness- Daily time use- The value of education- Aspirations for the future- Local economic opportunities- Savings, assets and control of assets- Formation of families- Norms surrounding adolescent girls and boys- Domestic violence and public safety- Social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 1 FGD of 8 to 12 female adolescents, ages 12-16- 1 FGD of 8 to 12 male adolescents, ages 12 to 16