

International and local interventions to reduce gender-based violence against women in post-conflict situations

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Introduction:

In the past two decades the impact of feminist analysis on international relations has been immeasurable. Key works by Elshtain (1981, 1997) Enloe (1983) Tickner (2001) Sylvester (2002)¹ and others have worked to generate a feminist International Relations. Key within such analysis is the interdisciplinary work, arising from the unity of theory and practice in action, which shapes feminist agendas. Overlapping concerns of IR/IPE come together in considerations of human rights abuses, through new 'markets in women'. International concerns regarding the traffic of women into prostitution act as a prism that crystallises various academic and policy analyses. In this vein, the background to this article lies in the relation between women's activism and feminist analysis on issues of violence against women, *as women*². Recognising gendered impacts of violence against women in conflict situations along a continuum of violence, has remained a more recent subject for detailed international critical analysis³. "Violence against women in conflict is one of history's great silences"⁴. The new international regime mandating gender mainstreaming became legally binding with the Security Council's Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace and Security* which not only underlined the vital role of women in conflict solution but mandated "a review of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls"⁵. An Inter-agency Task Force was established and the Secretary General's study published in October 2002⁶. UN Gender experts recognised the need for an independent report highlighting women's experience of war and conflict⁷. Trafficking in women has been seen to increase with

militarisation and the influx of international personnel⁸. The power of UN structures is now behind attempts to recognise and reduce gender-based persecution, discrimination and oppression in developing policy on gender mainstreaming that is gradually and unevenly turning into established international norms⁹. 'Peacekeeping' has evolved into areas of humanitarian relief, refugee return, de-mining, civilian policing, demobilisation, human rights monitoring, elections and nation building. These new activities directly affect women and women's opportunities for participation in international operations with some women directing aspects of these new peacekeeping operations more in accordance with gender mainstreaming policies. Nevertheless, translating international resolutions into legislation and training to challenge and change the realities of gender-based violence remains an enormous task. Resources for women's needs and interests remain negligently low. I reflect on the international gendered frames of analysis concerning women's experience of violence during war and consider a case study of some realities of traffic in women for prostitution. Alongside this is the experience of women in resistance to heightened violence against them from the perspectives of NGO involvement. This leads to assessments of how civic groups in both Kosova and Afghanistan are dealing with the opportunities and the impositions of an international security presence¹⁰.

Gendered analytical frame

Providing new empirical evidence is important in studying the complexity of gender-based violence during and following armed conflict and consequent reconstruction in order to support local women's work in these areas and to identify solid proposals on relevant issues for those designing policy or programme-level interventions. Whether such

intervention takes place at the international realm of UN recommended legislation on soldiers' buying sex or at local levels of traffic and rape counselling - intersections between unequal power relations and profit are apparent. Changing, gendered power relations remain crucial to understanding developments following war and during reconstruction processes. There are various difficulties in implementing international norms in specific circumstances and there have been many failures, such as the impunity for crimes relating to sexualised violence¹¹. In political thinking, issues of power have long been central. Viewing the 'political' using a feminist lens of gender analysis considerably broadens the field of politics. Power can be viewed as coercion, protection and as capacity¹². Feminist writers have shown that 'malestream' accounts within political theory are themselves political.¹³ Feminist analyses shift the focus to politics as concern with working out relations of power throughout society. Standard accounts of war tend to focus on military might, battles, bombing, damage and 'success'. Assessing the politics of war inclusive of gender analysis and human rights standards, involves considering aspects of the militarisation of societies through ideas concerning masculinity and femininity, issues of family, ethnicity and disability, plus issues of responsibility and gender justice.

In unequal power situations some women become exploited and women's interests and needs become marginalised. A feminist view of gender, as an issue of power, is needed to focus on post-war situations to understand the mechanisms of this gendered exploitation and marginalisation. The continuum of such post-conflict exploitation runs from the non-election or selection of women politicians, to under-resourcing women's needs, the lack of listening/hearing about women's interests, to women forcibly removed into prostitution.

Cynthia Cockburn has shown how the importance of gender differentiation, and local constructions of masculinities and femininities, is rooted in issues of agency and diversity¹⁴. Relative positions of women and men act as ordering principles in systems of power relations. Azza Karam outlines the changes reshaping many women's lives following conflict. These include: sudden accession to head of household with limited resources; increased medical and social vulnerability; increased sexualised violence including in domestic space; negotiated family disruptions; disadvantaged refugees and war-structured sexual work¹⁵. Shifts in the ways identities are presented and the gendered features of various situations are key analytical cores. In providing a conceptual rationale for a gendered framework intended to ensure that violence-reduction initiatives incorporate a gender perspective, Moser identifies the gendered continuum of conflict and violence categorised in political, economic and social terms. In each category the type of power is identified that uses violence to gain or maintain power. In applying this framework to some examples of violence against women through trafficking I aim to tease out some of the interconnected levels of violence and reasons for intervention, bearing in mind the competing conceptual and consequential policy approaches. Such analysis allows a basis for an integrated approach, both conceptual and operational, showing the connections among dynamics of different types of violence and their gender-related repercussions¹⁶ and the different practical needs and strategic interests of women and men during peacemaking and reconstruction. Intervention to stop war violence can increase other types of violence against women. In arguing for the incorporation of agency and identity, Moser requires policymakers and planners to recognise the central components of effective violence reduction demonstrating the importance of including gender analysis.

Key aspects of such a framework involve: introducing a gendered continuum of conflict and violence; identifying the gendered causal factors; examining gendered costs and consequences; and developing an integral policy approach¹⁷.

Violence against women continuum

In working with women and women's groups in Central and Southeastern Europe over 20 years one subject that recurs in many discussions and debates is violence against women. Linkages are made between women suffering violence in their own home and women being raped in war¹⁸. The nature of violence and care can alter following war, with guns used to pistol whip women rather than fists, and men's war traumas actively given state support in some healthcare systems while women's voluntary groups are often expected to 'look after' women's needs¹⁹. These issues highlight both women's secondary positioning within their societies and the lack of 'bargaining power' of many local groups. The extreme violence that women endure during conflict is not exclusively from war conditions but is directly related to the violence existing in women's everyday lives²⁰. However, in conflict situations arguments arise concerning militarisation of society and psychological brutalisation. With mass killings and mass graves, life can become brutalised by death with some lives viewed as 'cheaper' than others. The trade in women's bodies can become routinised with markets, such as the Arizona market in Bosnia, openly operating²¹. It is sobering to learn that in 2001 the majority of prostitutes in London's Soho area are either from Albania or Kosova²². It assessing why women from these particular countries are being trafficking into prostitution in such large numbers, militarisation of the region, coupled with various factors easing criminal intent, link to the extreme poverty

being faced particularly by women. A significant type of response to this type of violence, and to the suffering it produces, is to downgrade and deny it.

In many cultures, men showing violence with regard to women (fighting with other men 'over' women or 'chastising' their women) is viewed as legitimate. In Afghanistan and Kosova, where various aspects of male violence against women is only relatively recently being made illegal, certain types of violence go unrecognised or remain culturally accepted²³. Varying aspects of violence are perceived differently across cultures, yet sex and violence often come together in the public imaginations with imagery showing women used for sex, and their bodies sold for sex²⁴. International involvement, particularly in Kosova where the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) remains the governing authority, has highlighted the increasing vulnerability of migrant women in situations of conflict and post-conflict²⁵. Sexual and gender-based violence against women is itself an abuse of human rights. Some military personnel or police²⁶ using prostituted women assume their 'right' to such sexual services without enquiry as to the women's countries of origin. This raises debates about women from some countries being viewed of less value than 'our' women and links to the shaming of families within their communities. Ideas of 'difference' have loomed large with Western Security forces' considerations of 'traditional Muslim' societies²⁷. Two years after the ending of the Taleban regime, the international community and the Afghanistan Transitional Administration (ATA) had proved unable to significantly reduce the violence against women and girls. Amnesty International remains gravely concerned by the extent of violence faced by women in Afghanistan with the increased risk of rape and sexual violence by members of the armed forces and former combatants. It is

apparent in each situation that the initial market demand created by the presence of large numbers of relatively wealthy international men has had the effect of generating demand among some local males²⁸. Planning political strategies for entails grassroots groups and international networks having to differentiate between apparent 'gains and losses' in struggles to express women's solidarity and feminist concerns. The struggle for women to have their concerns seriously considered is played out in very many different ways across the world but for countries under military/peacekeeping occupations the undervaluing of local expertise is such that local women's know-how can become a contradiction in terms for some male 'mission' leaders. Here the changing international security situation in both Kosova and Afghanistan is such that local experiences in these regions are encompassed in a whirlwind of global change.

Peacekeeping interventions:

In both Kosova and Afghanistan political justifications of military intervention have been questioned²⁹. That the situation in Afghanistan was governed by the new security agendas following the September 11th bombing in USA clearly differentiated some of the justifications required for intervention. However, the US/UK interventions have not been dissimilar in their longer-term impact on local populations. Devastation, destruction and only limited democratisation and local empowerment are apparent in each case. The effects on many women of Western-led international contingents controlling political agendas of civic governance have similarities, particularly in the increasing violence experienced³⁰. Women's peace activism lies at the intersection between conflict transformation and feminist approaches to violence, embodying the contradictions of both. As war affects everyday life, with less distinction between military and civilian casualties,

whole societies undergo tremendous upheaval and gender roles are often affected in profound ways. Using gender analyses does more than identify and minimise discriminatory practices, it begins to 'change minds' in assessing the core of what motivates - in war and towards sustainable peace³¹. The nature of 'power politics' is challenged, with ideas of 'global responsibility' becoming embedded in the realities of international feminist collaboration, grounded in restructured power relations. Many analysts have argued the 'rights and wrongs' of NATO intervention in Kosova and of the bombing in Afghanistan. From a peace activist perspective, there are *always* other routes than violence and many believe that the political negotiations had not been exhausted in the Kosova situation, nor were the objectives clearly defined, argued or supported in Afghanistan. Writings on non-violent methods of intervention list many and varied alternatives to military warfare and in terms of relative 'success' these compare favourably³².

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding encompass many types of societal intervention over time. My focus here is on peacebuilding, which in the short-term includes disarmament, weapons destruction, refugee repatriation, security force training, elections monitoring and institutional reform and is associated with short-term involvement of the international community. This involvement centres on political measures and actions largely by external agents. Longer-term peacebuilding is undertaken mainly by local people promoting political and economic development and sustainable conflict resolution. This requires linkage across political, economic, humanitarian and social spheres, relying on diverse actors and the emergence of local NGOs across (civil) society. Reconstruction processes are those that introduce measures to 'operationalise' the new institutional context of

broader peacebuilding goals. This is where post-conflict work should dovetail most closely with developmental goals of protecting citizens' rights, developing human resources and underpinning social integration with economic security³³. The human rights abuses involved in trafficking women into prostitution cut across these goals. A gendered analysis of peacebuilding which addresses the nature of power relations between women and men, is essential to preventing and mitigating new forms of violent abuse. Since the early 1990s peacekeeping has evolved into work across areas of humanitarian relief, human rights monitoring and democratisation issues. Questions of policy and principles have been raised considering the merging of humanitarian, political and military roles and goals. Some analysts argue this linkage is inevitable, others see humanitarian objectives and principles compromised while still others approach civil-military linkages on individual bases³⁴. In theory, having the power of UN structures behind them might mean that future actions promoting women, as shapers of peace and key agents in re/construction processes, will be more strongly supported. Yet, the power of the UN has been undermined by some developments since the US/UK intervention in Iraq. In this new security context I now consider the links arising from traffic in women by military and criminal organisations and the effectiveness of violence reduction strategies that are being developed at international levels.

Traffic in Women:

Emerging from war, new means of violence are visited on women. Rape and abuse of 'enemy' women in war seems to have history as long as war itself but was only recently recognised within international policy agendas as a crime against women³⁵. During the conflict in Kosova, with systematic rape part of the war strategy, thousands of women and

girls in Kosova were assaulted³⁶. In Afghanistan there has been a consistent failure to investigate crimes of violence against women, within the family, in rape and in forcible marriages. Difficulties for women approaching the courts and confusion about applicable laws plus lack of adequate training and capacity for police compound these problems. In both situations mafia and warlords are still selling arms, as are Western governments, yet the profit in women is now outstripping that of weapons. It has also been long recognised by feminist analysts that militarisation develops profit via prostitution³⁷. Experiencing and assessing these processes involves considerations that redefine masculinity and femininity in specific ways³⁸. Evidence from military bases shows that soldiers expect women to be brought in for them and that if local women are not easily 'available' then transporting women from further afield will do very well³⁹. Barbara Bedont attributes this exploitation to a convergence of factors including state collapse, non-functioning justice systems with rampant crime - foreign troops stationed as part of peacekeeping missions feed a demand for prostitution. "As a result, rape, trafficking in women and children, sexual enslavement, and child abuse often co-exist alongside peacekeeping missions."⁴⁰

The situations arising from this convergence of factors demonstrate that what is happening in Kosova and Afghanistan is not exceptional, but typical, as the UNIFEM study confirms⁴¹. Following the influx of internationals the routes for trafficking have become developed and internal markets have been created. The ease of transport of women from Kosova (legally, physically and via well established routes) makes the movement of women to profitable western centres more apparent than from Afghanistan. The weakening of controls through war have made Southeast Europe, in particular, a 'traffickers dream'. Border points

between Kosova and Albania such as that at Qafa i Prushit have become people and drugs trafficking 'hot spots' with girls being moved in both directions. Trade flourishes in the chaos of weakened border controls and ruptured and impoverished communities once bound by strict moral codes. Checkpoints remain badly policed, often by corrupt officials used to taking bribes as guns and drugs moved through the region during the wars. With forged or stolen passports easily available and lax visa regulations, the wars have also created new markets in women and girls. Certainly in Kosova the influx of cash from the international community policing the peace has swelled the trade in prostitution⁴². However, it is equally apparent that in parts of Afghanistan women have stated that the insecurity and risk of sexual assault they face make their lives worse than during the Taleban era. In addition about one third of country remains outside the authority of the Karzai government so changing legislation only goes so far. Much fear for women's security focuses on the behaviour of illegally and heavily armed groups⁴³.

On reasons for the rise in trafficking, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women proposes: "The enormous profitability of exploiting women as prostitutes; the feminisation of poverty in the victims home countries; official policies of international development banks and lending organisations encouraging the development of tourist sector services; lack of an effective international regime for collecting data, providing information and penalising organised international traffic networks"⁴⁴. The risks for traffickers remain low with few successful convictions. In his report on Women, Peace and Security the UN Secretary-General notes that prostitution, often combined with trafficking, increases in the context of international interventions. Codes of conduct establish

expected standards of behaviour from UN staff⁴⁵ yet further measures are needed. Rehn and Sirleaf note that, "Although codes of conduct can be useful tools for deterring peacekeeping violations, this code is a skeletal outline of basic human rights principles and trivializes violations against women, referring to 'immoral acts of sexual, physical or psychological abuse' or 'exploitation' of the local population especially women and children"⁴⁶. Significant for women will be the effects at national levels, with states setting in motion processes of national law reform. To implement such measures successfully, gender representation, if not gender balance of women and men in top policy-making positions, is required. One key means of developing these processes is to encourage greater representation of women in political bodies. Much work has been done on this and on issues of gender justice by women and women's groups in Kosova, Afghanistan and internationally. However, hard fought agendas for gender mainstreaming can become side-tracked into 'training exercises' that sometimes do not recognise the political issues of changing power relations between men's and women's social, economic and political positioning in societies and within international structures and agendas. As the enhanced role for civil society is a key aspect in promoting human security generally, of which gender mainstreaming forms a part, the (under) resourcing of the women's NGO sector is significant.

Under-resourcing equality

In theory, post-war creation (rather than reconstruction) of new institutional and societal formations is an excellent situation from which to address existing gender inequalities and to extend gender awareness in policy making. This requires planning and resources to support women's involvement in re/construction, from bilateral and multilateral donors. It

involves questions about the volume of aid, means of distribution, timing and its intended purpose, plus any attached conditions. Much media attention and international reporting focuses on the need to support women in transitions from war to peace. Pictures of women and children refugees from Kosova and women's suffering under the Afghan regime were widely displayed in the media. Yet, the 2002 Needs Assessment for Afghanistan, prepared by the World Bank, did not include any specific sector for women or gender issues. Rehn and Sirleaf show that only .07 per cent of funds were requested for women's specific projects in the \$1.7 billion UN-sponsored Immediate and Transitional Assistance program for 2002. "The World Bank Group Transitional Support Strategy for Kosovo does not mention gender or women at all. Nor did the UNMIK Consolidated Budget for 2002, except for a gender-training project costing \$31,000 or approximately .006 per cent of the total budget of \$467 million."⁴⁷

These figures speak volumes about rhetoric and reality in terms of the human interest in supporting women's needs. Media interest in "women's problems" is high, yet it is often only the smaller feminist donors that actually give direct support to women's projects within a gender-sensitive context.

In Kosova the lack of funds, in a gender-aware framework of planning, highlighted the reasons why implementation of the \$US10 million *Kosovo Women's Initiative* (KWI) needed careful organisation to maximise gender equity and to support women and girls *over time*. The KWI funding followed similar initiatives in Bosnia (BWI\$US 5m) and Rwanda (RWI\$US 7m) and expectations among civic groups, particularly women's groups, were high for both the implementation and monitoring change. Yet there was frustration and disappointment with its administration without the necessary gender

sensitisation and longer-term planning.⁴⁸ Learning lessons on gender-based approaches, sections of the UNHCR in Kosova drew on the Bosnian experience very directly, especially in implementing KWI funds. Relevant comparisons included the need to mainstream analyses made from women's experience of working on GBV, but the situation in Kosova was that Kosovar Albanian women had been developing their own groups, actively involved in their own assistance and protection programmes, throughout the 1990s. The KWN website gives a chronology of some such activities⁴⁹. Their experience in Kosovar Albanian human rights groups, NGOs and working internationally (with Helsinki Citizens Assembly 1991, UN Beijing Conference 1995) meant that, although small in number, some Kosovar Albanian women were very well trained and organised in community work with women. Local criticism of implementing KWI programmes also focused on funding processes that lacked transparency, with funding channelled through international umbrella groups that seemed to operate ad hoc decisions on speedy expenditure rather than develop strategic longer-term plans within gender-sensitive frameworks (e.g. educational fund for girls). The UNHCR is a service largely based on emergency aid, not on long-term development practice. Without care, much funding could be squandered on non-sustainable projects, with local groups developing *only in response* to perceived international needs and dependent on international short-term funding. Such instances, coupled with the militarisation of aid into the 21st century, raise large questions regarding the gendered agendas of resourcing equality.

Human rights/human security

By its nature traffic in women entails situations of violence, social control with complex interrelations between migration, human trafficking and smuggling⁵⁰. Issues of women's

agency, security, victimisation and resistance are central. Ways to conceptualise human security form an international debate. One Norwegian government report explains human security in gendered terms of economic, civic and reproductive⁵¹. Many women need to earn their livelihoods, often as single household heads and paid employment is a vital issue. Some women are constrained to agree to inhumane working conditions, which can degenerate into 'slavery-like' conditions of prostitution, as their only source of income. Traffic in women in militarised conditions synthesises the use of force and social control of women into prostitution in particular ways. Conditions of militarisation spread beyond immediate conflict zones and make it easier for women to be forced into prostitution in western countries. Criminal and human rights legislation often operate uneasily alongside military actions, UN sanctions and ministerial directives, in reinforcing or attempting to combat such human rights abuses. Changes to legislation, with regard to human rights and migration, are considered by some feminist analysts to generate workable conditions to combat some basic aspects of how women are trafficked into prostitution. While the trade in human beings is illegal almost everywhere, the multi-million profits pursued by criminal organisations fuels growth with trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation: "a shadow market valued at US \$7 billion annually"⁵². This growth has brought trafficking onto numerous political and human rights agendas and has led to new definitions of the issues and discourses, as well as innovative policy solutions to the many-layered problems. The ways in which considerations of prostitution and migration are politically framed can decide and formulate adopted policy strategies. How human trafficking is viewed radically affects policy proposals. Helga Konrad proposes that trafficking in human beings must not be seen

primarily or exclusively from the perspectives of national security; of national protective interests; or as a fight against organised crime and illegal migration. Human trafficking is first and foremost a violation of human rights⁵³.

Considering a women's human rights perspective on war and conflict, Sunila Abeyesekera explains that the focus from women activists has shown the ways in which the use of violence as a dispute-resolving mechanism - in both public and private arenas - breeds intolerance and prejudice at all levels of society. Linking issues of peace and issues of militarisation, women activists have shown that: "This involves not only looking at the 'normalization' of war and of military life styles and ideals in society in terms of its impact on women, but also questioning the economic aspects of war and links to the growing-military industrial complex worldwide in terms of its impact on all marginalized communities"⁵⁴. In situations of conflict, or impoverishment after conflict, women are often forced to maintain their own and their families' livelihoods by working in the informal sector, unprotected and outside traditional community life. Many women separated by force from their families during war were abducted and compelled to stay as prostitutes. Innumerable women and girls are raped repeatedly, many see parents and siblings killed by armed groups and will remain scarred for the rest of their lives. While trafficking affects everyone it is clear that women and girls are disproportionately affected: "The gender-dimension of the crime and human rights violation named 'trafficking in human beings' is, to a great extent, facilitated by the feminization of poverty and other violations of the economic and social rights of women and girls. Marcoux notes that of 1,300 million persons worldwide estimated to be poor, 70 per cent are women"⁵⁵. This percentage is especially high in countries of transition and post-conflict areas".⁵⁶ Although women constitute the

largest group of those who are poor throughout the world, with poverty and marginalisation root causes of trafficking, poverty alone does not explain the increases in trafficking.

Several studies support the evidence that women from some poor countries, and certain ethnic groups such as Roma, are more likely to be trafficked to the West than women from other poor countries⁵⁷. Here it is important to recognise the only frame for understanding these issues is that of human rights as neither narrow criminal agendas regarding mafia profits nor those concerned with clandestine migration encapsulate the overall issues. Freedom from poverty and well-being is the right of everyone. Gender-based violence includes life-threatening deprivation of resources such as malnutrition and inadequate health care. One ghastly effect of such violence against women is the increased vulnerability to the scourge of HIV/AIDS, leaving many women with short lives and households and communities with unimaginable burdens. In the negotiations, counselling and therapeutic work with women survivors, local women's NGOs excel, with evidence from this case-work helping to build the justification for changing legislation⁵⁸.

International policy approaches:

The multinational aspect to trafficking, involving people from several countries, includes opportunities to move operations at short notice. Much national legislation just 'displaces' the problem, with changing immigration laws moving activities further 'underground' or through implementing restrictions that result in a shift of activities to another country. Criminal elements establish links between profits for mafia groups, privileges for soldiers and ab/use of power by police and enforcement agencies. Since the early 1990s many states have been committed to eliminating all forms of traffic in women including by ensuring adequate legal prohibitions against such acts and other appropriate measures⁵⁹.

Yet the problems continue to expand and flourish. Immigration laws and policies that consider trafficked women as clandestine migrants, and therefore immediately deportable, discourage women from coming forward. Relatively few government programmes have been introduced to assist women ensnared into trafficking to make realistic choices - to remain in the country of destination, prepare for their voluntary return home or assist them when they return⁶⁰. The surge in activity at governmental levels since 2000 has seen the establishment of the Trafficking Task Force under the Stability Pact for SEE⁶¹. In its work the OSCE confirms that trafficking cuts across all dimensions: the *human dimension* by stripping victims of their rights; the *politico-military dimension* of security with transnational organised criminal groups thriving on the proceeds of trafficking; the *economic dimension* as trafficking exists largely because of economic and social inequalities between, and within, countries⁶². The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) has launched a number of anti-trafficking initiatives that cover a wide range of thematic issues and also a wide geographic area. A regional plan of action was developed as a model for national plans of action for the countries of the region. According to the model, major areas of concern are research and assessment, raising awareness and prevention. Issues of prevention address social and economic causes, victim assistance and support, return and reintegration assistance, law reform, law enforcement, international law enforcement, co-operation and co-ordination⁶³. While co-ordination across national and international contexts remains a key aim, the development and implementation of legislation and codes of practice has been uneven with, often contradictory, impacts on the human rights of migrants.

In the 21st century, the new UN *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (Trafficking Protocol), developed as part of the Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime, extends the evolution of international legislation. Barbara Sullivan highlights the significance for feminist analysts of the Trafficking Protocol as it works to conceptualise a 'new' international problem, establishes the first definition of trafficking in international law and posits a (gendered) relationship between traffickers, prostitutes and sexual exploitation. As such: "The Protocol is, then, a document actively involved in the construction of meaning and possibility in the global domain and may have an important impact on the global status of women"⁶⁴. Sullivan presents the strengths (new rights for trafficking victims and state prevention requirements) and also the major weaknesses she finds in the Trafficking Protocol. Old debates about whether women are helped by 'special measures' or by policies concerned with 'equality for all' are apparent and the Protocol clearly takes the first approach. Finding an agreed definition of trafficking remains problematic. The definition I use follows that contained in the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, which supplements the UN Convention on Transnational Organised Crime adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 2000⁶⁵. Distinction is made between trafficked persons and smuggled migrants, with the smuggling of persons constituting an illegal border crossing (violation against the state) with trafficking in human beings a violation of the rights of the individual victims. Obviously, in people's experiences there are considerable areas of overlap between these as is shown in data collected from sources varying from NGOs to governmental⁶⁶. Clearly there is no general understanding or acceptance of trafficking amongst those

working in the field. Sometimes all migration of young women is classed as trafficking yet situations of internal trafficking, with no bordered crossed, are often ignored and the rights of IDPs are considerably marginalised⁶⁷. Practices used to force women into prostitution can be similar whether women are forcibly moved across borders or to different parts of a city.

Different approaches to trafficking imply differing strategies⁶⁸. Moral perspectives, regarding trafficking and prostitution as evil, aim at control and punishment and can lead to stigmatisation of victims. Criminal approaches share similar risks of finding women guilty of prostitution or illegal migration. Migration approaches argue for stricter border controls and reflect state interests that can penalise individuals. Human rights perspectives offer two analyses: prostitution as a human rights violation is to be abolished, or, the conditions in which women in prostitution live (facing deceit, abuse, violence, debt-bondage, blackmail, deprivation of freedom of movement and so on) need to be tackled. Whether or not prostitution is viewed as legal work, and it is not legal in Afghanistan or Kosova, raises arguments regarding labour opportunities and working rights, including state benefits for women in prostitution. Protection extended to prostituted women as workers links with debates on issues of forced labour⁶⁹. It is clear that viewing trafficking primarily as an issue of migration or national security, and not as a human rights violation, has consequences of criminalising victims of trafficking. Feminist human rights activists, as noted, support decriminalisation with a human rights approach, either viewing abolition of prostitution, or eliminating the awful conditions of women living in prostitution endure. Incorporating international human rights standards, feminist international solutions propose the successful enforcement and monitoring of women's human rights as the most productive

way to gender debate and gauge positive changes. Decriminalisation of prostitution and related acts, and the application of existing human rights and labour rights for sex workers are central debates⁷⁰. There are no easy answers or direct paths to alleviating women's exploitation in prostitution. Certainly the work of local women's groups and that of international feminist analysts go a long way towards setting an agenda for the inclusion of women into the framework of inclusive policy- and decision-making that is the key to generating lasting change mindful of gendered power imbalances.

In the changing international legal climate, it is apparent that grassroots groups and NGOs have different, and often contradictory approaches, to those of states. NGOs work to assist and protect women victims of trafficking whereas states focus on restricting illegal migration and organised crime. New international protocols raise issues of legal interpretations and protection while grassroots networking points to innovative ways of working and generating new knowledge bases to further educate and inform on the complex interrelations between migration, trafficking and prostitution. The arena of international intervention to protect survivors of trafficking is one area that brings closer the work of grassroots groups and international agencies such as the International Organisation for Migration. Often police see themselves limited by lack of detention space, and by the extreme slowness of the criminal procedures⁷¹. In Afghanistan the poor functioning of the legal system coupled with the lack of legal aid, access for women in approaching courts, inadequate provision for shelters and lack of guidelines for police all combine to make women's lives unsafe and their recourse to resist abuse limited. The multinational nature of traffic increases these difficulties as there are no linguistic, religious or cultural barriers in these sophisticated criminal networks.

Social capital - community organisation:

As power relations shift and change during and following war, recognising the role of community activism by women is crucial. During the post-conflict reconstruction process: 'the rebuilding of "social infrastructure", the "social capital" in local communities, is as important as interventions to improve economic and political infrastructure'⁷². Social capital is viewed as a significant component in struggles for peace, justice and reconciliation. Many women's community groups recognise feminist analyses of violence as forming a continuum through economic, political and social interactions, necessitating gender analysis to see the varying implications for women/girls and for men/boys. Often discussions with women regarding violence come from an experiential base which regards as 'common sense' that men/boys are given second values in society⁷³. Cockburn has highlighted women's relations and responsibilities in developing societal cohesion during conflict situations through women-dominated organisations⁷⁴. In the context of gender and social capital in war Moser and McIlwaine emphasise the high levels of trust placed in women-run organisations which play a central role in the formulation and implementation of violence reduction strategies, particularly those aims at rebuilding social capital. Recognising the limitations of female-dominated organisations means the avoidance of exaggerating their importance and their study emphasises the importance of a gender analysis that emphasises 'female and male members both in formal organisations, as well as in more informal networks of trust reciprocity'⁷⁵. Community activism by women in changing circumstances is recognised as playing a central role in varying ways throughout conflict situations (women remaining in charge of households, farms, community health needs and women involved as combatants and in resistance movements). Women's

activism for peaceful reconstruction and community building range from counselling and supporting women survivors of violence, to local political interventions, generating co-operation with international institutions (such as NATO, OSCE) and generating feminist analyses in administering peace and gaining justice.

Analyses that consider key aspects with regard to women's activism and changing gender relations across the various stages of conflict and the continuum of violence contribute to deeper understanding of the roles played by community organisations run and managed by women. These show their pivotal role in conflict situations in providing basic needs, occupying 'advocacy space' and fostering trust essential in reconciliation processes. The dramatic ruptures inflicted by war and conflict generally destroy or undermine trust and cohesion within communities⁷⁶. Moving from victims to actors in peacebuilding, Cordero analyses the role of social organisations, particularly the rural women's popular movement in Peru, in continuing process of building a sustainable peace. Outlining how 'social capital plays a strategic role in building sustainable peace'⁷⁷. A democratic and participative model, Cordero proposes, offers favourable conditions for integrating women into the peace process. Often the hurdles that women have to overcome to enter the political arena include the response of other local groups to 'public politics'. Certainly one difficult linkage historically has been between grassroots activists and political candidates at municipal and regional or even UN levels. Recently much work has been undertaken by women to secure such links recognising gender specific needs in these political arenas⁷⁸. In Kosova women choosing to stand in the first municipal elections in 2000 had to work hard to overcome the mistrust of some grassroots women's groups who were wary of involvement with UNMIK-led political developments. In building their Women's Electoral

Coalition various groups collaborated in ways to overcome these tensions and misgivings in working towards the first step in women winning electoral seats⁷⁹. In Afghanistan the barriers have proved more difficult to overcome not least in terms of women and public space and locating overall authority across the country.

One key measure to achieve justice is the increased participation of women in politics. Lessons learnt regarding the absence of women in governance as an obstacle to democratisation, meant that grassroots groups in Kosova and Afghanistan took some steps, in line with international opportunities, to widen access and integrate women into governance structures. Often this meant overcoming traditional barriers (material and psychological) to grassroots and governmental working. A recent example of women's protest was from Kosovar Women's Network when women meeting with the Security Council were given only 10 minutes at the end of the day and very few women were actually included in the mission⁸⁰. Much ongoing work to achieve gender-based violence reduction/elimination recognises that many women survivors are unlikely to see justice yet some are involved in the creation of international legal frameworks to address grievances at all levels. As victims of trafficking into prostitution many women remain in need of support, and the lack of a rule of law easily encourages the rule of the physically powerful especially for high profits. With rapid change ongoing throughout formerly tightly-knit societies, such as those in Afghanistan and Kosova, there are possibilities for women to overcome some of the trauma experienced only if they have access to services and educational opportunities provided in a local context, within a supportive framework. Sustained direct support for longstanding local women's groups who can network widely would alleviate some of the problems of how to adequately support trafficked women who

remain or return. Making links across different ethnicities following conflict is something that some women's groups have been working for in their communities for many years. In the violence of immediate post-conflict, groups such as Motrat Qiriazhi working in Mitrovica, Kosova were continuing their work with Serb and Roma women⁸¹. The increasing traffic of Roma women and girls into prostitution across SEE is causing grave concern. Anecdotal experience needs to be translated into reliable data in order to enact monitoring and protective measures⁸².

Feminist activist research highlights the need for changes in the current national and international conventions and legislation. As has been shown the most commonly cited remedies such as increasing legalisation, and increasing border controls, do not necessarily help in solving the problems. Clamping down on immigration can increase demand for the use of illegal channels as ways to enter a country to find work. This makes women more vulnerable to being tricked into sexual slavery situations. In trying to assist trafficked women at grassroots level, acting locally while thinking globally, can be very dangerous for grassroots groups even working closely with the police. In most instances, mafia connections, military connections or multinational criminal business links are such that the money to be made across any borders is so vast that official complicity is often involved. Complaining to local officials is sometimes not a direct option. Rather than focusing on the victims of traffic, Long proposes three specific interventions that would address some underlying conditions. Western European countries could provide legal migration regimes to allow for short-term, circular labour migration from Eastern to Western Europe in critical economic sectors (nursing, construction); structural adjustment programmes to include the development of social safety nets targeted for the most

vulnerable groups; law enforcement efforts should be targeted to attacking high-level, organised corruption of public officials⁸³. These interventions go to the root of some issues associated with the feminisation of poverty.

NGOs monitoring UN behaviour:

In reviewing records of peacekeeping missions in East Timor and Kosova Carey emphasises the crucial role of NGOs: 'NGOs carry a particular responsibility' to monitor states and UN bodies involved in peace missions and 'to promote these revolutionary changes in state and UN behaviour'⁸⁴. As women often form the core of community NGOs associated with conflict resolution and peace-building, a gendered analysis of peace missions is crucial for monitoring progressive change. Having Kosovar women activists in camps with refugees enabled them to help Kosovar Albanian rape victims at earlier stages than was the case in Bosnia. Clearly in tightly-knit communities where kinship ties are strengthened by codes of honour for women's chastity and men's role in protection, the raping of women is designed to pull apart families, clans and communities. NGOs in Kosova and Afghanistan, have been important in continually attempting to steer the international agendas of UNMIK into gender-balanced and locally-based courses that have been proven to be the most fruitful and empowering avenues for change.

Building peace implies something that has to be constructed and which will remain in place for some time. Conventional peace-building methods do not capture the full range of areas across which women work towards regenerating their communities. As noted, women often work at grassroots levels doing very practical work such as trauma therapy, counselling, legal and business advice, this creates and sustains dialogue between groups that are in conflict. One tool used by women's groups to reduce polarisation is to organise

around political interests shared by women. This group work is ongoing across many post-conflict societies. Another tool is group process, which helps to ensure all voices are heard, given equal weight and decision-making is fully shared. Talking face-to-face contradicts the destructive 'othering' processes, allowing alternatives to develop. By sharing routinely, practical tasks, grassroots groups working together become conscious of group process and of what is achievable⁸⁵. This is a completely different way of working than hierarchical, top-down initiatives employed by military or governmental structures. The ways that higher levels of trust are gained in women-dominated organisations has relevance for the possibility of groups rebuilding social capital as part of conflict resolution work.

Conclusions:

The intersection of IR/IPE considerations regarding the phenomenal international market in women is apparent across many fields of analysis. In the political realm, that potential contributions from women in Kosova and Afghanistan have been marginalised and undermined in various ways was apparent in the lack of regard for mainstreaming gender issues *within* the political and policy-making processes. Few Kosovar or Afghan women were appointed to key decision-making positions and women's work in the emergent politics was not acknowledged. In restructuring the political scenes some UN decision-makers chose to work in a top-down manner, consulting only with those they considered to be the male power brokers. This effectively denied community leaders, local NGOs and wider sections of the community their voice in the newly established systems. Lack of local "ownership" of the processes leads to lack of trust. These processes need to be two-way and transparent. In addressing issues of gender, power and agency with power seen as a

male monopoly Mulholland emphasises the important of women's agency in promoting the need to transform power and change decision-making processes. Inclusion of those on the margins, enabling them to enter decision-making process on equal terms, is vital⁸⁶. It could be argued that rather than meeting with emancipation movements such as those for women's rights, the UN administrations initially "smothered" such activities, being unable to see their true value in context.

There is evidence of success between the actions of women's community groups on the ground and international recognition of such work, particularly from feminist international human rights groups and bodies such as UNIFEM. Gaining international institutional recognition of the crimes of violence against women, particularly in the arena of trafficking in women, has been one area of action and analysis which has finally registered on elite political agendas. The rhetoric of violence reduction, with provision and protection for women victims, is being translated into legislative gains and international action with feminist human rights activism and analyses have intervened to make strategic inroads into developing 'new' policy agendas. The UN General Assembly's resolution on Traffic in Women and Girls⁸⁷ is being followed, particularly in strengthening national programmes. There is now some willingness to acknowledge women's long-term, significant work using gender analyses as integral with "social capital" central to struggles for peace, justice and reconciliation⁸⁸. That many groups and organisations are struggling on several fronts at once is apparent. The recognition of women's agency and survival are fundamental to enabling these simultaneous struggles against women's secondary positioning, poverty, restrictive immigration controls and violence against women at all levels.

- ¹ See initially J. Ann Tickner *Gendering World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press 2001)
- ² Issues of difference between women are crucial in feminist studies. See Avtar Brah *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge 1996).
- ³ There is much feminist analysis and critique on violence against women in war and 'domestic peace' but only recently is the recognition of this gendered impact of war become part of the international human rights institutional frameworks of bodies such as the UN, OSCE and UNICEF.
- ⁴ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen J. Sirleaf, *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building* (New York: UNIFEM, 2002)
- ⁵ UN Security Council, *Resolution on Women and Peace and Security*, S/RES/2000/1325 (October 31, 2000)
- ⁶ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security, S/2002/1154 (October 16, 2002)
- ⁷ See Rehn and Sirleaf 2002 p.vi
- ⁸ Chris Corrin 'Traffic in women in war and peace: Mapping experiences in Southeast Europe' *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* (forthcoming 2004)
- ⁹ Efforts to introduce gender mainstreaming into peacekeeping missions are notable, yet long overdue, since they are hardly new ideas.
- ¹⁰ One aspect of this situation in Kosovo saw a demonstration in October 2003 against the corruption and 'colonial' ways of the UN protectorate. See 'Angry Kosovars call on 'colonial' UN occupying force to leave' *The Sunday Observer* October 19 2003
- ¹¹ Hugh F. Carey 'Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations?' in L. Olsson and R. L. Tryggstad (eds) *Women and International Peacekeeping* (London: Frank Cass 2001) pp. 49-68
- ¹² See Anna Yeatman 'Feminism and Power' in M.L. Shanley and U. Narayan (eds) *Reconstructing Political Theory: Feminist Perspectives* (Oxford, Polity Press 1997) p.145
- ¹³ See Valerie Bryson, *Feminist Political Theory* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1992); Diana Coole, *Women in Political Theory* (Hemel: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988); Chris Corrin, *Feminist Perspectives on Politics* (London: Pearson, 1999)
- ¹⁴ See C. Moser and F. Clark *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?* (London: Zed Books 2001) and C. Cockburn *The space between us* (London: Zed Books 1998)
- ¹⁵ Chris Corrin, 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Gender Analysis in Kosovo' *International Journal of Feminist Politics* 3:1 (2001), pp.78-98
- ¹⁶ See Figure 3.1 in Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark (eds) 2001 p.36
- ¹⁷ Caroline Moser 'The Gendered continuum of Violence and Conflict: An Operational Framework' in Moser and Clark 2001 pp. 30-52
- ¹⁸ Chris Corrin 'Engendering citizenship: feminist resistance to male violence in "Europe"' in V. Ferreira, T. Tavares and S. Portugal (eds) *Shifting Bonds, Shifting Bounds: Women, Mobility and Citizenship in Europe* Celta Editora 1998
- ¹⁹ See initially I. Skhelsbaek 'Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenge for Peace Operations?' in Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggstad (eds) *Women and International Peacekeeping* (London: Frank Cass 2001) pp.69-84
- ²⁰ UNIFEM Study *Women War and Peace* notes: "Throughout the world women experience violence because they are women, and often because they do not have the same rights or autonomy that men do" 2002:10
- ²¹ See Catherine Rathgeber 'The Victimization of Women through Human Trafficking - An Aftermath of War?' *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice* Vol. 10/2-3, pp. 152-163 2002
- ²² International Organisation for Migration 2001 Survey see www.iom.org
- ²³ Developments in legislation and activism by women's groups are outline in Helsinki Citizen's Assembly *Violence Against Women in Central and Eastern Europe* (Prague: hCa publications No. 8 1993)
- ²⁴ Cynthia Enloe *Bananas, Bases and Beaches: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations* (London: Pandora Press 1989)
- ²⁵ A good study on migrant women's situations is United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees *Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons: Guidelines for Prevention and Response* with foreword by Ruud Lubbers United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (New York May 2003)
- ²⁶ This is true of local and international police (in Kosovo there are both). Evidence related in various surveys cited here from victims of trafficking highlights the complicity of police and other officials, not only in the abuse of prostituted women but in the collection of profits from their traffic.

²⁷ See initially Corrin *Feminist Perspectives on Politics* 1999

²⁸ For Kosova see Rachel Wareham *No Safe Place: An Assessment on Violence against Women in Kosovo* (Prishtina, UNIFEM 2000); and on Afghanistan see 'No one listens to us and no one treats us as human beings: Justice denied to women' Amnesty International AI Index ASA 11/023/2003 6 October 2003 www.web.amnesty.org/library/index/engasa110232003

²⁸ Many authors have raised innumerable questions about both interventions in terms of being US/UK led without UN backing. See Michael Davis, Wolfgang Dietrich, Bettina Scholdan, and Dieter Sepp (eds.) *International Intervention in the Post-Cold-War World: Moral Responsibility and Power Politics* (New York: M.E.Sharpe 2003) and Noam Chomsky *A New Generation Draws the Line: Kosovo, East Timor and the Standards of the West* (London: Verso 2000)

³⁰ Chris Corrin 'The Power of Responsible Peace: Engendering Reconstruction in Kosova' in Davis, Dietrich, Scholdan, and Sepp 2003 pp.

³¹ See Julie Mertus, *War's Offensive on Women: The Humanitarian Challenge in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 2000); Rehn and Sirleaf, *Women, War and Peace* 2002; UN Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, 53rd session of the Commission on Human Rights (EC/CN.4/1997/47), February 12, 1997

³² Various articles addressing these topics are to be found in the *Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*, 1998-1999

³³ See Chris Corrin 'Gender Audit' (2000) and 'Integrating Gender Analysis in UN Mission in Kosova' *Democracy in Practice* 13/2&3 2003 pp. 189-207

³⁴ For a full consideration of these issues see Jane Barry with Anna Jefferys 'A bridge too far: aid agencies in humanitarian response' (London: Humanitarian Practice Network for Overseas Development Institute, January 2002)

³⁵ Specific discussion of this development is contained in the Final Report of the Commission of Experts of the United Nations established to analyse evidence of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia (1995 Report p.60 para. 251). Feminist analyses of these policy development are contained in Julie Peters and Andrea Wolpe (eds) *Women's Rights Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives* (New York, Routledge 1995)

³⁶ Wareham *No Safe Place: An Assessment of violence against women in Kosovo* 2000

³⁷ Cynthia Enloe *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* 1989

³⁸ See initially Lepa Mladjenovic and Divna Matijasevic 'Dirty Streets' in Corrin 1996 pp.119-132.

³⁹ There have been many studies of war violence and prostitution of women in this context including that of Cynthia Enloe *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1993) and the International Organisation for Migration Study 1995. Also on Kosova see Wareham *No Safe Place: An Assessment on Violence against Women in Kosovo* 2000 pp.79-101

⁴⁰ UNIFEM Report *Women War and Peace*, October 2002 www.unifem.org

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Balkan Crisis Report No. 460 'Trading in Misery: Trafficking in women in the Balkans' Institute for War & Peace Reporting p.3

see www.iwpr.net September 15 2003

⁴³ Amnesty International Report 'No-one listens to use and no-one treats us as human beings: Justice denied to women in Afghanistan' p.12 www.web.amnesty.org/library/index/engasa110232003

⁴⁴ UN Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, 53rd session of the Commission on Human Rights, EC/CN.4/1997/47 (February 12, 1997)

⁴⁵ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security, para 45

⁴⁶ Rehn and Sirleaf, *Women, War and Peace* 2002 p.72

⁴⁷ ibid pp.124-5

⁴⁸ Corrin 'Integrating Gender Analysis in UN Mission in Kosova' 2003

⁴⁹ www.womensnetwork.org

⁵⁰ Llewellyn D. Long 'Trafficking in Women and Children as a Security Challenge in Southeast Europe' *Southeast European and Black Seas Studies* 2:2 (May 2002) pp.53-68

⁵¹ S Ogata and Amartya. Sen (co-chairs) *Human Security Now*, Report of Commission on Human Security, New York 2003

⁵² Donna M. Hughes "The 'Natasha' Trade: Transnational Sex Trafficking" in *National Institute of Justice Journal*

January 2001 p.9.

⁵³ Trafficking in Human Beings in Southeastern Europe UNICEF June 2002 xiii

⁵⁴ Sunila Abeyesekera 'A Women's Human Rights Perspective on War and Conflict' on WHRnet February 2003 at <http://www.whrnet.org/docs/perspective-abeyesekera-0302.html>

⁵⁵ A Marcoux 'The Feminisation of Poverty: Facts, Hypotheses and the Art of Advocacy', *Sustainable Development Dimensions*, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations 1997 <http://www.Fao.org/sd/wpdirect/wpan015.htm>

⁵⁶ Angelika Kartusch 'Reference Guide for Anti-Trafficking Legislative Review' (Berlin: Ludwig Botzmann Institute of Human Rights and OSCE/ODIHR September 2001) p.6

⁵⁷ International Organisation for Migration *Trafficking and Prostitution: The Growing Exploitation of Migration Women from Central and Eastern Europe* Budapest, Migration Information Programme 1995; Chris Corrin 'Conclusion' *Women in a Violent World: Feminist Analyses and Resistance Across 'Europe'* pp.204-231 and *Trafficking in Human Beings in Southeastern Europe* UNICEF 2002

⁵⁸ Cockburn *The Space Between Us*: 1998; Corrin 'Integrating Gender Analysis in UN Mission in Kosova' 2003

⁵⁹ See <http://www.osce.org/odihr/docs/ap-traffic.htm> p.2

⁶⁰ Organisations such as the International Organisation for Migration are involved in just such assistance programmes to women who have been trafficked including establishing suites in police stations for women returning so that their first experience of return is not punishment in a prison cell.

⁶¹ For a full analysis of the expansion of Stability Pact developments within the context of reconstruction programmes in SEE see Corrin *Gender Audit of Reconstruction Programmes in South Eastern Europe* <http://www.womenscommission.org>

⁶² This dimension includes to liberty, dignity, security of person, the right not to be held in slavery, the right to be free from cruel and inhuman treatment, and - for the many trafficked minors - the other rights they are entitled to as children; security issues include that illicit profits are used to corrupt government officials, and the costs and risks to law enforcement agencies are greatly increased.

⁶³ See http://www.osce.org/odihr/attf/index.php3?sc=Action_Plan

⁶⁴ B. Sullivan Trafficking in Women: Feminism and New International Law *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5:1 (2003) 67-91 p.68

⁶⁵ For the text of the 'Women's Protocol' see <http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions>

⁶⁶ Many studies cited testify to the overlapping emphases applied to migration on issues of legal/illegal entry into a country and whether victims of trafficking are protected or criminalised. Changes in legislation and attitudes are compared in the two large UNICEF studies on Trafficking in Human Beings in Southeastern Europe in 2000 and 2002.

⁶⁷ For an excellent overview of prevention and response guidelines in this matter see *Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons* (New York: United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees May 2003)

⁶⁸ *Crossing Borders Against Trafficking in Women and Girls: A Resource Book for Working Against Trafficking in the Baltic Seas Region* (Oslo: Kvinnorforum 1999) pp.8-9

⁶⁹ Women leaving conflict areas to seek informal work often do so as accompanying dependants or clandestine emigrants without citizenship rights. 'Housework' is one of the most widespread forms of employment for women in foreign countries and allows for their recruitment into prostitution.

⁷⁰ Ann Lucas argues that analysts must recognise that prostitutes can be both victims and agents. A. Lucas 'Women and Prostitution' *Women and Human Rights Law* 1 (1999) pp. 683-726

⁷¹ Whereas ninety percent of foreign migrants involved in the 'sex industries' in the Balkan countries are victims of trafficking, not more than thirty five percent are recognised as such. Only seven percent of these receive long term assistance and support (Trafficking in Human Beings in Southeastern Europe UNICEF 2002) p. xv

⁷² Caroline Moser and Cathy McIlwaine 'Gender and Social Capital in Contexts of Political Violence' in Moser and Clark 2001 p.178

⁷³ For an example of this in a militarised context see Mladjenovic and Matijasevic in Corrin 1996 pp. 119-132.

⁷⁴ Cockburn *The Space Between Us* 2001

⁷⁵ Moser and McIlwaine 'Gender and Social Capital in Contexts of Political Violence' in Moser and Clark 2001 p.196

⁷⁶ Moser and Clark *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* 2001

⁷⁷ Isabel C. Cordero 'Social Organizations: From Victims to Actors in Peace Building' in Moser and Clark 2001 p. 163

⁷⁸ UNMIK, *Regulation No.2000/39- On the Municipal Elections in Kosovo*, UNMIK/REG/2000/39 (July 8, 2000) Section 4.2. See also Chris Corrin "Developing Democracy in Kosova: From Grassroots to Government" *Parliamentary Affairs* 55:1 (2002), pp. 99-108

For a breakdown and detailed statistics see OSCE press releases on municipal elections at www.osce.org/news/

⁷⁹ For details of this collaboration see Corrin 'Integrating Gender Analysis in UN Mission in Kosova' *Democracy in Practice* 2003

⁸⁰ See initially details on the women's network website www.womesnetwork.org

⁸¹ See Chris Corrin *Gender Audit of Reconstruction Programmes for Southeastern Europe* 2000

⁸² A recent Minority Rights Group seminar in Tirana in September 2003 highlighted the plight of Roma women with regard to trafficking into prostitution through the reports on local work work on gender and minority rights.

⁸³ Long 'Trafficking in Women and Children as a Security Challenge in Southeast Europe' 2002 pp.53-68

⁸⁴ Olsson and Tryggestad *Women and International Peacekeeping* 2001 p.64

⁸⁵ Cockburn *The Space Between Us* 2001

⁸⁶ Maria Mulholland 'The Challenge to Inequality: Women, Discrimination and Decision-Making in Northern Ireland' in in Moser and Clark (eds) 2001 pp. 164-177.

⁸⁷ The UN General Assembly *Traffic in Women and Girls* A/RES/53/116 9February 1, 1999

⁸⁸ Certainly reports from the UN Secretary General, Foreign Ministers G-8 Group and reviews by UNIFEM and UNHCR show the effort and resources being channelled into making use of women's skills and experience in this field.