

Armed conflict and gender

The Demographic Impact of Armed Conflict: a case study of
Rwanda and El Salvador

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Paper objectives

- Discuss how armed conflicts and civil wars affects demographic dynamics and induce to changes on demographic transition in developing countries.
- Discuss the dynamic trends comparing the pre and post-conflict situations and providing a comprehensive set of demographic facts in each of the phases.
- Cases of Rwanda and El Salvador.

Should we talk about demographic transition?

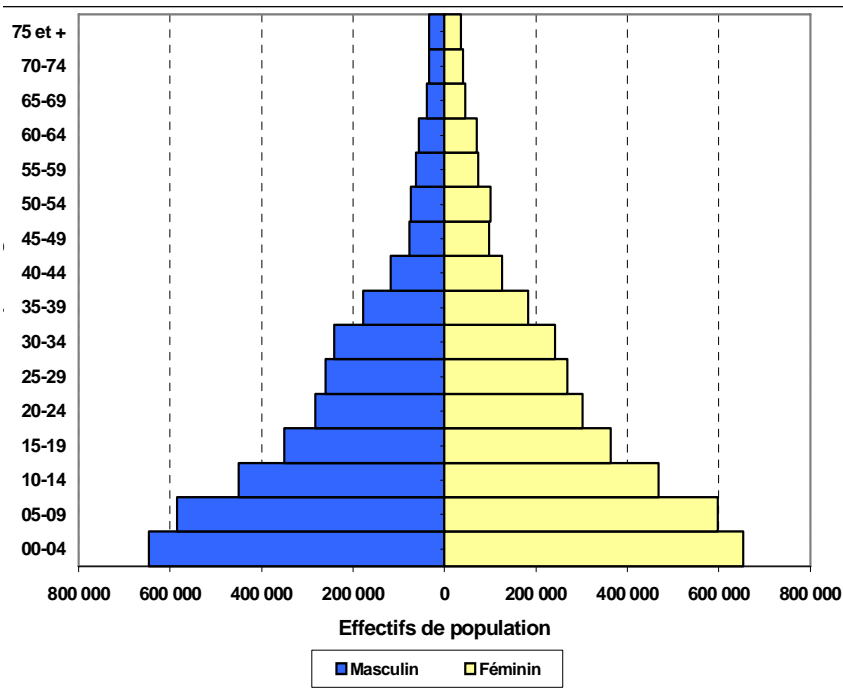
- What is this concept applicability to less developed countries, where the prerequisites for wealth, governance and information access to reduce both mortality and fertility are limited in the present context?
- The permanence of armed conflicts in less developed countries has been appointed as the key generator of many demographic and social issues, contributing to:
 - keep high mortality and fertility rates;
 - delaying the economic growth and the demand for human capital;
 - postponing the decline of the gender social gap and increasing the qualified workers migration and brain drain to developed countries as part of the process to feed the second demographic transition requirements in developed countries.

The case of Rwanda

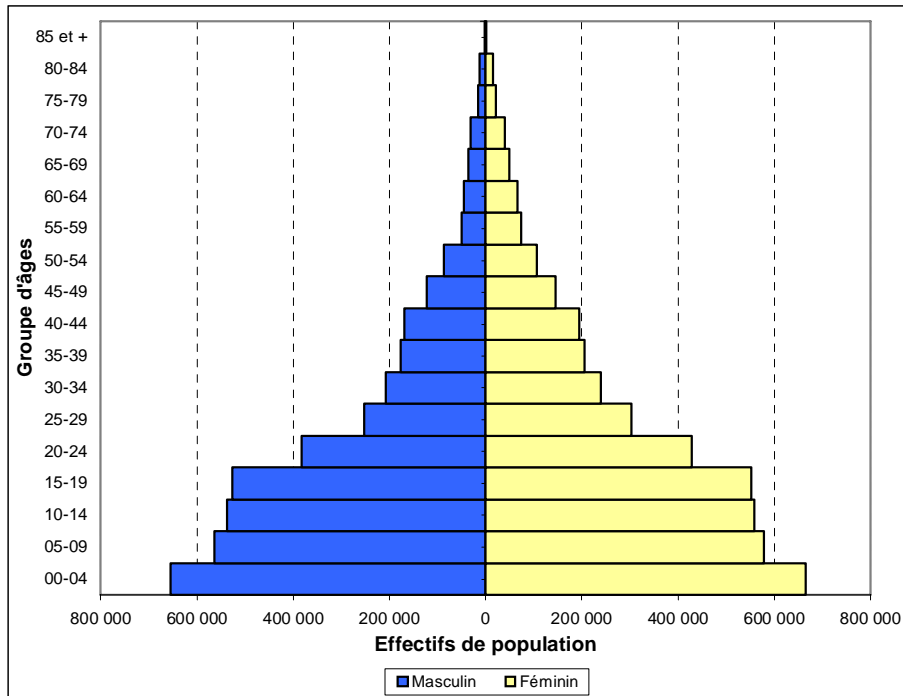
- During April and July of 1994, a tragedy episode of ethnic violence between the Hutu and the Tutsi killed more than one million people (mainly Tutsi and moderate Hutu) in only about 100 days and caused massive displacement of about 2 million people to neighboring countries.
- Rape and HIV infection was used as a "weapon" by the perpetrators of genocide campaign. **At least** 250,000 women were raped during the genocide, a large number of whom were subsequently executed.
- AVEGA, an association for genocide widows, carried out a study in 2000 of 1125 women who survived rape during the genocide and found that 67% had HIV-AIDS. AVEGA also estimates that 81% of survivors of violence during the genocide remained traumatized.

Age and Gender Demographic Structure. Rwanda 1991 and 2002.

1991



2002



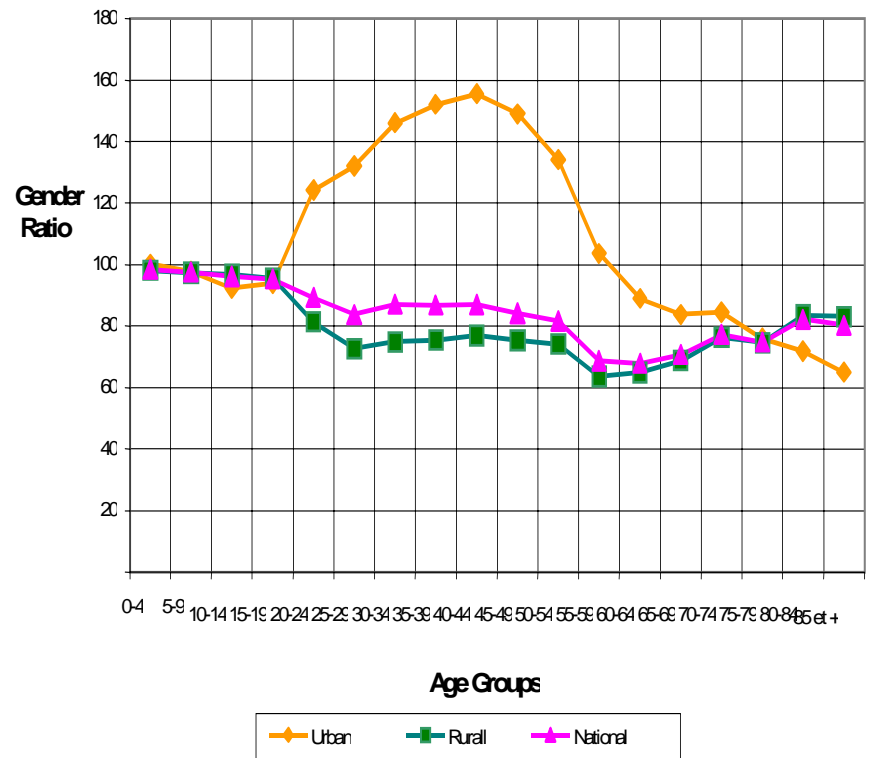
Comparing the two pyramids

- The 2002 age pyramid is wide at the base, narrowing rapidly as it reaches the upper age limits. This is an indication of a population with high fertility.
- There is significant falloff between 6 and 12 years old, it coincides with the 1990-1996 war, the massacres, genocide, the exile and the massive return of the population sheltered.
- The relative deficit of the strengths by gender, between 25 and 45 years, would come from the genocide effects.
- The shrinkage of the pyramid to the ages of 45 years and more would be due to the excess mortality probably related to the events of 1994 but also to the poor general health and sanitation conditions of the country.
- The gender imbalance can also be observed in all ages but more extensively between the populations over 45 years old with an excess of women.

Gender imbalance

- Rwanda had 91 men for 100 women in 2002, mostly due by the effects of war and genocide.
- In urban areas there are a higher proportion of men, but the inverse is observed in rural areas where the ratio reaches 87.5 men per 100 women.
- It results from the farming exodus of the mainly masculine populations in search of education and job opportunities in the cities.
- The total gender ratio presented an irregular fluctuation especially in the age groups of 20 years old and more. This reflects the impact of war and genocide in 1994 that caused higher levels of male mortality in adult ages and mass emigration of males to neighbor's countries to inflate the urban poverty.

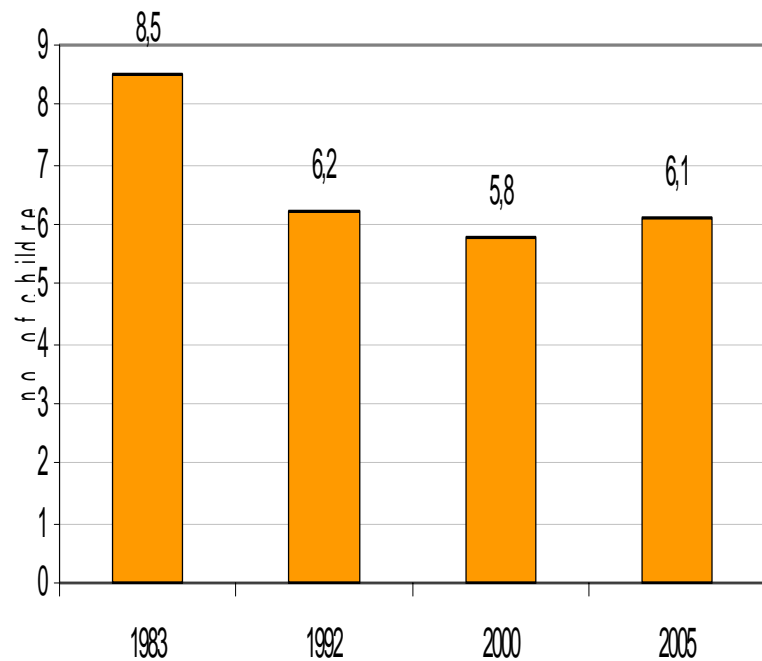
Gender Ratio according age groups and residence area - Rwanda (2002)



Impact on Fertility

- Increased fertility rates in the after war context (2000-2005);
- Breaking the trend of fertility reduction observed before;
- During the war the fertility reduction is associated with war stress;
- Fertility rates increased mostly in the ages 25-39 years old after the war period.

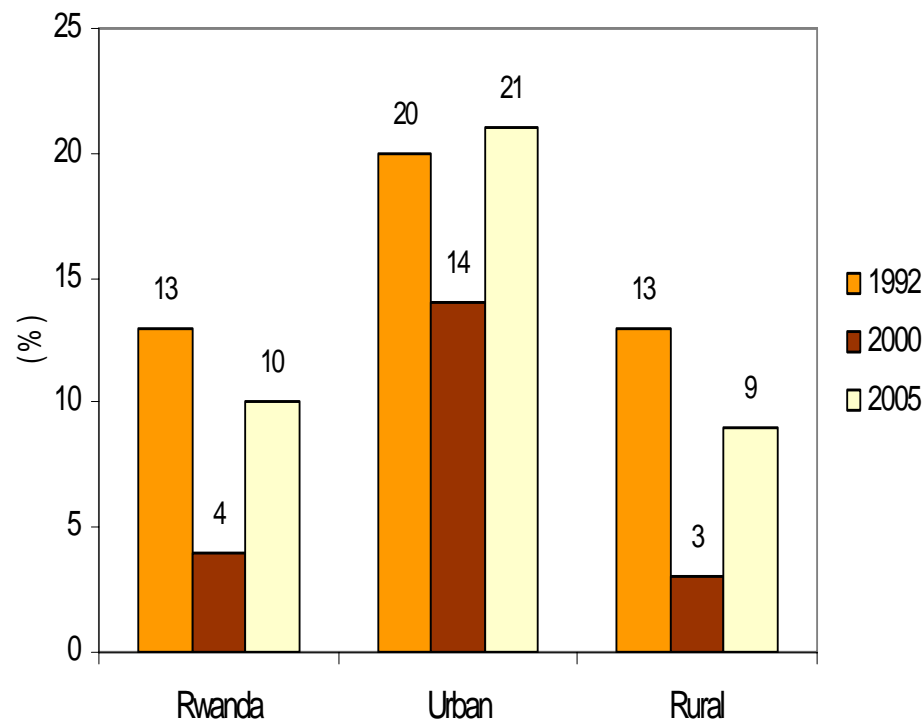
Rwanda Total Fertility Rates



Use of Contraceptive Methods

- Among married women, current use of modern methods dropped significantly from 13 percent to 4 percent between 1992 and 2000. Although it has increased since the 2000 survey, reaching 10 percent in 2005
- Current use of contraception nevertheless remains lower than the level observed in 1992 (13 percent).
- Prolonged armed conflicts could change the supply of contraceptive methods and change established behavior of couples and unmarried women into use these methods.
- In Rwanda, among sexually active unmarried women, the rate of condom use dropped from 11% in 2000 to 4 percent in 2005.

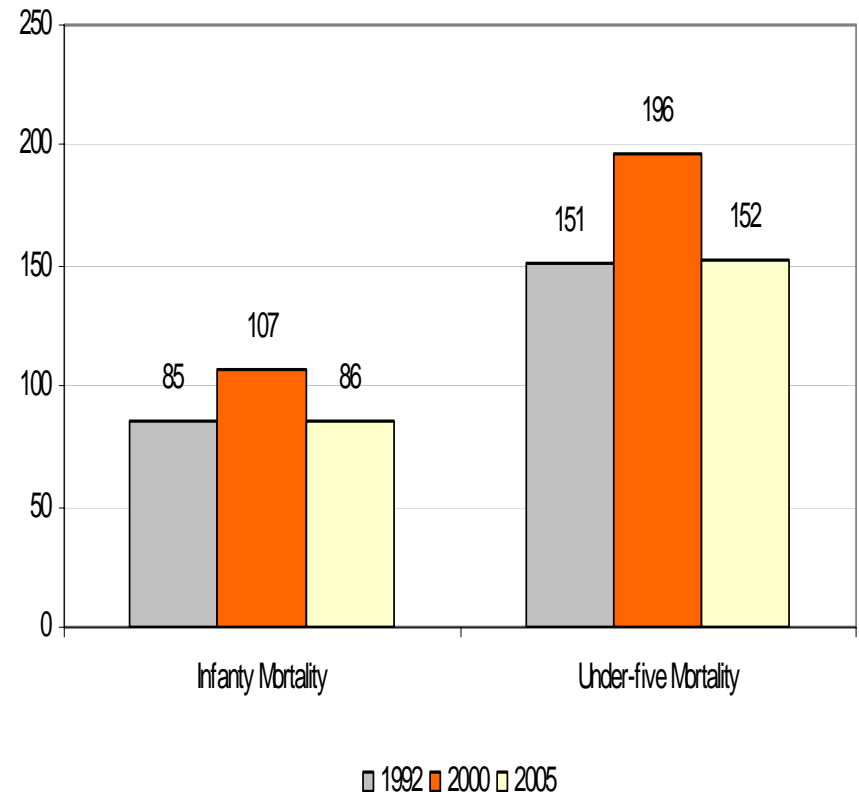
Trends in use of modern methods among currently married women Rwanda, 2005



Infant mortality and under-five child mortality

- The results from the Rwanda DHS 1992, 2000, 2005 suggest that in the post genocide there was a marked deterioration in child health outcomes.
- Comparing with the data from 1992, it can be seen that in 2000 there was a sharp increase in both infant and under-five mortality rates. In 2000, the infant mortality was 107 for every 1,000 live births and the under-five mortality 196 for 1,000 live births.
- The results for 2005 indicate that infant and under-five mortality rates have declined and returned to the levels as 1992. These trends suggest that, after the genocide of 1994, which had negative repercussions on childhood mortality in the mid and late 1990s, the situation has begun to improve in the past five years.

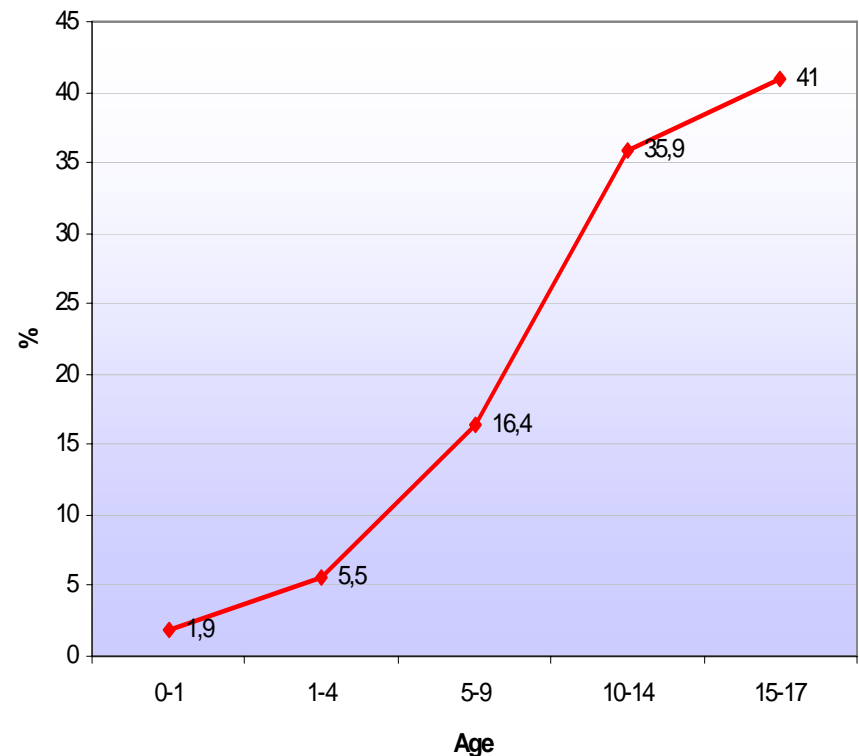
Trends in Infant and Under-five Mortality
Rwanda 1992, 2000 e 2005



Orphanhood

- One of the most devastating impacts of armed conflict is the increase in the number of children orphaned.
- Deprived of the protection of parents, such children are at increased risk of violence, exploitation, and abuse.
- According DHS Rwanda 2005 21% of children under age 18 have lost their father and/or mother.
- The proportion of children who have lost their father and/or mother increases from 2 percent at age 0 to 1 year, to 6 percent at age 2 to 4 years, to 16 percent at age 5 to 9 years.
- These proportions jump to very high levels among children age 10 to 14 (36 percent) and 15 to 17 (41 percent), largely due to the effects of the 1994 genocide.

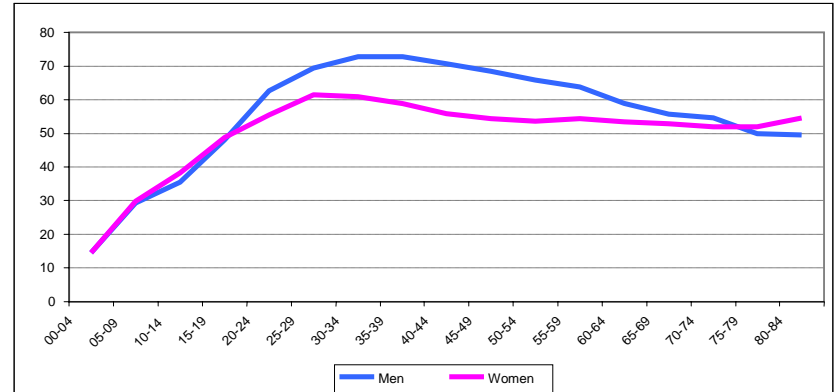
Percentage of children with one or both parents dead by children age, Rwanda 2005



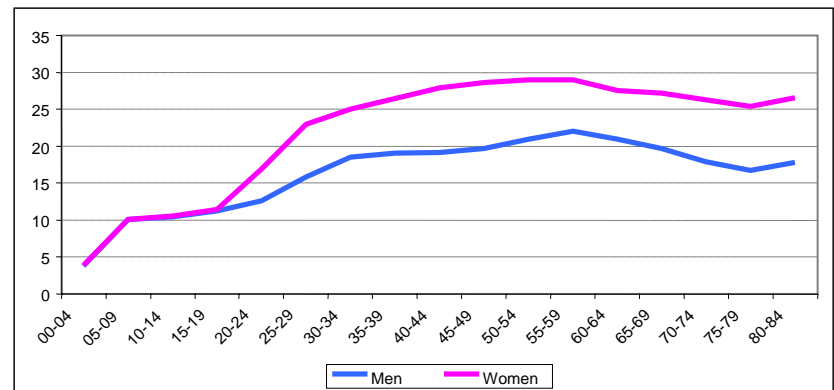
Migration trends

- In 1994, approximately two million Hutu refugees, most of whom participated in the genocide and feared Tutsi retribution, fled to neighboring Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). Many of them died in epidemics of cholera and dysentery that swept the refugee camps. It was the faster and most important displacement of populations of the contemporary African history.
- Two years later, from November 15, 1996 starts itself back a movement in the country, as fast as the one of the departure. One estimates to 793 thousands the number of the former Rwandan refugees gone back to Rwanda from 1994 to 1997.
- The migrating population constitutes more of 47% of the population of the urban areas. In rural areas it only constitutes 14% of the population.

Migrants as a share of urban population (2002)



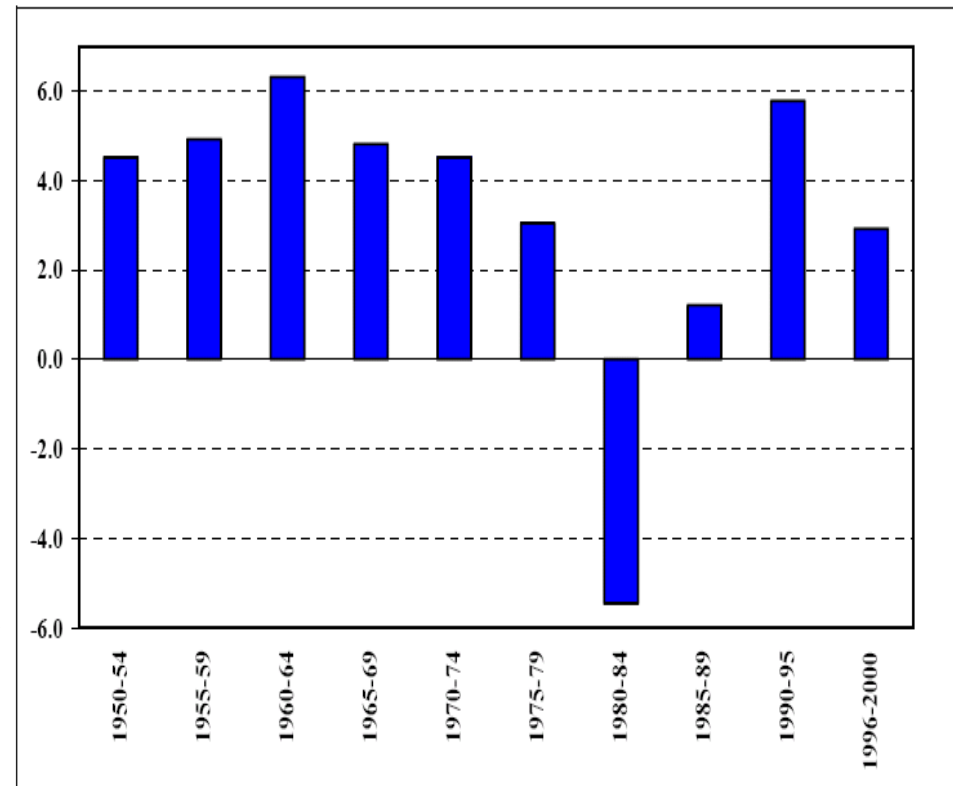
Migrants as a share of rural population (2002)



The case of El Salvador

- The most crowded country of Central America (indeed, of all Latin America);
- Demographic situation has further exacerbated the problems associated with the inequality of income distribution;
- The armed conflict (1981-89) was a significant factor contributing to more than a decade of stagnation in the Salvadoran economy. The armed conflict resulted in 80,000 deaths and many more thousands of wounded, disabled, and orphaned
- The damage to infrastructure during the armed conflict was estimated to have a replacement cost of US\$1.6 billion.

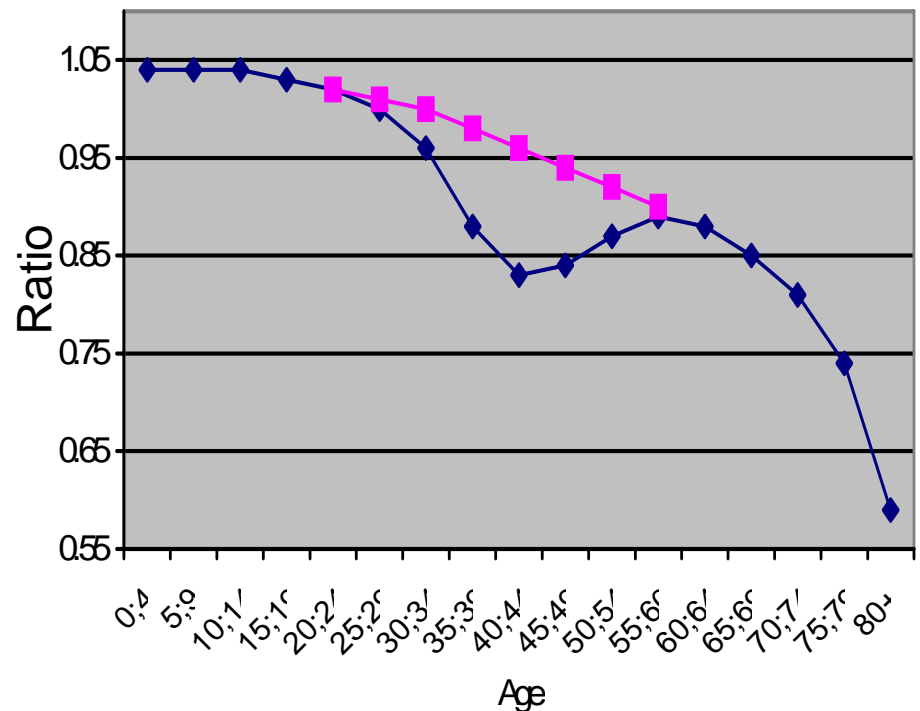
El Salvador GDP Trends



Gender Imbalance

- The fast drop in the gender ratio between the ages 30 and 44 reflects the higher male mortality during the war period.
- The red points show the natural decline trend in the gender ratio if the war did not have happened.
- Considering that the war took place during the eighties, the age range of higher male mortality occurred between the ages 15 and 29.
- After 60 years old the gender ratio drops constantly as normally expected due the longer female life expectancy.

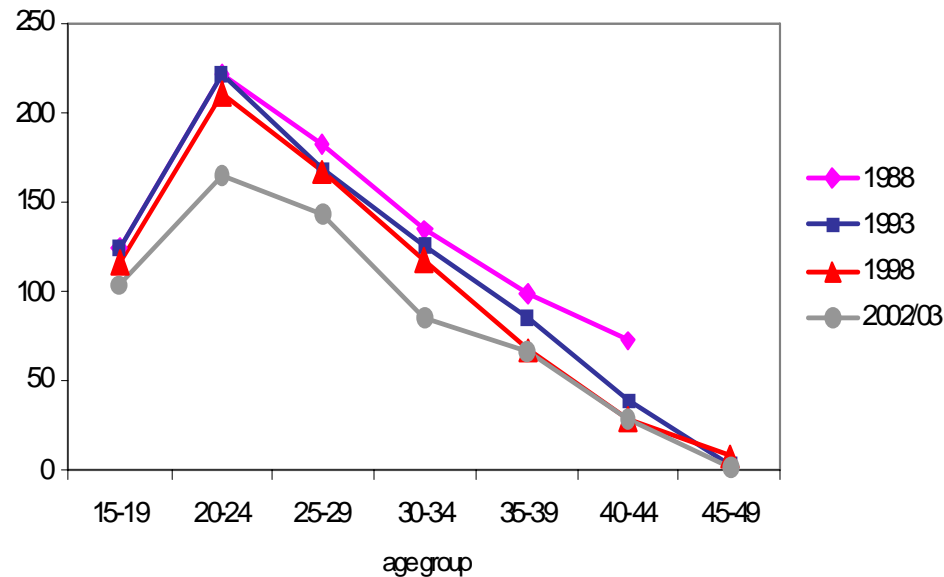
**Gender Ratio and Natural Decline Trends
in El Salvador – 2005**



Impact on Fertility

- Data from 1988 and 1993 surveys reflects the fertility situation during the civil war (1979-1992) in El Salvador.
- The differential in TFR for women aged 15–49 years during the period was minimal (4.2 to 3.9 live births per women) particularly in the age group 20-24 years old where the fertility has remained virtually unchanged during the period (211 births per 1000 women).
- On the other hand, the changes in rural fertility between 1993 and 1998 showed a great delay in the fertility decline in the rural areas, where the guerrilla warfare was more intense.
- These results suggest that the civil war slow down the demographic transition

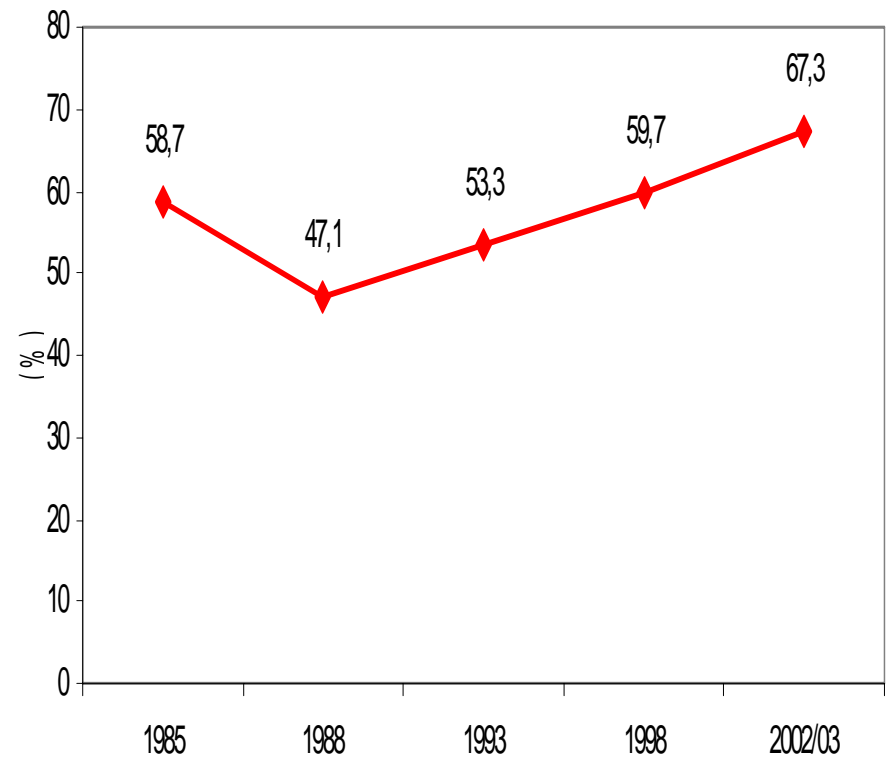
**Trends in Age-specific fertility rates:
women aged 15-49 years in El Salvador**



Use of contraceptive methods

- Use of contraceptive methods among currently-married women has been increasing steadily during the early 1990s in El Salvador.
- However, the results indicate a significant decline in contraceptive use from 1985 to 1988 what suggest a difficult to access to health care services during the period of civil war.
- As a consequence the contraceptive use has returned to the same level as 1985 only in 1998.

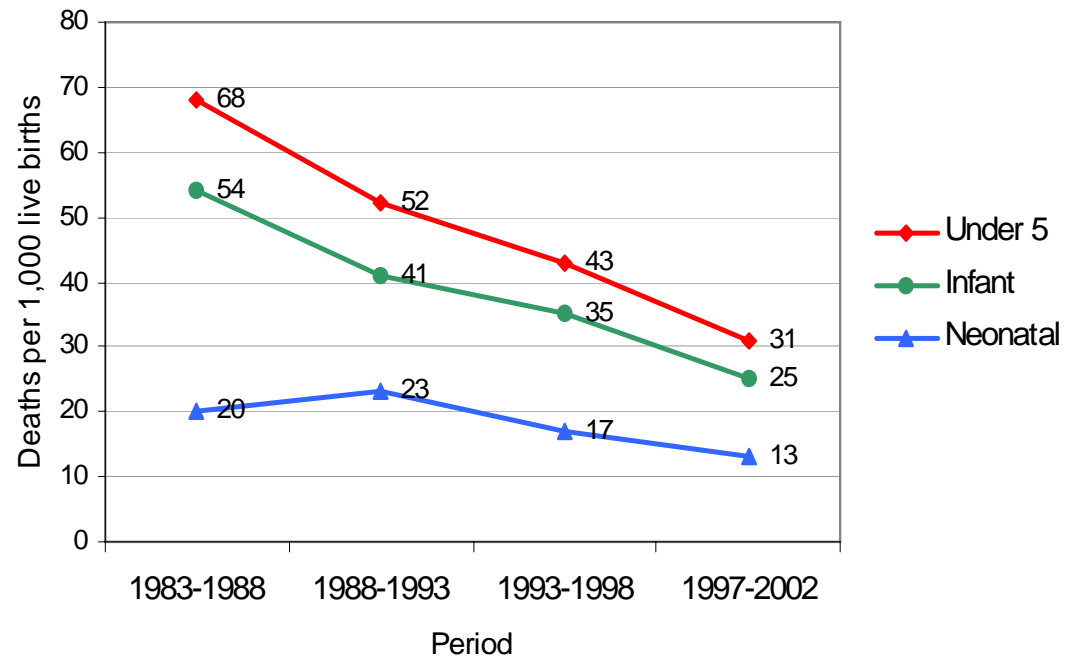
Trends in contraceptive use among women in union - El Salvador 1985-2002



Infant mortality and under-five child mortality

- It is observed that for the 15-year period from 1983–1988 and 1997–2002, the decrease of the infant mortality rate was 29 deaths for every 1,000, which indicates that one-third of this drop in the past 15 years occurred during 1997–2002.
- In spite of this decrease, the rate of infant mortality in El Salvador turns out to be more than twice the rate estimated for Costa Rica (10 per 1,000).
- The increase of neonatal mortality between 1983-88 and 1988-93 should be explained by backlashes in specialized obstetric services due failures in the health systems, especially in hospitals, during the war and post-war times.

Trends in Neonatal, Infant and Child Mortality – El Salvador



Migration trends and Remittances

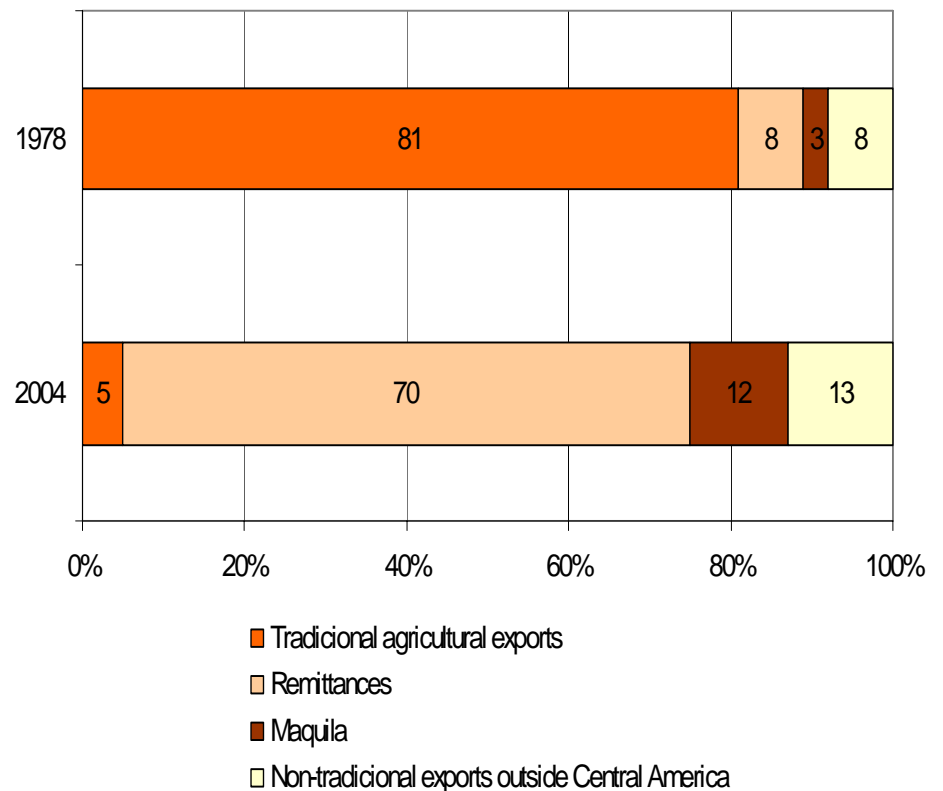
- The migration of Salvadorans increased dramatically during the late 1970s and early 1980s in response to the repression and violence associated with the onset of civil war.

- The conflict generated half million of internally displaced and millions of citizens fleeing the country. Migration has encouraged autonomous solutions to problems of poverty, insecurity and lack of social and economic development.

- On the other hand, migration created a high level of external remittances.

- Remittances are bigger in areas where gender imbalance is high

Changes in the sources of hard currency 1978 and 2004 (According the Central Reserve Bank of El Salvador)



Conclusions

- Armed conflicts not only consumes thousand of human lives but have also impacts in the demographic patterns, delaying the demographic transition and the development process. They also disrupt the familiar and social arrangements for a long time after the post-conflict situation.
- Comparatively, the post-conflict recovery has led to better results in Rwanda, although the peace periods are different in duration. A possible explanation of the disparity might be the shorter period of the war and the stronger international presence after the conflict.
- El Salvador had indisputably made progress in all areas that are pertinent to the establishment of durable peace process. Despite that, the gender imbalances brought by the civil war created a fragile situation, specially in the regions were predominate women as the head of household and that depends strongly for external sources as remittances from those that left the country during and after the war times
- The paper findings underscore the need for multilateral, bilateral and national development strategies to be targeted to provide support to those populations disproportionately affected by the armed conflict and in particular to support the economic reactivation of the former conflictive zones.