What the Women Say

Participation and UNSCR 1325

A Case Study Assessment

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What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325

A Case Study Assessment by the
International Civil Society Action Network
and the MIT Center for International Studies

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FOREWORD

Amazing that in ten years just four numerals – 1-3-2-5 – have generated a global enthusiasm that is unprecedented in many ways. Adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 opened a much-awaited door of opportunity for women who have shown time and again that they bring a qualitative improvement in structuring peace and in post-conflict architecture. Women and many men all over the world have been energized by this resolution. Even the United Nations Security Council that is known for being a closed club showed forward-looking approaches by adopting three follow up resolutions relating to women and peace & security.

We need to recall that conceptual and political breakthrough that was possible through the 1325 precursor statement of the Security Council in March 2000 underscored "the importance of promoting an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes …" relating to peace and security. In that context, the potential of 1325, its implications and its impact in real terms are enormous.

But the reality on the ground after ten years does not bear that out. Most of our expectations remain yet to be realized. One unfortunate aspect is that many are not fully aware of that reality, what is really happening and where are we heading in implementing 1325.

Happily that gap will be substantively fulfilled by the ICAN and MIT commissioned report titled "What the Women Say". It is a fascinating document that uses experiences on the ground to highlight the challenges that women face with regard to peace and security issues. It is based on the work of national researchers and practitioners who undertook six conflict situation assessments in the implementation of 1325. It also draws upon the recent ten in-country 1325 reports prepared by the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP).

The present report brings out very useful findings and offers a very practical set of recommendations. It is refreshingly open and frank. It succinctly lays out the reality on the ground and also brings in a lot of dimensions relating to 1325 that are otherwise not known or fully understood. It serves the international community well by telling the truth that has remained hidden about 1325 implementation. The document is a welcome and much-needed tool for building both understanding and practical implementation of the resolution.

The vast and multifaceted agenda of 1325 would be enormously advanced if the report's findings are taken seriously and the recommendations are taken up sincerely for 1325 implementation process. The UN leadership in particular should be in the forefront of initiating and triggering a worthwhile implementation framework. A practical and credible way forward following the tenth anniversary of 1325 this year would be for the United Nations to work on these worthy recommendations as well as those presented in other independent reports.

Ambassador Anwarul K. Chowdhury
President of the Security Council (March 2000 & June 2001)
Under-Secretary-General and High Representative of the UN (2002-2007)
15 October 2010

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Key Findings and Recommendations

Context

A decade ago, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 calling on all actors—state, UN, and non-state—to support and increase women's participation in decision-making pertaining to the prevention and resolution of conflict and reconstruction. It also mandated a broad array of protections for women and girls in armed conflict.

Although often dubbed as the "women's resolution," UNSCR 1325 is first and foremost about peace and security. It is rooted in the premise that women's inclusion—their presence and participation in the process, their perspectives, and their contributions to the substance of talks—will improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace. UNSCR 1325's attention to the protection of women's physical well-being and legal and political rights recognizes that if half the population is experiencing violence or discrimination, there is no peace or justice for anyone, and that acts of violence against women (such as rape) are provocations that can threaten peace and security more widely.

In 2009, the MIT Center for International Studies and the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) initiated a six-country field study (Aceh, Colombia, Liberia, Middle East, Sri Lanka and Uganda) to assess whether and *how* efforts were made by key actors (governments, NGOs, and international organizations) to include women in peacemaking, and to ensure gender sensitivity in peace accords and recovery processes. A critical dimension of the project was to return to women in conflict zones to capture their voices and experiences regarding the actual and potential relevance and impact of UNSCR 1325 and related activities in their countries.

Key Findings

1. ***Many governments, UN personnel, and CSOs are still unaware of, or misunderstand, UNSCR 1325.*** Beyond UNIFEM's initial efforts, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 did not prompt an early public education campaign in any country explaining the origins, rationale, and substance of the mandate. The UN leadership did not properly champion the resolution or support its implementation. The net effect is that a decade on, across the UN and diplomatic system—especially in country offices and government ministries—awareness, knowledge, and understanding of the resolution is still haphazard. Many professional personnel who have responsibilities associated with the resolution are not sufficiently familiar with it. This lack of awareness or misunderstanding is crippling effective implementation.
2. ***Governments and international mediators are not doing their job.*** Outreach, consultation with, and inclusion of women's voices is not part of the standard operating procedures of governments or mediators involved in peace processes. When and where it does happen, it is either personality-driven, due to women's own lobbying, or because of the occasional presence of gender advisers who advocate on behalf of women. Member States as well as peace mediation teams appointed by international organizations are failing to include women and their perspectives in a sustained and substantial manner.
3. ***Donors are not practicing what they preach.*** There is profound disconnect between donors' policies on UNSCR 1325 and their actions, aid programs, or diplomatic interventions in conflict affected settings. The European Union is one example. The European Parliament adopted "The Participation

of Women in Peaceful Conflict Resolution" in 2000 soon after UNSCR 1325 was passed. Over the past decade, the EU has repeated its commitments to the women, peace, and security agenda and called for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325. Yet the EU's interventions in Colombia, Kosovo, and the Middle East have lacked gender and conflict analyses, and have no comprehensive framing of the issues, particularly in terms of ensuring women's participation.

4. ***Opposition and non-state actors can provide an important entry point for ensuring attention to gender issues and women's inclusion.*** Non-state and opposition movements have been more amenable to addressing issues of gender inequality in peace processes than governments. In El Salvador, Guatemala, and South Africa in the 1990s, women from the opposition movements put issues such as equal rights to land and gender-based discrimination into the discussions following consultation with their own constituents and women's rights groups. The difficulty is accessing and building trust with non-state groups and bridging divisions that exist between women's civil society organizations (CSOs) and women combatants and those associated with armed groups.
5. ***Entry to talks is still based on the "Who are you? Do you have an Army?" criterion.*** "Who are you? Do you have an army?" Women leaders pressing for a ceasefire in the Philippines were asked these questions to demonstrate their legitimacy—i.e., violence remains a key criterion for participation in peace talks**.** The barriers to access peace talks remain high, especially for women activists and civil society groups. It seems women only qualify to participate in peace talks if they are simultaneously prominent leaders with experience in high-level negotiations *and* grassroots activists with a large constituency. Even then there are no guarantees. Meanwhile, the qualification for armed actors is their capacity to wreak violence. In this same vein, peace talks are not seeking a comprehensive peace; rather, they tend to focus on ceasefires, political arrangements, and conflict management that suit political elites on all sides.
6. ***National action planning is delaying actual action*.** There are immediate actionable steps that governments can take to apply the provisions of UNSCR 1325 in current conflict and post-conflict settings. Yet the action is being delayed by unnecessarily lengthy cycles of planning. As one review of European NAPs states, they are "without specific and realistic goals, objectives, and priority actions; clear timelines; a dedicated budget; indicators, benchmarks and targets; clear lines of responsibility; and results-oriented and transparent monitoring and evaluation mechanisms."[1] The existence of bad NAPs and policies can be counterproductive, as governments claim credit for them but are rarely questioned or assessed on their implementation and impact.
7. ***The UN does many things but it is weak on peace.*** "Which UN agency is responsible for peace?" This was question raised by a Colombian peace activist. For good reason: there are 23 UN agencies active in the country. For NGOs and other organizations working at national or grassroots levels, the multiple points of UN responsibility remain overwhelming and confusing. The one-UN approach is an important development but there is still limited capacity and skills in peacebuilding and the UNSCR 1325 issues.
8. ***Even UNWomen cannot do this work alone.*** Thus far, UNIFEM has been UN's lead agency on UNSCR 1325 implementation with UNFPA also gaining traction on the sexual violence agenda primarily. Yet UNIFEM is the smallest entity, lacking power or access. Its efforts have been innovative in many countries and inconsistent in others. The new UNWomen will need to integrate this agenda more coherently into its country work, increase its internal capacities and strategize with CSOs on how best to take the agenda forward. But other UN agencies, notably UNDPA and UNDP, must also become more proactive in supporting women's participation in conflict prevention, resolution and peace building.

[1] European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO), 2010, UNSCR 1325 in Europe, 21 Case Studies of Implementation. Brussels: EPLO. p.6.

9. ***The message of "women build peace" is transformative, empowering, and can gain traction, yet it is the least common message conveyed by many UNSCR 1325 advocates.*** In 2000, this message—conveying women's strength and capacities—captured the imagination of diplomats and catalyzed support for the resolution. But it has gotten lost. To many, the resolution means the promotion of women's rights and empowerment in peace processes, or the protection agenda, especially against sexual- and gender-based violence. Yet the insight that women can make a positive, qualitative difference to peace processes remains the most powerful because it suggests the possibility of transformation—for sustainable peace, political and social relationships, and women's status.
10. ***Women's peace activism pre-dates UNSCR 1325, but the resolution has helped leverage their efforts.*** In Colombia, Liberia, and Israel for example, UNSCR 1325 was at the foundations of groundbreaking legislation. UNSCR 1325 is an important tool for women, giving recognition to their peace work, enabling them to mobilize on a global scale to assert their claims and demands for a place in peace and security-related decision making. It has marked a turning point in the relationship between civil society, especially women's organizations, and their expectations of the international system and the Security Council.
11. ***Women's groups are over-burdened***. Activism on the UNSCR 1325 places a heavy burden on women's groups, particularly because much of their work is at the sub-national level and they have little access to information generated by the state or international community. Often they are adept at addressing aspects of a problem—*e.g.*, women's groups are typically articulate and knowledgeable about the lack of security and a community's needs, but engaging in a national policy debate can be overwhelming. They cannot sustain their work or build their capacities without significant technical, political, and financial support. In post-conflict situations they are even more stretched as their services are still needed but donor funds are directed to building state capacities.
12. ***Women peace activists face profound security threats but receive no protection***: Peace activism is not for the faint hearted. It takes courage, commitment, and resilience to face the range of threats that emerge. At the personal and community level too, women who dare to step out and reach across the lines of conflict can face pressure and be ostracized. A more insidious trend in recent years has been the discrediting of organizations and individuals. States or non-state actors can and do target individuals and organizations for daring to speak out. The War on Terror has provided governments with an easy tool to discredit dissident voices: some women's groups have been labeled as terrorists, while others have been accused of treason. International acknowledgement of their work can provide some protection and bolster their credibility at the community level. At a minimum, acknowledgement provides moral support in situations where activists may feel very isolated.
13. ***Governments and international actors (including bilateral donors) pay lip service to women's concerns but are not supporting them in mainstream interventions.*** There are a number of profound concerns among women. 1) They see the rise of militarism and inattention to basic human security in post conflict settings contributing to chronic violence. 2) Despite demands and efforts for representation, women's priorities and perspectives on community and national security policies are ignored at national levels. 3) They are overwhelmed with levels of SGBV and see that national security and police personnel are perpetrators with impunity. 4) International anti-SGBV advocacy efforts, while helpful in raising awareness, are not instigating accountability at the local level. 5) They see a need for grassroots mobilization to address security issues and tackle SGBV as early conflict and violence prevention.
14. ***Women peacebuliders are falling through the funding cracks:*** Women's peace and security work has a different twist and nuance than standard humanitarian, development, gender equality or even SGBV-related work, so it falls through the cracks of the usual women's funds. The in-country resources that are available (from bilateral donors) often compel women to structure their work as

projects, limiting their flexibility to be innovative or responsive to events. In the decade since the resolution was passed, more funding has been available for the women, peace and security agenda, but most of it does not reach activists on the ground when and where it is needed and put to most efficient use.

15. ***Capacity building for women is not directly linked to peace and security issues.*** Even though there are many training programs for women in crisis settings, including some labeled as UNSCR 1325, most do not provide gender analysis, scenario assessment, conflict resolution, mediation and negotiation-skills training for women that would bolster their knowledge and capacity to engage effectively. Often the participants selected are not involved in peacemaking issues. There is also limited attention to training in strategic advocacy and coalition building for peace. The lack of attention to conflict-specific substance—ranging from root causes of conflict to the specific agenda items such as DDR, SSR and governance and justice structures—is problematic on two fronts. First, it does not equip women adequately to speak out in peace processes to all the issues. Second, for women running as political candidates, the messaging and leadership skills they may learn are redundant if they lack coherent substance and knowledge of issues that are affecting constituents.
16. ***Serendipity, not systematization, still drives interventions that support women's participation in peace processes.*** There is plenty of experience to draw upon. UNIFEM has recently developed guidance for ensuring women's full inclusion in peace processes, yet neither the UN or Member States have applied a systematic approach. Ad-hoc practice reigns, and women remain outside of the decision-making halls.

Recommendations

The changing nature of warfare and the fragmentation of security mean that the business of peacemaking needs to change, too. The women, peace, and security framework can help shift the paradigm towards a more inclusive and comprehensive approach to peace. To achieve this, we recommend the following basic actions for the UN and Member States (and CSO partners).

1. ***Increase the visibility of UNSCR 1325 as a peace and security framework.***
    - The UN should help develop comprehensive public education campaigns tailored to the issues and conditions of each country. People should understand that this resolution:
        - Comes from women in conflict affected countries worldwide and was sponsored by countries from the global south
        - Brings a human face to war and peace by drawing attention to the different needs of women *and* men through its demand for gender mainstreaming
        - Broadens the agenda of peace negotiations to be more comprehensive and attentive to the needs of civilians, not just those of states and armed groups.

    - Donors and the UN should ensure quality-controlled, comprehensive training program with certified trainers and technical experts are developed and deployable to assist governments, UN field offices and CSOs in understanding and application of the framework to their work.

    - Donors and the UN should support systematic documentation and analysis of women's contributions to peace and security at all levels. Capturing this will a) contribute to our understanding of how and why gender balance matters and b) provide examples across regions and for younger generations.

2. ***Ensure and enable the UN system to get its house in order, coordinating field and headquarter efforts.*** The UN system cannot do everything, but it can set global standards by:

- Endorsing mediators who will demonstrate a strategy for the application of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda; Including UNSCR 1325+[2] in the terms of references for mediators and envoys; Appointing Gender advisers at the earliest stages with resource and technical backing to enable outreach to CSOs and provide prompt advice to the mediator.

- Supporting women's full participation not just peripheral inclusion in gender sub-committees or side-events. Women should be fully represented in all thematic discussions, as in South Africa where they represented 50% of all negotiators *and* had a subcommittee to review and ensure that gender perspectives were integrated into all thematic areas.

- Coordinating all stakeholders in-country. This can be done through a headquarters-level UNSCR 1325 working group (comprising a core group of UN agencies, government and CSO representatives) that is replicated in-country under the UN Resident Coordinator or SRSG. These working groups can serve as a *de facto*, urgently needed monitoring, reporting and accountability mechanism. The UN (lead agency or SRSG on Women, Peace, and Security (new mandate)) and a donor can run the working groups jointly, as in Nepal where UNFPA and the Norwegian embassy chair the group.

1325 Working Group (UN HQ/ New York) UN Core Group (e.g. UNW, UNDP, UNFPA, UNDPA, DPKO, OCHA, ODA) Civil Society Advisory Group (CSAG), Friends of UNSCR 1325, UNSC/P5				
Communications	Negotiations/ Political Representation	Civil Society Relations	Training (ISO 1325)	Gender Analysis and Documentation

1325 Working Groups (in-country) UN Res Rep Coordinates UN/Donors/CSOs/Govt				
Communications	Negotiations/ Politics	Civil Society	Training	Gender Analysis and Documentation

3. Provide timely support (financial and political) to civil society (often women-led) peace coalitions and track-two mediations. Support to women's peace groups must start long before negotiations take place. They need to be identified, informed, and supported technically, politically, and financially so that they can bolster their activities and be prepared. International actors should:

- Initiate contact with women peace groups. Identifying, consulting and including women's peace groups in peace processes should be part of the standard operating procedures of all mediators, negotiators, and facilitators. The obligation should be that of international actors to find women's groups and support them, not vice versa;

[2] The reference '1325+' is used to denote additional women, peace and security resolutions; 1820/1888/1889.

- Support the establishment of an independent 1325 CSO fund to bridge the divide between major donors and civil society groups working in fast-changing crisis settings. The fund could support women's activism within the spirit and range of issues framed by UNSCR 1325, focusing on the prevention of conflict and war; mitigation of violence and militarism; and promotion of human security, and gender-sensitive, sustainable peace and civil activism. It could provide grants of 10,000-50,000 USD to support organizational and programmatic development and ensure that the resources are deployed within 4-6 weeks of application. Grantees could contribute by "paying forward" through experience sharing;

- Promote strategic partnerships between women's CSOs and women in political parties and government. In countries with a history of extensive political party systems (*e.g*., Sri Lanka, Nepal), collaboration based on mutual respect and equality between women's CSOs and women politicians is mutually beneficial. If peace processes are in place CSOs may need women politicians to represent their views and interests. In turn women politicians gain credibility and strength if they have a strong public constituency.

- Support a CSO led women's security campaign; given the exclusion of women's perspectives from national security decision-making, a global campaign could help a) to elevate women's voices, representation and legitimacy in national security and peace-related policy making through sector specific capacity building, public education and political access; and b) strengthen women's capacities in communities and nationally to hold security services accountable for prevention of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) by initiating "Women's Contracts with National Security Actors."

4. ***Make civil society peacebuilding groups key partners in internationally supported peace processes***.

This could be done in three ways:

First, a parallel civil society peace process could be held in the same place/time that formal negotiations are ongoing, with representation from the belligerents included as observers and information being passed between the CSO forum (as in Guatemala) and the belligerents' process.

Second where male leaders refuse to speak to women, a parallel high-level, women-only process could be hosted to demonstrate international commitment to the women, peace, and security agenda.

Third, the UN, governments and CSOs could develop criteria for the qualification of CSO peace groups. CSOs that demonstrate a commitment to constructive engagement to peaceful and gender-equitable resolution of conflict and recovery processes could be included and recognized as formal partners in UN-endorsed and sponsored peace processes. This would: put pressure on belligerents (states and non-state actors who often claim to represent the population) to be more transparent about their views and priorities for recovery; demonstrate that violence is not rewarded; ensure that belligerents (state and non-state) are responsive to the concerns and solutions raised by war-affected communities; and ensure that the spirit of democracy and pluralism is integral to the decision making (and power sharing) processes.

Sample Criteria to Qualify for participation in Peace Processes

Civil society groups formed that demonstrate a commitment to constructive engagement to peaceful and gender-equitable resolution of conflict and recovery processes will be included and recognized as formal partners in UN-endorsed and sponsored peace processes. Eligibility can be based on a range of factors including:

- *Members of CSOs work across conflict lines to promote non-violence, peace and reconciliation;*
- *CSOs that offer constructive gender sensitive solutions to root causes of conflict and justice;*
- *CSOs willing to engage in dialogue and mediation with all parties to conflict;*
- *CSOs that bring forward the views and concerns of a wider constituency;*
- *CSOs willing to support monitoring and implementation of peace agreements by outreach to communities, engaging all political actors, building support for peace.*

5. Support governmental capacities and hold states accountable. National governments, particularly those affected by conflict, have to take action. The UN, donors and CSOs can take the following steps:

- Tie membership in the Security Council to progress on UNSCR 1325 implementation. CSOs can use governments' implementation of UNSCR 1325 as a criterion for their candidacy to the UN Security Council. Given that Security Council membership is coveted, CSOs could use their report cards on UNSCR 1325 to provide support for states seeking membership. This would also increase pressure on the permanent five UNSC members to live up to their own commitments.

- UN and donors (with CSO partners) should support state capacities to undertake gender and conflict sensitive analysis and assessments in sectoral recovery work, and ensure that the design and implementation of programs and resource allocation are gender sensitive;

- Tie recovery aid to specific conditions related to UNSCR 1325, such as ensuring effective representation of women (50%) in peace and security related processes, agencies, and commissions that are donor-funded;

- Support multi-stakeholder 1325 National Action Plans (NAPS) with adequate resourcing and monitoring and accountability mechanisms. In all settings, CSOs and local governments must be equal partners in the development, monitoring and evaluation of NAP implementation. Line ministries must have specific, time-bound responsibilities.

- Commit funds through the ministries (*e.g.*, defense, health, education, housing, etc.) for the implementation of the resolution. Total reliance on donor funding is no longer acceptable;

- Integrate assessment of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) into national security analysis, reform and programs. Governments, UN agencies, and bilateral donors should ensure that security sector-related aid and programs reach out to women's groups to take into account SGBV and other security threats they identify;

- Demand accountability and transparency. International actors must demand transparency for aid given for peace making and peacebuilding. Funds must not used to discriminate against CSOs that are critical of their governments. CSOs must be equally transparent and accountable.

What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, An Assessment

Introduction

A decade ago, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security. This landmark document is a legal and political framework under which national governments, regional organizations, the UN system, as well as non-state actors are obliged to address the situation of women in crises and war—to protect them from violence and increase their participation in conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding. It is the first such resolution acknowledging the need for and contributions of half the world's population to international peace and security.

UNSCR 1325 is a product of its time and persistent, organized advocacy by women worldwide. It emerged a decade after the end of the cold war when new kinds of violence and warfare were already evident, including intra-state conflicts and the bitter manipulation of ethnicity and religion for power and resources. In particular, it was a reaction to the perpetration of systemic acts of terror against civilian populations by states and armed groups as in Rwanda, Bosnia and the DR Congo, and the international community's inability to prevent such wars. It was also recognition of the profound complexity of peace building in the aftermath of such wars, when social fabric and trust within communities was destroyed.

As the conflicts came to women, women also reacted. In Cambodia, Guatemala, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and South Africa throughout the 1990s, women were emerging as voices of peace, mobilizing across communities, and using their social roles and networks to mediate and mitigate violence. They wanted the world community to acknowledge and include them in peace and security decision-making. They knew through experience that the 20th century systems for resolving warfare—where governments and violent actors alone were legitimized in peace processes—were no longer adequate for 21st century conflicts and violence. They were demanding attention to the complex issues and people that define peace and peacebuilding, not just the ending of warfare or power-sharing.

As a result, while often dubbed as the women's resolution, UNSCR 1325 is first and foremost about peace and security. The resolution is not about the inclusion of women for the sake of political correctness. It is rooted in the premise that women's inclusion – their presence and participation in the process, their perspectives and contributions to the substance of talks, will improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace. It is also rooted in the knowledge that gender equality itself is a source of sustainable peace. Similarly, the resolution's attention to the protection of women's physical well being, as well as their legal and political rights, is not simply an end in itself. Rather it is recognition of the fact that if half the population faces discrimination and violence, peace is not viable. Moreover, UNSCR 1325 (and subsequent resolutions) acknowledges that violence against women—especially sexual violence—is itself a gross provocation and threat to peace and security. In adopting the resolution, the Security Council provided the international community with an entry point for addressing the complexities of peacebuilding and introducing an inclusive approach to peace negotiations to better address the challenges of the 21st century.

Equally importantly (and perhaps more interestingly) "1325" is an important tool for women, giving recognition to their peace work, enabling them to mobilize on a global scale to assert their claims and demands for a place at the table where issues of war peace and security are addressed and resolved. It has marked a turning point in the relationship between civil society, especially women's organizations, and their expectations of the international system and the Security Council in particular. Its impact could and should be profound. But has it been?

A Decade Later

Bureaucratic inertia, leadership vacuums, empty rhetoric and fundamental misunderstanding about this agenda in many quarters have marked the past decade. Significant strides have been made across many sectors pertaining to peace and security, however. Ten years ago women were rarely mentioned at the Security Council. Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) was not on the Council's agenda even though it was rampant in the DRC and elsewhere. UN peacekeepers were implicated in sexual exploitation of local women with no consequence and little comment. Women combatants and those associated with armed groups were labeled as sex slaves or camp followers and rarely received any benefits from disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration packages. Gender perspectives in security sector reform were non-existent as a field of practice.

Finally, the notion that women should be present in peace processes was a new demand. Their participation was not a new phenomenon. From the mid-1990s in a handful of countries—Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Guatemala—women had fought for and successfully gained representation in peacemaking. In each instance they had not only ensured equal gains for women, but also contributed to the substance and process of negotiations. These cases were too little appreciated, however. Prior to 1999 there was little documentation or comparative analysis of women's contributions to peacemaking.[3] Across sub-regions such as Central America, women watched and learned from each other's experiences, but they were far removed from the international community's radar. They had no common platform or framework to define their work. International actors (UN and others) were not obligated to reach out and engage women. Those who did, such as the late Angela King, who led the UN Observer Mission to South Africa, did so on the basis of their own convictions.

A decade later there is a wealth of information about women's experiences during conflict and in peacebuilding. Policy directives, toolkits, guidance documents, specialized personnel and programs are in place to address women, peace and security issues globally. There is no doubt that UNSCR 1325 has catalyzed significant changes in the policies and practice of UN agencies, governments and non-governmental actors. By 2010, the Security Council had not only referenced UNSCR 1325 in country and UN-mission specific resolutions, but also passed an additional three resolutions (1820, 1888, 1889) to bolster and deepen the provisions of UNSCR 1325. Through a consultative process, the UN also

[3] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini/UNIFEM report, *Women at the Peacetable: Making a Difference* (2000), was among the first UN publication to document and analyze the commonalities in women's experiences and contributions to peace negotiations worldwide. Elizabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf/UNIFEM's *Women, War, Peace: An Independent Experts' Assessment (2002)* was another key UN publication produced as a result of UNSCR 1325.

developed a set of indicators to monitor states' progress on the resolution's implementation. The Council is considering adoption and use of these indicators. The momentum is also growing with the development of UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAPs) aimed at adapting and rooting the resolution's provisions to country contexts, domestic and foreign policies. Nineteen countries have developed NAPs and others are underway. Regional organizations, especially the European Union, have emerged as strong supporters of the resolution.

If statistics are the judge however, the resolution, the actors, their activities and systems developed have had limited impact. According to UNIFEM, women have been fewer than 7 percent of negotiators on official delegations in peace processes since 2000, and just 2.7 percent of signatories. In 13 major comprehensive peace agreement processes between 2000 and 2008, not one single woman was appointed as a mediator.[4] Graca Machal was appointed as one of three mediators to the 2008 Kenyan crisis talks.

Moreover, for most women living through violence in places like Sudan, the DRC, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, neither the words nor the promise of the resolution is a reality. Wars have continued, impunity for rape and sexual violence prevails, peace negotiations remain the exclusive domain of war-makers, while those who seek non-violent solutions are still shut out. Post-conflict recovery processes remain gender-blind, addressing neither the needs of women or men.

The failure to address women's security needs is indicative of more systemic problems. Some 40 percent of peace processes still fail within the first 10 years. Many never reach fruition in the first place. Of the six cases reviewed for this project, in four – Sri Lanka, Colombia, Israel-Palestine, and Uganda—the peace process failed to reach a conclusion. In Sri Lanka, Colombia, and Uganda, ending war through military victory became the states' strategies. The Israeli-Palestinian confrontation is marked by fitful peaceful negotiations buffeted by the violence of occupation, blockade, and resistance. The incentives and mechanisms to sustain the process of peacemaking are not in place.

Even where negotiations to end war have been successful, new forms of violence have emerged, creating a perpetual state of something between war and peace for civilians, especially women. In Aceh, for example, the devastation wrought by the 2004 tsunami was the primary catalyst for the peace agreement to be signed and cooperation to begin between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) rebels after 30 years of conflict. Yet the political arrangements made during the negotiations led to the exclusion of women from the political space. In the post conflict period Islamic Shari'a law has been imposed in Aceh with significant and likely negative implications for women.

Thus while the nature of conflict and range of actors involved have changed radically in the post-Cold War period, processes to make peace have not evolved sufficiently to meet the demands. Track-two initiatives have facilitated productive negotiations in many conflicts, but peace processes are still largely in the exclusive domain of political and military leaders—those who bear and use the arms. Civilians and civil society groups that are major stakeholders in peace and are often involved in pragmatic

[4] UNIFEM (2009/2010), Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence, New York: UNIFEM 2009/2010 (the 2009 brief was extended into a larger report in 2010).
www.realizingrights.org/.../UNIFEM_handout_Women_in_peace_processes_Brief_April_20_2009.pdf

peacebuilding efforts remain systematically excluded. The emphasis is on "ending the war" rather than the complex range of issues and people that define *peace* and peacebuilding. UNSCR 1325 with its promise of inclusivity and premise of comprehensive peacemaking, is even more valid today. But it still remains peripheral.

Why is that? Lack of political will is certainly one reason. UNSCR 1325 did not emerge as a sudden act of enlightenment in the Security Council. It was the product of a long and hard-fought global advocacy campaign led by international NGOs and women's groups in conflict settings. The cause was championed by a handful of countries in 2000, notably Bangladesh, which put the issues on the Council's agenda in March 2000, followed by Jamaica, Canada, and Namibia, which presided over the resolution's adoption in October of that year. It had its detractors then and now. These detractors—Member States, senior bureaucrats, technocrats and diplomats in the UN system—have contributed to the inertia.

Nonetheless, the momentum in support of the resolution is building and a wider pool of actors – states and NGOs are embracing the issues. But the push to "do something" has not been matched with a pause or reflections on *how* things are working. If national action plans and new programming are put in place without a review of successes and failures of the past, even the best intentions to realize the vision of the resolution will not result in the desired outcomes.

Looking forward to the 10th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and the next decade of action, MIT's Center for International Studies and the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) initiated a six-country field study examining recent cases of conflict management and peace processes to assess whether and *how* efforts were made by key actors (governments, NGOs, and international organizations) to include women in peacemaking, and to ensure gender sensitivity in the language of peace accords and recovery processes. Special attention was paid to:

- The level and types of involvement and influence of women in formal negotiations and in informal processes, and their impact on outcomes;
- The role of governments, mediators/facilitators, and external actors (including international agencies) in enabling or hindering efforts at implementing UNSCR 1325; and
- The involvement and effectiveness of women in civil society at large in promoting, facilitating, and inventing peace processes and projects.

In simple terms with regard to women's participation issues, we were asking what has been done? What works and what does not? If warranted, how should we change our approaches to be more effective? A critical dimension of the project was to return to women in conflict zones to capture their voices and experiences regarding the actual and potential relevance and impact of UNSCR 1325 and related activities in their countries. Given the renewed attention and potential resources directed towards the resolution, a key goal was to determine practical and efficient methods of ensuring its application in country settings so that women do indeed feel, see, and experience the progress being made.

I. Ten Years of Progress or Inertia: What did we do, what have we learned?

The resolution has implications for all actors—state and non-state, multilateral and regional organizations. But it provided no guidance or methodology on how these actors should proceed with its implementation. Thus in many ways, the last ten years have been a decade of experimentation – with successes, both large and small as well as failures, thwarted promises and many lessons along the way.

This section highlights common experiences, practices in terms of women's participation in peace processes, the outcomes and lessons across the six country studies—many of which are also evident in other settings.

A. Public Awareness and Mixed Messages

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 did not prompt a UN-wide or global public education campaign explaining the origins, rationale and substance of the document.[5] Over the decade, where progress has been made in state and multilateral structures it has been largely due to individual staff deeply committed to moving this agenda forward, often hampered by ad hoc leadership. Apart from a handful of committed senior figures, the UN's leadership has not championed the resolution or support its full implementation either.[6] The net effect is that a decade on, across the UN and diplomatic system—especially in country offices and government ministries—awareness, knowledge and understanding of the resolution is still haphazard. Many professional personnel who would have responsibilities associated with the resolution are not sufficiently familiar with it. This lack of awareness or misunderstanding is a critical obstacle to effective implementation.

Because it comes from the Security Council, there is also confusion and suspicion about its intent. Some governments perceive it as a tool of western cultural dominance threatening indigenous cultures and systems of gender relations. Others are wary of the Security Council's extended reach into new terrain. Among NGOs working at national level, too, lack of information about the resolution can prompt suspicion. For example, in Colombia many women's peace groups viewed it as a prop for co-opting them into the state's security policies. Elsewhere because UNSCR 1325 is often framed as a women's rights resolution rather than a peace and security framework, many question its relevance and necessity given the existence of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Within the UN, only UNIFEM, the smallest of the UN entities, was been involved with the issues since its early days, but it lacked the resources and technical capacities to undertake a comprehensive and consistent methodology for addressing the peace and security agenda. Moreover, the agenda cuts across the mandates of all UN agencies and UNIFEM could not have been responsible for its implementation across the board. Since 2005, other entities, notably UNFPA, OCHA, DPKO, DPA, ODA

[5] UNIFEM's 'Women, War, Peace' report was an important contribution, as was its web-portal and range of publications on thematic issues including gender justice and disarmament issues. Country specific campaigns have not been prominent.

[6] Individuals such as Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury, Yousef Mahmoud, Caroline McAskie, Kathleen Carvero and the late Sergio De Mello were among supporters of the resolution.

and UNDP[7], have become more active, but there are coordination problems across the agencies, which further confuses the national civil society groups and governments active on the agenda.

UNSCR 1325 Gives Women's Peace Work a Name, a Framework, and Leverage

For much of the past decade, the onus was on national and international NGOs to spread the word and message of the resolution. Organizations involved in advocating for and drafting the resolution did produce brief guides.[8] Over the years peacewomen.org has translated the resolution into over 100 languages—perhaps a record in Security Council history—and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security has produced reports and briefing materials to inform incoming diplomats to the UN system.

Ten years on, in some countries the efforts are evident. For example in Liberia and Uganda at grassroots levels, many people, especially women's rights activists or community leaders, are familiar with the document. It is definitely a useful tool that leverages women's existing peace works, and provides a framework for planning. In Liberia some women's groups were unfamiliar with the resolution but when it was introduced to them at a conflict resolution skills workshop they embraced and used it. In Colombia for example, UNSCR 1325 was at the foundations of a major women's network. With all its problems (including confusion about the message as discussed below), the resolution has been used to organize and galvanize a global women's peace movement. There is clear overlap with long-standing women's right groups, but there are also distinctions. Across all six cases (similar to other countries) there has been a recent concerted effort to spread the information more widely, but there is still a major gap.

Confused and Confusing Messaging

From the outset, messaging about the resolution has also been difficult. The NGO community framed the agenda around the four "Ps": Protection, Participation, Prevention and Peacekeeping. But there are many ways in which each "P" is understood, applied and translated. For example, prevention was originally framed as conflict and war prevention, yet in some quarters it has been changed to prevention of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV).

Similarly, the issue of participation in peace processes was (and is) primarily about inclusion of civil-society based women, not just women in existing political structures. Yet it is often reduced to the simple addition of women or a woman with no ties or credentials in either peacemaking or women's rights movements. It becomes a matter of ticking the box, rather than consideration of the qualitative issues. In the Middle East context, for example, the participation of Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in the failed 2007 Annapolis peace talks could be touted as UNSCR 1325 implementation. In fact, neither woman had any credibility with, or professed interest in representing, the views, approaches, and perspectives of the women peacemakers.

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[7] UN Population Fund, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Political Affairs, Office of Disarmament Affairs, UN Development Programme.

[8] See Anderlini, S.N., "The A-B-C to UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security," (London: International Alert, 2000). Available at www.asci.researchhub.ssrc.org/the-a-b-c-to-un...1325-on.../attachment *Individuals*

The participation issue is further confused by proponents who believe women simply have a right to be present, regardless of their capacity and contributions, versus those who believe that women should participate because they bring different perspectives to the substance and process of negotiations and can make positive qualitative difference to the outcomes. The former argument is valid but it generates little traction. The latter argument is powerful because it suggests the possibility of transformation for peace, political and social relations, and women's status. It was the message of women building peace that captured the imagination of diplomats and catalyzed support for the resolution. Both of 1325's norms on participation—the significance of gender perspectives and the inclusion of women peacemakers—have been overshadowed by the broader and more established women's rights and development actors, whose demands are rights-based. As a result the message and rationale for participation gets blurred.

To some, the resolution is primarily about the promotion of women's rights and women's empowerment in peace processes – ensuring peace and equality for women. To others, the protection agenda, especially against SGBV, is the take-away message. It is age-old, easily understood and less threatening than that of women as actors. It frames women as an issue to be addressed, not as agents or assets who can shape decisions and challenge the status quo.[9]

Given these discrepancies, it is not surprising that when distilled, the message that emanates—if it reaches the relevant audiences—can seem incongruous and contradictory. It is a demand for protection and empowerment, while simultaneously calling for recognition of existing women's strength and agency, but with limited documented evidence of the latter. For example, the majority of research on the subject focuses on the impact of conflict on women, portraying women as victims. There is far less systematic and analytical documentation of women's resilience or contributions to peace and security. The lack of attention to women's peacemaking is itself an act of disempowerment. Were women's survival strategies and peacemaking efforts to be analyzed and documented systematically by the international community, UNIFEM and other agencies included, this would not only bring respect for women's experiences but the recognition would also implicitly contribute to their empowerment.

The adoption of additional resolutions on the women, peace, and security agenda has eased the situation a little. UNSCR 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009), for example, which have strong language on women's participation, are widely understood as the sexual violence resolutions only. UNSCR 1889 (2009) has a strong and detailed focus on gender sensitivity in post-conflict recovery processes. But UNSCR 1325 is the one that provides the overarching, comprehensive framework. Its message is complicated because the range of issues it tackles is wide and complex. Much more can be done to raise governments', UN and other regional organizations' understanding of the resolution. The six cases

[9] The origins of the resolution are partly to blame for this seeming cacophony of messages. The groups involved in the original drafting represented the human rights community (Amnesty International), refugee women's protection issues (The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children), the peace and conflict resolution community (Hague Appeal for Peace, International Alert) and the feminist anti-war community (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom).

reviewed, however show that although the 10th anniversary has prompted new initiative[10], there is still much to be done at the basic level of generating understanding and awareness.

B. Women's Participation and Peace Processes – Did UNSCR 1325 Make a Difference?

Across all six countries, women's involvement in peacemaking, their efforts to initiate and participate in formal processes pre-dated UNSCR 1325. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 there have been a number of peace processes simultaneously taking place around the world. In every instance, national governments, opposition groups and the multilateral institutions had clear obligations to implement the resolution. At a minimum they were required to consult with women's groups and ensure that their peacemaking efforts were taken into account. Did this happen?

No. UNSCR 1325 prompted no immediate action on the part of Member States or the UN's major agencies and departments. The decade has seen interesting changes—gender advisers being appointed to assist UN mediators, civil society included in UN sponsored peace events (usually as observers)—but none of these gestures are part of a larger, systematic effort at inclusiveness. The dominant paradigm is that elites make their pact and the international community must support them, regardless of how flawed and untenable that pact may be. Groups and individuals with a deep commitment to making peace through peaceful means are still not valued or respected in the existing systems and approaches.

UNSCR 1325 provides an opportunity to change and improve the practice of peacemaking, to bring in stakeholders with an understanding and commitment to peace and justice, and, ultimately, the social transformation to root out the causes of conflict. But the opportunity is not being grasped. Where action has been taken, it is largely the result of women's civil society-based advocacy and pressure for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. In 2005, the UN system was charged to produce action plans for the resolution's implementation. While new approaches exist in some instances, there is no consistency or systematic application of the resolution to peace processes. The discrepancy is evident across the six cases reviewed for this report. The lessons are discussed below.

Arbitrary Excuses for Women's Exclusion Persist

Mediators "looked for women who understood the conflict in theory," an Acehnese women's rights and peace activist says, "[but this] was not really relevant as many women understood and were involved with the conflict in their real lives."[11] Women are still absent from major peace processes even though they are often the first to work across societal divisions and develop a common agenda for peace. This is important when communities have been divided by decades of warfare, or peace talks involving the same actors have failed again and again. The excuses for women's absence vary, ranging from the fact that it is difficult enough bringing the belligerents, to the supposed lack of a constituency, to the supposition that women do not know the issues or lack the negotiations skills. These same standards

[10] For example in Asia a regional Women, Peace and Security taskforce and Advisory Group was launched in October 2010 to track and support SCR 1325 implementation in the region.
[11] Quoted in Suraiya Kamaruzzaman, "What the Women Say; The Aceh Case Study", MIT/ICAN 2010.

are rarely (if ever) applied to armed actors or even states. As an activist notes, "women were negotiating with armed groups if their family members were kidnapped. Yet they were excluded from the formal processes."[12] In Aceh and the Middle East, women were the first to engage publicly and directly on peacemaking. Yet national and international actors made no concerted effort to include them in formal processes.

In the Middle East too, there has been persistent exclusion of women from the formal peace making efforts, all of which have failed to date. At the worst of times between Israeli-Palestinian relations, women leaders and organizations have sustained contact and maintained focus on the core peace and security-related issues. In the late 1980s they were the first to publicly champion ideas such as the Two Capitals for Two States project.[13] While the ideas have gained traction and entered the mainstream, neither the national nor international leadership addressing the conflict has acknowledged the women's groundbreaking work.

In the aftermath of the failed Oslo process, with UNIFEM's involvement and leadership, activist women formed the International Women's Commission (IWC) comprising women leaders from the international community, Israel, and Palestine, members with proven analytical and problem-solving skills. The IWC has identified a set of core and common solutions and managed to narrate a shared history of the region. They have also negotiated and reached consensus on the refugee issue, perhaps the most contentious of difference between the two sides. IWC members are regularly invited to brief the EU and the UN, and participate in track two processes. Yet when the formal talks begin, they are excluded. In 2007, over 40 countries and international organizations were invited to the Annapolis conference, but not the IWC.[14] The US State Department's response to UNIFEM's protest of IWC's exclusion was striking: it was better that the IWC continued doing what they did so well—whisper in the ears of decision makers.[15] At the UN, the group's contributions are acknowledged but their legitimacy was questioned because they lacked a large grassroots constituency.[16]

As the 2010 round of peace talks commenced, neither the IWC nor other women's peace groups were included, although they have met with US Envoy George Mitchell. Still intent on ensuring that a just and sustainable peace is reached, the IWC continues to speak out for change. In Aceh, too, women were the first to publicly gather and demand peace. In February of 2000 over 500 women from diverse backgrounds joined in the All Acehnese Women's Congress (Duek Pakat Inong Aceh), the first public meeting calling for peaceful resolution of the conflict. Their dialogues included exchange of war experiences and plans for the future. They demanded immediate negotiations and distributed 22 recommendations regarding peacemaking priorities to all parties, including the Indonesian President. They also lobbied international mediators—the Henry Dunant Center for Humanitarian Dialogue—who were facilitating a "humanitarian pause" in the conflict. But they were excluded from the 2000-03

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[12] Ibid.
[13] "Sharing Jerusalem: Two Capitals for Two States," Bat Shalom (June 1997), online at http://www.batshalom.org/jlink_sharing.php
14 Associated Press, "Partial List of Confirmed Invitees to Annapolis Conference," *Haaretz*, Nov. 20, 2007. http://www.haaretz.com/news/partial-list-of-confirmed-invitees-to-annapolis-peace-summit-1.233615
[15] Interview, acting director of UNIFEM, with Turid Polfus, May 2008.
[16] Department of Political Affairs, staff discussions with Sanam Anderlini, November 2008, UN, New York

negotiations mediated by the Swiss organization. In the opinion of Acehnese women peace activists,[17] the organization systematically disregarded women's views and demands, implying that they did not have the requisite qualifications.

The process collapsed and another was started in 2004 when the Indonesian government invited the Finnish group, Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) led by former Finnish president Martii Ahtisaari to initiate peace efforts. The process was overwhelmed by the 2004 Tsunami that prompted the rebels to announce a ceasefire and join in humanitarian rescue efforts. The disaster was also a catalyst for the renewal of peace talks, mediated by the Finns and held in Helsinki. State officials acknowledged women's contributions and roles during the conflict, particularly on issues of human rights. Yet as Muhammad Nazar, Vice Governor of Aceh attests, women's groups were not invited to or included in the direct negotiations. CMI made no effort to reach out or engage the women's groups. The peace talks culminated in the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Government and the rebels; civilians and people victimized by the war had no voice. Women's groups credit the MOU as a major achievement, but believe that it negated many issues of concern to civil society. They also believe that exclusion of women from the peace process extended to the post-conflict period.

Women are Included, but only Partially and on the Periphery

Peace processes take many shapes and forms. There are often issue-based subcommittees and multiple rounds of negotiations with delegations from different parties changing their members. Changes in location of these activities are common, and pose difficulties for observers and outsiders to access them.

A key challenge is keeping the leaders accountable and on track to reach and act on the peace agreements. Where women were equal participants in peace talks as in Northern Ireland, they were able to also play the role of insider-mediators. When other parties refused to engage in dialogue, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition representatives took on the task of engaging them all. By virtue of having Catholic and Protestant women in the coalition, they were able to access and engage all of the conflicting parties. They eased tensions and addressed their concerns but also held them accountable for moving the process forward.

In most cases however, even in the aftermath of UNSCR 1325, women's inclusion is partial and peripheral to the formal process. In Sri Lanka, although a group of seven women associated with the Organization of Parents of Servicemen Missing in Action were involved in track two negotiations that led to a ceasefire in 2001,[18] women's groups were not included in the initial, formal talks. Using UNSCR 1325, civil society organizations lobbied the government and the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)to ensure the effective inclusion of gender issues in the peace process. The two sides agreed to form a Sub-Committee on Gender Issues (SGI) comprising five members of the LTTE and five

[17] According to local activists, while the organization indicated an interest in engaging women, the mediator interviewed one woman only.

[18] "We went to Vanni to meet the LTTE in 2001," recalled Visaka Dharmadasa the group's founder. "…Subsequently the LTTE invited journalists from the south and also invited us in January 2002 just before the ceasefire and did recognize our contribution for brokering a ceasefire." In 2008, a senior government representative also acknowledged their contributions to brokering the ceasefire. (Correspondence with author, 2010)

women selected by the state including a doctor, academics, and women's rights activists from the NGO community. Once the two negotiating parties agreed on the SGI, the government of Norway provided the necessary funding. Prior to that neither the government, the LTTE, the international facilitator (Norway), nor the UN system had taken any initiative to apply UNSCR 1325 to the process.

As the name suggests, there was an implicit assumption that gender issues are circumscribed and not related to all aspects of the negotiations. Moreover, the potential added value or contributions that women could make to the essence of the formal process, despite the track record that many had in actual negotiations, was not considered. Nonetheless, the SGI did set a number of precedents. It was the first time that the government of Sri Lanka had appointed an all-female committee to address issues in the context of peace and the conflict. It was also the first time that the state had called upon women from civil society to participate in a process with potentially far-reaching consequences for the entire nation.[19] The decisions at the second SGI meeting in April 2003 included:

- Work towards ensuring effective provisions to enable equal representation of women in politics
- Examine the educational structure including changing the gender biases in school text books
- Take up issues of violence against women and allegations of sexual harassment at military and police checkpoints even during this peace process. These matters will be taken up with relevant authorities in the defense and law enforcement establishments.[20]

According to formal records, at a June 2003 meeting held in the prime minister's office the lack of women in the formal delegations of peace talks on both sides was also taken up as an issue that needed redress.[21] But these developments came to a standstill as the high-level peace talks stalled and collapsed. The failure of the high-level talks also meant that the promise and potential of the SGI would never be known. For example, given that the SGI was working well, it could have been an effective medium—a *de facto* safety net—for addressing the tensions and sources of conflict that ultimately led to the collapse of the process. It was not seen or used as a strategic and integral aspect of the peace talks, even though its members had the experience, credibility to influence the process in a positive manner. The SGI also had the women's movement as a public constituency. Yet neither the parties to the conflict nor the facilitators or other international actors considered this potential. The SGI offers an important model for other cases, but only if women's actual and potential capacities for peace are acknowledged and used effectively.

In Uganda too, women's participation led to important gains in the substance of the agreements and the case offers yet another model for participation and involvement from international actors, notably UNIFEM and international NGOs such as the Initiative for Inclusive Security. In July 2006, an all-male

[19] The government-appointed SGI members held several meetings with women's groups representing regional and national organizations and displaced Muslim women, to discuss the sub-committee's terms of reference and other critical areas of concern. The terms of reference that emerged was broad, acknowledging women's efforts to safeguard families and communities in the north-east during the war. The SGI had its first full meeting in Kilinochchi—LTTE territory at the time--in March 2003. The group identified a range of short and long-term issues from a gender perspective as focus areas. These included sustaining the peace process, resettlement, personal security and safety, infrastructure and services, livelihood and employment, political representation and decision-making and reconciliation. They also decided to formulate gender guidelines for other Sub Committees and mechanisms associated with the peace process.

At the second SGI meeting held in April 2003, the group discussed bringing gender perspective into the work of the Sub Committee on Immediate Humanitarian and Relief Needs (SIHRN). They also agreed to address relief issues for women traumatized by war. By all accounts the substance and atmosphere of the discussions were positive. (See "Report of Colombo Office of the Sub Committee on Gender Issues).

[20] Press Release, Sub Committee on Gender Issues.

[21] Minutes of the Meeting held on 17th June 2003 at the Prime Minister's Office on Gender Issues.

team of representatives of the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) met in Juba, South Sudan to negotiate the terms of a ceasefire and potential peace agreement to end the 20-year conflict. By August the ceasefire agreement was signed; despite the International Criminal Court indictments against the LRA's senior leadership, the Juba peace talks were still underway.

Although the August 26, 2006, ceasefire agreement is largely gender neutral in language and has no specific references to sexual and gender-based violence, it does denote some awareness of the issues. The references included:

- Item 3.3 states: "In the preparation of the detailed agreements and agreements for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and implementation of measures necessary to adhere to gender and child specific UN International Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) for encampment shall be given the highest priority; and
- Item 6.1 (b) pertains to the Government of South Sudan (and its responsibilities vis a vis the LRA and the Ugandan government) seeking to ensure "the implementation of . . . international standards and mandates, in particular that relevant mandates in Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women peace and security and [UNSCR] 1612 (2005) on children and armed conflict are applied."

Women's participation in the negotiations also emerged as a key issue in public discussions. In the first Stakeholders' Consultative meeting between government personnel and civil society organizations to discuss the substance and process of the talks, the issue of women's participation was raised. During the same period the national women's organizations were meeting with women refugees to address the concerns of women.[22] A month later, five national women's organizations with the leadership of the Ugandan Women's Network (UWONET) had formed the Civil Society Women's Peace Coalition and held a 5-day consultation with women in Northern Uganda. The process was supported by UNIFEM and "guided by UNSCR 1325 and the African Union's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004)." The consultations drew over 200 women from five districts. They raised a number of critical issues relating to the root causes of the conflict including land tenure, rehabilitation of displaced populations, physical security, psycho-social support, reconciliation and justice. The women also made an appeal to all parties to make peace and include women in the negotiations.

[22] M. Yunus, "Uganda: Peace or Justice", Allafrica.com, online at http://allafrica.com/stories/200610120866.html, retrieved September 2010.

UNIFEM's additional interventions in Uganda were also critical. By 2007 UNIFEM was coordinating efforts with the UN Department of Political Affairs and had seconded a Gender Adviser to the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy to the LRA-Affected Areas. UNIFEM also coordinated efforts with the Institute for Inclusive Security (IIS). While the talks were paused, IIS initiated in December 2007 a series of meetings with women including MPs, government and LRA team members as well as representatives from the mediators' team, and CSOs, all engaged in the talks as delegates or observers. The sessions, held in Kenya, included negotiation skills development and coalition-building strategies, and focus on issues and substance of the talks, including disarmament, demobilization and reintegration issues (DDR) that were on the agenda for the next round of formal talks. They also addressed the need to maintain communication with grassroots women. These interventions were helpful. As the formal talks got underway, women delegates shared common ground despite their political affiliations, were better informed and able to address the provisions of key agenda items and successfully make key demands. Jebbeh Foster, the UN Gender Adviser, also played an important role both as adviser and an inside advocate for the women's concerns. The change is evident in the range of references to gender and women's issues in the DDR agreement.

Juba DDR Agreement and Women

- Item 2.1 The parties affirming their commitment to "ensuring that the DDR process protects, dignifies and benefits women in their own rights, and ensures the equal participation of women in the DDR process"
- Item 2.2 (c): "cover gender mainstreaming as well as women and girl specific aspects of reintegration";
- Item 2.9 the GoU "To provide reintegration support that emphasizes educational and livelihood opportunities, and give particular attention to the needs of girls and young mothers";
- Item 2.11 the LRAM "To ensure the earliest release and repatriation to Uganda of pregnant and lactating women along with all children under 18 years of age."
- Items 2.14 "The Parties shall ensure that the DDR process fully incorporates the special rights and needs of women. In particular [SCR] 1325 on women, peace and security…"
- Item 2.15 " As far as possible funding for specific measures for women and girls in the reintegration phase of the DDR process shall be earmarked for that purpose."

In the Ugandan peace talks, UNSCR 1325 catalyzed important processes and models for adaptation. The gains made in the agreements cannot be underestimated. The DDR agreement can serve as a model text for future agreements. Yet, as in Sri Lanka, a range of factors—including actions by the LRA and the Ugandan government—impeded the process from being concluded. The lack of a comprehensive agreement negated the women's gains made during each phase of the discussions. UNIFEM's emphasis on getting women into the formal process also detracted attention and resources from the women's civil society peace coalition. The group was under-resourced, and the inevitable divisions among the coalition members were not managed effectively.

Women's Public Actions as Important as Being in the Formal Process

Women's demands for being involved in formal processes is predicated on the belief that critical decisions are made behind the closed doors of negotiations, so to exert influence and shape the agenda, it is important to be inside the process. But as the cases above indicate, when the process itself is

problematic and leaders either have no interest or incentive to make peace, the peripheral participation of women to get gender sensitivity into the agreements may have no impact. In fact, CSOs and women's groups can damage their public standing and integrity if they participate in processes that fail.

In Liberia, the international community invited representatives from the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) to participate into the formal process, but it was the efforts of the Women's Mass Action for Peace Network stationed outside the conference premises that made peace and history. The Women's Mass Action for Peace movement drew on faith and common values to mobilize women across the churches and mosques. The movement received some support from international actors—notably Oxfam—but it was self-driven and largely self-funded. They began dressed in white, sitting in protest in Monrovia's fish market, demanding that then-President Charles Taylor and the rebel groups stop the war. As the violence escalated they gained strength from the international community's call for peace. Each echoed and legitimized the other. But the mass action was not initiated by UN agencies or led by the elite women of the country. In fact the women peace leaders of the 1990s deliberately stepped aside and encouraged the younger generation to take charge as they felt that warring factions would not have confidence in them given their involvement in the 1996 peace process. The new, younger leadership without political affiliations and the outreach and partnership with Muslim women were critical given Liberia's history of social divisions.

They succeeded in bringing thousands of Liberian women together under the simple demand of "peace and no more war" on the streets of Monrovia and later Accra where peace talks were taking place. The movement's leaders chose to remain outside of the formal space because they did not want their demands to be politicized. But they did advocate for and work with their partners, the Mano River Women's Peace Network members (MARWOPNET) that were inside. For over six weeks while negotiations were taking place, much of it focused on the demands of warring parties, the violence also continued in Monrovia. In the end it was the women's actions—a mass sit-in that barricaded delegates in meeting rooms—that prompted international mediators to set deadlines and secure agreements. The movement held together for the post-conflict period too, becoming involved in the disarmament of combatants and mobilizing public support for the election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as president. Liberia's current peace - problematic as it may be - is largely thanks to the mass action of its women literally sitting outside the negotiations, and not giving up on peace.

In Colombia, women's groups such as Ruta Pacifica and the National Women's Network are among the leaders of public peace movements and have been an essential means of challenging the militarization perpetuated by the state, paramilitaries, and left-wing guerillas. They have been the national conscience reminding the country of the impact of armed conflict at a time when the government adopted the "Democratic Security Policy" that framed the guerillas as criminals and instigated a massive military operation. For the women's peace movement, the policy shift meant peace through war: it implied and led to increased violence and human rights abuses. The emphasis on terrorism and denial of the broader conflict and socio-economic problems was also alarming. By applying different tactics, they attempted to reclaim the space for peace through peaceful means.

In 2002, women led the Women's March for Peace, drawing some 40,000 women and men onto the streets and demonstrating women's leadership of the peace movement. In 2003, they led the National Women's March to Putumayo, under the slogan *Women do Peace*. The march was the starting point of a campaign for the demilitarization of society. Some 7,000 women participated, bringing the situation of Putumayo—badly affected by armed conflict and the fumigation policies of Plan Colombia—to national attention.

Simultaneously, groups such as the Women's Peace Initiative (IMP) used the framework of UNSCR 1325 to develop practical means by which women could engage in the mainstream security discourse and ensure that their perspectives were articulated. IMP emerged after contact between the women's arm of the Swedish Trade Union movement and their Colombian counterparts. "We [heard] about the resolution from a Swedish women parliamentarian who was involved in its formulation," says Angela Ceron an IMP member. "Our actions have been framed on UNSCR 1325, because IMP considers the resolution as very important international instrument for negotiations…it was not known during the negotiations with FARC".[23]

In terms of practical actions, IMP in partnership with other women's peace groups and networks established the Women's Emancipatory Constitution (WEC) in November 2002. Its goal was to "produce a collective agenda for peace from women's perspectives." The WEC operated for three years, conducting wide consultations and building consensus around a 5-pillar agenda for peace, including a focus on the economy, justice and security, politics and public life, society and culture, and land, territory and the environment. IMP and its partners also initiated spaces for debate and public forums called "Agoras" to address humanitarian concerns and truth, justice and reparations issues resulting from the conflict. They also targeted national legislation and policies related to the disarmament and demobilization of paramilitaries and succeeded in getting some sensitivity to the needs of women, and victims of violence.

It remains a work in progress and the efforts and achievements of the Colombian women are less evident than that of Liberian women. This is due to the absence of a formal peace process (with the FARC) for the women to engage in. It is also because in Liberia, the women's mass action and the international community echoed each other's demands for an end to the violence and a negotiated peace. In Colombia, the international community is largely silent on the subject.

Women at the Table: Tokens and Props, or Strategists?

Despite the lack of attention to women's concerns, the elites engaged in peace talks often use women as props. They elevate and seek to legitimize themselves with lofty rhetoric about the needs or war experiences of women and children. In Aceh, as in many cases, the negotiating parties acknowledged the importance of women's issues and human rights. Yet when the time came, says peace activist, Samsidar, they were "sold out." With activists excluded from the process, the opportunity to hold the elites accountable are radically diminished.

Women as Strategists or Props?

"When women ask to participate in the process, it is not as props to reinforce arguments of any side of the negotiating table. Women are looking to participate as strategists in the process because they can speak for themselves, think for themselves, and most important of all they are well placed to recommend strategies for rebuilding the lives of their devastated communities…It is from their experiences that psycho-social analysts will prepare long term interventions for the traumatized people. It is their knowledge that will enable government to develop policies and programmes that are relevant to the community. They are the ones who will fetch water, determine which children go to school, and ensure that there is food on the table. They need to have a voice in the decision making process through which government plans construction of roads, schools, wells, and clinics…Using women as props rather than strategists is for me the greatest shame of the Juba process."

- Anne Mugisha, the Special Envoy of the Forum for Democratic Change in Uganda

http://friendsforpeaceinafrica.org/home/48-analysis/93-the-shame-of-juba-is-ignoring-women.html

[23] Angela Cerón, interviewed by Elena Rey, "What the Women Say: The Colombia Case Study," MIT/ICAN, 2010.

In the Juba talks in Uganda, initially the government and the LRA both used the deaths of two women – one at the hands of government military and the other by the LRA – to justify their stance and demands. But this women-as-props approach was derided in the mainstream media. The resistance from all sides to acknowledge women as informed strategists and problem solvers is pervasive.

The focus on getting women to the peace table has also prompted significant tokenism by governments and non-state actors. In Sri Lanka, during a brief renewal of peace talks between the government and the LTTE in 2005-06, the Minister for Housing and Reconstruction, Mrs. Ferial Ashraff, key member of the largest Muslim political party, was asked to be on the delegation. In principle she was meant to represent the view of Muslims evicted from Jaffna in 1990 and the issues of rehabilitation for child soldiers being released. She was the only woman on the government's six-person team. Reflecting on her experience, Mrs. Ashraff said, "When the President first asked me to go…I didn't feel qualified enough to go…I checked into a hotel for four days before the peace talks armed with resource materials and read the many documents to prepare for the talks." The team also attended a 2-3 day training session organized by the Peace Secretariat and facilitated by international experts to gain familiarity with a range of issues, experiences from other peace processes and legal frameworks. The training did not mention UNSCR 1325 or the related issues. When negotiations started, despite the past history of the Sub-Committee on Gender, there was no reference to women's concerns or needs.

In retrospect, Mrs. Ashraff believes the fact that she was a woman was designed to convey a more inclusive image of the government. She was also selected to represent the views of Muslims in the conflict areas, not to bring forward gendered perspectives. The president appointed her as the media spokesperson. This, she believes, was also instrumental—to prompt more tolerance and easier question from reporters, based on her gender and religion. She never felt intimidated during the brief negotiations and participated in the dialogues with the LTTE. But she believes that her male colleagues were keen to dominate the discussions, while supporting her when she spoke about her specifically noted topics; displaced Muslims and child soldiers.

In Aceh, the Indonesian government team did not include women but the GAM brought one woman, Shadia Marhaban, into the talks after the first round in Helsinki. Some observers believed that initially her presence was a publicity tactic, to give the impression that GAM was a progressive liberation movement. CMI mediators initially resisted her inclusion as they had limited negotiations teams to five members. GAM resolved this by including her as an expert advisor.

Shadia Marhaban proved to be an important contributor to the process. With a background in journalism and direct experience of living with GAM fighters in the jungle in Aceh, she had more knowledge of life in Aceh during the than other GAM negotiators who had lived in exile most of their lives. But her lone presence could not affect the agenda and scope of the talks. There was no recognition of women's earlier mobilization for peace, or their demands and human rights concerns. These issues remain unresolved.

"Who are you? Do you have an Army?"

"Who are you? Do you have an army?" Women leaders pressing for a ceasefire in the Philippines were asked these questions to demonstrate their legitimacy. The Security Council's authority seems to carry little weight. Despite four resolutions, the onus to gain access to peace talks, still remains primarily on the shoulders of women activists and civil society groups. The bar for qualification and credibility is

arbitrary across different settings – at times determined by the whim or interest of the mediators involved. It seems women only qualify to participate in peace talks if they are simultaneously prominent leaders with experience in high-level negotiations and grassroots activists with a large constituency. Even then there are no guarantees. The qualification for armed actors on the other hand, is their capacity to wreak violence.

Elite-based exclusive peace processes are precarious endeavors if the leadership (state or non-state) is not truly committed to making peace and the necessary compromises that entails. More often than not, their participation is due to the pressures they face – security, economic, socio-political - and a calculation of possible gains. No wonder that negotiations are so delicate and shaky. UNSCR 1325 provides an entry point to bolster and strengthen the peace process by including women who can a) hold leaders accountable, b) mediate internally to sustain the process, and c) ensure that the agenda is reflective of the needs of civilians and local constituencies, not just the priorities of the elite.

They cannot do this alone, however. Women's peace groups and those involved in delegations need technical support, like the work done by Institute for Inclusive Security in Uganda. They also need to be informed about the processes and agendas in place. The international community including the UN and other mediators involved, must take on the task of reaching out and including women's very concrete and real experiences of war, negotiations and survival into the formal frameworks, instead of finding arbitrary reasons for their exclusion, or assuming that because they do not pose a security threat, they can be easily ignored.

C. Building Women's Capacities: Substance and Skills Do Not Match Needs

Training and capacity building workshops have been a key intervention that donors, multilateral organizations, and NGOs have supported or undertaken in the name of women's participation. The trainings can be clustered into two groups; skills based sessions and content-based sessions. In the countries reviewed, there are critical issues arising vis-à-vis these trainings. While the problems outweigh the solutions, there are also examples of good practice in the different countries.

- **Skills are taught but they are not directly linked to women's participation in peace and security processes.** There are many generic leadership trainings on offer that aim to develop women's capacities to enter into politics, run in elections, and so forth. But the majority is not specific to women's participation in peace and security related issues. Even though trainings are conducted in crisis settings, the skills on offer do not include conflict and gender analysis, scenario assessment, conflict resolution, mediation and negotiation skills training for women that would bolster their knowledge and capacity to engage effectively. There is also limited attention to training in strategic advocacy and coalition building for peace.

- **UNSCR 1325 is often taught as a stand-alone entity separate from the experiences of conflict and peacebuilding**. Trainings on SCR 1325 are often too literal and tied to the text instead of starting with the context of conflict, issues and needs on the ground and then reviewing the resolution to see if and how it addresses the issues. The legally oriented, top-down approach to the resolution can make it seem removed from women's experiences and too difficult for grassroots groups to use effectively.

- **There is insufficient focus on substance and knowledge on conflict and peace.** The majority of trainings lack the sector-specific content that is critical for women's effective engagement in peace

processes. In Aceh, for example, women's capacity-building workshops often lacked reference to the historic context, the conflict, women's experiences or the changed environment post conflict. The multiple and often broad definitions of terms such as peacebuilding or conflict resolution can cause some confusion. The lack of attention to conflict-specific substance—ranging from root causes of conflict to the specific agenda items such as Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR) and governance and justice structures—Is problematic on two fronts. First, it does not equip women adequately to speak out in peace processes to all the issues. Second, for women running as political candidates, the messaging and leadership skills they may learn are redundant if they lack coherent substance and knowledge of issues that are affecting constituents.

- **Workshops that unite women around common experiences of conflict should be a means to an ends, not ends in themselves.** While uniting around the common gender-based causes is an important entry point, it should be a means to an ends, not an end in itself. It is important that women push themselves to tackle and resolve the core issues that divide their communities—as the Israeli and Palestinian women have tried to do—and not remain solely in the terrain of "women's concerns." Their impact is greatest when they address issues that resonate across their communities, with women and men, as well as with parties to the conflict and mediators.

In the Uganda case, the training on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) issues that Inclusive Security provided to delegates involved in the Juba peace talks, is good practice. It had immediate impact, and is reflected in the language of the DDR agreement.

- **Women are not given timely or adequate information** about the structure and procedural dimensions of peace processes or the mandates of international missions (*e.g.*, mediation teams, peacekeeping missions). Women's groups are often not informed about ongoing events or international missions. As a result they are either scrambling at the last minute to get organized and engage, or their expectations and demands are mismatched.
- **The Impact and outcomes of trainings are not tracked.** Workshops can be one-off incidents with no follow through to determine if the participants benefitted from and used the skills and knowledge they acquired. In Sri Lanka, a UNDP evaluation of trainings for political participation revealed that between 1994 and 2008 some 5000 women had received training for political leadership. It was unclear, however whether the same women attended multiple training programs organized by different organizations. If the same women were trained multiple times, the value of these trainings is also questionable. Second, there was no nexus between the numbers of women trained by women's organization and the numbers that get nominated or even elected. This is where the gap lies. Political parties were not tapping into the pool of "trained" women. As UNDP states, "it is very clear that nominations are influenced by factors such as networks within the party and availability of funds for expensive campaigns. Unless women's organizations are willing to address this reality, training programs will simply keep producing women with great expectations and leadership potential but who are still unable to get nominations or even if they do, who are unable to win elections.'[24]

[24] *The Struggle for Equal Political Representation of Women in Sri Lanka: A Stocktaking report for the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment and the United Nations Development Programme*, Chulani Kodikara, October 2009, cited by Shyamala Gomez, "What the Women Say; The Sri Lanka Case," MIT/ICAN 2010.

Peacebuilding and UNSCR 1325 Trainings make a Difference

Only a handful of organizations are focused directly on gender, peacebuilding and security issues with a strategic approach to participant selection, programming goals, and follow-up activities. Women who have had peacebuilding training and exposure to UNSCR 1325 use the skills in different ways. For many the workshops have led to personal growth and confidence building. Some have intervened to resolve tensions in their communities when conflicts have arisen, others have taught their newly acquired skills to a wider group to form networks dealing with various forms and levels of violence, empowerment, and self-employment. For example, in Sri Lanka, in the war-affected area of Trincomalee, a network consisting of UN agencies, women CBOs, and local government officials meet monthly and handle issues such as violence against women, emergency relief and self employment.[25] Following a basic training on peacebuilding and women (framed by UNSCR 1325), one group of Tamil and Sinhalese women met to understand each other's problems, and explore coexistence in peace and conflict transformation.

*In **Nepal** in 2006, when the UN decided to send in a technical mission to determine needs for its peacekeeping role, UNFPA was appointed to provide gender advice. Women's groups were demanding meetings with the mission and the request was granted. In preparation, UNFPA ran two half-day workshops for the women's groups, giving them an opportunity to air their grievances; allay misunderstanding, inform them about the role and mandate of the UN (and a visiting mission) and assist them in preparing for their meeting with the mission's senior representatives. UNFPA's facilitation helped the women to identify their priority concerns, articulate their demands from the UN and state the capacities and ways in which they could partner with the UN (for example on civic education, briefing of peacekeepers on gender and cultural sensitivity etc). As a result of this basic preparation, the meeting with the mission representatives was productive and relevant. By contrast, the human rights organizations had had no preparation, and their meeting was chaotic and turned antagonistic.*

In ***Sri Lanka*** *the Association of War Affected Women (AWAW) has been a key innovator. In 2008, AWAW partnered with ICAN and the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School to provide training for a multi-party group of women politicians working at national, provincial and regional state levels. The workshops, led to a women's multi-party coalition for peace. It offered mediation and negotiation-skills training, gender and conflict analysis in the UNSCR 1325 framework, assessment and scenario development of the Sri Lankan context, and strategic planning and coalition building for the group. They continued its collaboration into 2010, including through the initiation of a women's manifesto. AWAW also providing training on UNSCR 1325, and basic peacebuilding to grassroots women leaders across all 25 provinces.*

*In **Northern Uganda**, CARE International ran a project to put UNSCR 1325 into practice. Over a year, CARE provided capacity building for 110 women leaders to advocate for peace and participate in peacebuilding processes by using UNSCR 1325. The project resulted in several women-led advocacy campaigns on UNSCR 1325; women's district forums (70% women/30% men) where the challenges facing grassroots women were addressed and fed into national discussions; the revitalization of women's desks in provincial government offices; women's representation in local decision making bodies, such a local council committee, land committees and district peace recovery and development planning working group, and women's self-help groups addressing livelihood issues, domestic violence, land loss and other concerns.*

[25] Morgana Weeriah interviewed by Shymala Gomez, op. cit.

Table 1. ***Necessary Elements for the Effective Inclusion of Women Civil Society Representatives in Peace Processes***

PHASE	ACTION
Crisis Evident/ During War/ Before Talks	○ Mapping of women's peace work/existing or potential groups and coalitions ○ Technical capacity building for CSOs & coalition building ○ Financial support for CSOs ○ Development of women's peace agenda, *e.g.*, addressing root causes of conflict
Preparing for Talks	Mediation Team: ○ Appointment of Gender Adviser to Envoy/mediator at earliest stage ○ TOR of mediator: Specific reference to UNSCR 1325 and outreach to women's CSOs and design of inclusive process ○ From outset demonstrate commitment to inclusion of women's peace groups as equal legitimate partners. Support to CSOs: ○ Dual approach to women's inclusion ensuring a) presence/participation in formal negotiations, and b) in public as pressure groups ○ Strategic planning and division of labor based on comparative advantage or expertise (*e.g*. presence inside or outside formal process; high-level leaders or grassroots with public constituency; track two mediation) ○ Women's groups are regularly informed and kept abreast of developments to enable them to react and provide input in a timely manner. Interactions/Support to Delegates ○ Reference obligations of all concerned to UNSCR 1325 (and rationale) ○ All capacity-building provided to delegations includes explicit reference to UNSCR 1325 agenda and relevance in all sectors (e.g. DDR, SSR, governance, justice etc) ○ Clear indication that women's voices/concerns will be respected and heard.
During Talks	○ Women's peace group fully represented and supported (travel, security, etc. on a par with other delegations) at high-level talks with access to senior delegations; not just peripheral/side events ○ Women's contributions integrated into the entire process (including relationship- and trust building), not just to gender or women's issues ○ Civic forums for participation of all interested CSOs in process, contributing ideas and demonstrating public demands for peace ○ Grassroots peace constituencies also supported and informed ○ Women inside/outside formal processes maintain contact and coordination. ○ When substantive issues are resolved, the solution is made public to ensure transparency and build public trust. ○ Model language/experiences good and bad (e.g. DDR) shared with all delegations to help inform negotiations. ○ Strengthen bonds and coordinated approach to gender sensitivity in all elements of the agenda/agreement between women across all delegations (*e.g*., in South Africa they had 50% female representation in all substantive committees, and an all-women's committee that reviewed the draft documents to ensure comprehensive gender sensitivity)

Table 1 continued on next page

From Peace on Paper to Peace in Reality; The post-agreement transition period	CSO support/partnerships: ○ Sustain support to women's peace groups and advocacy groups to monitor implementation and be able to hold parties accountable (*e.g*. through public education campaigns, mass protests, etc) ○ Encourage/support women CSO leaders to enter political/governance sphere and work for transformation from the inside-out. ○ Maintain public information systems (media, civic forums) in place to manage public expectations, address arising grievances, clarify misunderstandings and suspicions (*e.g*. about role of UN or actions of different parties) ○ Partner with CSOs to carry message of peace agreement to rural and provincial communities. Support to government/officials ○ Provide training to all officials on social and gendered conflict analysis so that they can understand impact of conflict, people's needs, and prioritize actions and resources accordingly (*e.g.* in health, education, security, agriculture, etc). ○ Tie aid to transparency/accountability including attention to differential needs of women/men per sector.

II. The Key Actors

There are four sets of key actors involved in implementing this agenda—states, the UN system, CSOs, and non-state armed opposition groups. The discussion below captures key experiences common to the six cases reviewed and that resonate with other settings.

A. States Have Rights, But What About Responsibilities?

UN Member States have the primary responsibility for implementing UNSCR 1325. Precisely because it is a Security Council resolution, states have obligations to implement it.[26] Yet for most of the decade the majority of states have ducked the issues, ignored their responsibility and demands of their own citizens, or feigned support and done little. Given the lack of monitoring mechanisms or punitive consequences, there is no real incentive or pressure on states to fulfill their obligations. But this non-compliance also undermines the Security Council's authority.

Ten years since the passage of UNSCR 1325, only 19 of the 192 UN Member States have developed national action plans (NAPs) for the application of the resolution, and for those that have done so, it is largely due to the unrelenting advocacy of women's groups.[27] The substance, level, and quality of implementation varies enormously, and what exists on paper may have no bearing to reality. Nonetheless, the NAPs are becoming one means of monitoring state involvement in this agenda and tracking what is actually being done. The six case studies reveal structural problems in the patterns of state behavior that are also common in other settings.

- **In every instance, the women, peace, and security agenda is primarily housed in the Ministry of Gender or other state structures dedicated to promoting women's rights and gender equality**. In every case, these structures are amongst the weakest, poorest and least technically proficient of ministries.[28] They simply do not have the capacity or clout to fulfill the states' obligations, or press the leadership to take action. In Sri Lanka for example, the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment has (following persistent advocacy by women) integrated components of the UNSCR 1325 agenda into its National Plan of Action for Women. But nothing can be done formally or holistically until the cabinet approves the plan. Yet Sri Lanka has not only experienced a brutal war, but has recently emerged into a post-war period where the women, peace, and security agenda is urgent and relevant. In Liberia, the Ministry of Gender and Development has a full plate: it is meant to advise the government on all matters affecting the protection, promotion, and advancement of women in Liberia; coordinate gender mainstreaming into development program; and ensure violence prevention. It also has to monitor and report back to the government on the impact and progress of gender equality programs. To do all this thoroughly, the ministry would need a much more substantial budget and senior technical teams in all sectors to deal with all

[26] Article 25 of the UN Charter states that "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." The member states obligations flow from the authority they confer on the Council under Article 24(1) to act on behalf of member states while the Council exercise its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

[27] It is ironic that women's peace and rights movements that are often the least respected and supported by states and multilateral systems are among the entities that are willing to recognize the value and push for the realization of the policies and priniciples established by these systems.

[28] They have various names: Ministry of Women's and Children's Affairs, Ministry of Gender, Labor and Rights, but they are all de-facto "women's ministries."

development programs. The other ministries have to be held accountable for gender equality issues.

- **Often the UNSCR 1325 agenda gets subsumed into the more traditional and generic framework of women's development issues**. For example, in Colombia the Presidential Councilor for Women's Equality (CPEM) has the lead responsibility for UNSCR 1325. Yet CPEM's documentation of policies and programs makes no reference to the existence of armed conflict and has no conceptual framing of peace-related issues. UNSCR 1325 is folded into programs for economic empowerment, domestic violence, general mainstreaming of gender into governing systems, and generic political participation. There are no direct links to the specific provision and issues pertaining to security, justice, reconciliation, or victims' needs that the resolution (and the later Security Council resolutions) addresses. According to women's rights activists, even the Women's Community Councils, framed by CPEM as mechanisms for women's local and regional political participation and for consolidating women's networks against violence, make no mention of UNSCR 1325. To many seasoned activists, these Councils are counterproductive. "As a space where women meet to discuss issues, they are fine. But the agenda is not focused on women's needs or rights," says a Colombian activist.[29] "CPEM has held many Councils, but it is welfarism where the Opportunity Bank is presented offering expensive credits to women," says a representative of the international community.[30] "There are a huge amount of women there, but never women from the organized social movement."[31] Many believe the Councils are primarily political vehicles to further the government's own goals and build electoral support rather than to transform social or gender issues.

- **Major state institutions are effectively dodging responsibility at times when understanding and addressing the social and gender-specific changes caused by conflict are most needed.** In Aceh, for example, the agencies established to address post-conflict recovery lack the basic, necessary knowledge or sensitivity to women, peace, and security issues and priorities. In Sri Lanka, the Presidential Task Force for Northern Development—established in 2009 with 19 members and mandated to resettle and rehabilitate IDPs and support social and economic development in the war-affected areas—has no women members and the women's ministry is not represented, despite the estimated 280,000 people displaced, many of them widows and single heads of families solely by the last military assaults of April 2009. A newly established Ministry of Human Rights makes no reference to the UNSCR 1325 issues either. Finally, in May 2010, the president appointed the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) comprising eight members, including one woman, to enquire into events dating from the ceasefire of 2002 to the end of war in 2009. The LLRC mandate makes no specific reference to gender perspectives or attention to the experiences of women and men. Without an explicit mandate, addressing the issues will again be left to Sri Lankan women's CSOs, when in reality the state is accountable to them and to the UN Security Council.

- **The parallel universes of mainstream government programs and women's activism persist**. In Sri Lanka a cross-section of women's organizations, researchers, and academics drafted a women's manifesto in 2010 outlining the gendered issues in key sectors (education, health, infrastructure, etc.) and called on the state to ensure gender sensitivity in its peacebuilding. But the manifesto remains sidelined. In Uganda, the government-led Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for the rehabilitation of Northern Uganda (2009-2012) pays scant attention to women's concerns and

[29] Angela Cerón, op.cit.
[30] Mar Humbeto of the Spanish Development Agency, interviewed by Rey, op. cit.
[31] Ibid.

had no women involved in the planning process. The Ugandan NGO Isis Women's Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE)—which has over twenty years experience working on psychosocial, peace, and security issues with women and communities in the war torn areas—analyzed the PRDP (see box)) and mobilized women's groups to form the Task Force on a Gender Responsive PRDP to lobby and monitor for attention to women. Uganda has an UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan, tilted towards SGBV issues because of UNFPA's lead on its development. Still the state and its leadership are evading their responsibilities.

Key Findings of the Isis-WICCE's Gendered Analysis of the PRDP in 2007

1. The PRDP framework not only excluded women in its initiation but the propositions presented did not reflect women's needs and priorities.
2. Gender equality and women's rights issues relating to health and psychosocial care, economic empowerment, land rights, education, and justice were not addressed adequately.
3. There were no references to the specific issues and needs of war-affected women notably, IDPs and refugees, women with disabilities, widows, the landless and unemployed, women living with HIV/AIDS, ex-combatants and returnees in the North and North East who are at high risk of sexual abuse, sexually transmitted infections.
4. The overall framework did not align with the accepted national, regional and international gender instruments such as Uganda's 1995 Constitution, the Uganda Gender Policy, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action. It also did not adhere to the requirements set out in UNSCR 1325[1] or the Goma Declaration that recognizes SGBV as a serious threat to national and regional peace and security, and increased propagation of HIV/AIDS.

- **Women's CSOs can be at the mercy of the Ministry of Women.** Women's ministries can be champions for gender equality issues in government structures, but they can also hamper the progression and empowerment of women. If they are weak—financially, technically or politically—they cannot be effective partners. If they are led poorly or have priorities widely divergent from women's organizations, they can become part of the problem, not the solution. Yet by virtue of being the one-stop shop for all things women-related, they hold immense power in this small pond. They can siphon away bilateral and multilateral funds from CSOs into state coffers. By doing so, they can weaken existing indigenous CSOs and service providers, but not have the capacity to replace them. As government entities, they also implement the ruling parties' policies, especially problematic where political parties have a weak record on women's rights. When it comes to the peace and security issues, the situation is even more sensitive: governments are rarely amenable or supportive of dissenting CSOs.

  The Liberian example is notable. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's government has put women's rights and empowerment high on the agenda. Multilateral and bilateral donors have come forward in droves, supporting state initiatives and funding the Ministry of Gender and Development. Yet many of the most prominent CSOs and women's networks are facing precarious financial situations, because the funds are channeled through the state. This is causes a number of negative effects. First, there is a lack of transparency about how the ministry selects NGO partners for program implementation. The

perception among activists is that the ministry perceives the CSOs as a source of competition.[32] Second, with ministries controlling funds, many women's organizations can become fearful of speaking out and instead of becoming empowered with strong independent voices, they become beholden to the state for their survival. The political relationships can become more important to them than the constituencies they are meant to represent and support.

- **Form can trump function: laws, NAPs, policies, and rhetoric.** Viewing government policies, CEDAW ratification, UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans and a host of regional declarations might give the impression that the march towards gender equality, prevention of violence, women's participation, and so forth is making rapid progress. This is far from the truth. Women's movements struggle to engage in international and national policy processes, only to find that their own governments, the multilateral institutions that promulgate the policies, and the donors that claim to be supportive, are barely shifting from their rhetoric into real action.

  On the question of women, and particularly the peace and security agenda, it is a Catch-22 situation: without the "form" – the resolution, the policies, the NAPs, and laws – it was virtually impossible to have the function—altered practices or women's effective participation in decision-making. But even with the policies in place, the function does not follow. Indeed, the existence of the policies is partially counterproductive, as governments claim credit for them but are rarely questioned or assessed on their implementation and impact.

  Colombia, Israel, and Liberia[33] offer experiences of legislating the provisions of UNSCR 1325 into national law. Israel and Colombia in particular have legislated the involvement of women in peacemaking and security-related governmental structures.

  There are immediate benefits for supporters of the agenda in a legislative arena. It is easier to lobby for and speak out against the lack of implementation of national laws than it is to make the case for international norms and laws. While governments and political parties can alter course radically, it is more difficult for them to act on whim if the issues are already in codified in law. Of course, bringing the resolution into national law is not an easy task. The challenges include:

  - *mobilizing the time and resources needed to advocate and build support for the issues, both inside parliament and among the public;*
  - *ensuring that the entire agenda is addressed, as the legislative process inevitably results in changes and the watering down of the laws;*
  - *implementing the provisions that are made into law, which are often not enforced, and thus campaigns for legislative changes must include a monitoring or watchdog provision once the law is in place.*

  The cases offer some lessons.

[32] According to the research team, the Minister of Gender had implied this at a meeting with women's NGOs.
[33] In Liberia, important legislation includes new protection and rights for rape victims, including a wider definition of rape (in the past only gang-rape was a criminal offense), and the establishment of Criminal Court E, the Sexual Offenses Court, which deals specifically with sexual offenses under the penal laws of Liberia. There is significant work being done on SGBV prevention and protection in Liberia, but assessing it is beyond the scope of this report.

In 2003, IshaL'Isha, a Haifa-based Jewish-Arab feminist NGO, was inspired by UNSCR 1325 to initiate a campaign raising awareness of the gendered impacts of the conflict, and seeking concrete mechanisms to ensure Israeli women's participation in negotiation and implementation of peace agreements. Their entry point was getting an amendment to the existing 1951 law for Women's Equality. IshaL'Isha partnered with legislators to push the amendment forward. Its contributions included surveying and consulting women's organizations nationally on the first drafts of the bill, organizing a grassroots campaign encouraging women to contact Knesset members and press for their support of the law, a media campaign to reinforce the message, and an *ad hoc* coalition to ensure that the final draft bill was as effective as possible.[34]

In July 2005, the Knesset did pass the "Equal Representation of Women Act" mandating the inclusion of women in teams appointed for peace negotiations and in committees setting guidelines for domestic and foreign security policy. It did not include a quota, however and it has its limitations: it cannot ensure representation of women from minority groups or diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Nor does it demand the mainstreaming of gender perspective in all decision-making processes related to armed conflicts. While it serves as a useful tool for civil society advocates, state compliance with the law has been minimal at best.

In Colombia traces of UNSCR 1325 are evident in specific government initiated laws. Like in Israel, women's organizations were the engine behind the legislative milestones. In 2005, the government passed Law 975, the Peace and Justice Law. For many in the human rights and peace community, it was a de-facto impunity law to protect the pro-state paramilitaries that were heading into demobilization and exempt them from prosecution for war crimes and crimes against humanity that many had perpetrated over the decades. Two groups, the IMP and the National Women's Network lobbied the Colombian Congress for "inclusion of gender perspectives and the right to truth, justice and reparation of women victims" into the law. Both groups framed their advocacy as implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Their efforts resulted in the addition of five articles regarding sexual violence against women and children, the protection of victims and witnesses of sexual aggression, representation of victims' organizations and the Colombian ombudsman on the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation, and the inclusion of two women on the commission.[35] The application remains an ongoing process, but it has also influenced other processes. For example, UNSCR 1325 was also used in 2009 to advocate for gender perspectives in the High Presidential Council for Reintegration (ACR) that provided economic and social assistance to men and women who demobilized voluntarily. "There is consensus that UNSCR 1325 provided this opportunity as the state is compelled to implement [the law],"reflects one activist. "We believe the space was strengthened with women´s participation, and it is an opportunity to make women visible and demonstrate the importance of their participation in these processes." [36] In Colombia at least there is tangible evidence of the value of UNSCR 1325 as law, but the outcomes are yet to be seen.

- **Are donors and regional organizations practicing what they preach?** The resolution has pertinence and urgency in conflict-affected countries, but it also has implications for regional governmental

[34] Online at http://www.isha.org.il/default.php?lng=3&pg=1&dp=2&fl=12
[35] President Uribe appointed Ana Teresa Bernal, head of the National Network of Peace Initiatives (REDEPAZ) and Patricia Buriticá, national coordinator of IMP as commissioners to the CNRR. The selection of the two women – both with significant credentials as peace activists - without consultation with the wider CSO movement created tensions within the movement. Nonetheless some women peace activists believe it was a positive development.
[36] Activist interviewed by Rey.

bodies, states involved in bilateral aid and development, and those who pride themselves for their diplomacy, mediation, and facilitation skills. Many European countries are major donors for the UNSCR 1325 agenda and have financed women's activism across conflict zones. Nonetheless, they have been inconsistent in their approach. Norway, for example is mentioned regularly as a key supporter of women's organizations including those advocating for UNSCR implementation. Yet in the Sri Lanka mediations, the Norwegians did not proactively reach out to women's groups or ensure their inclusion as part of their standard operating procedures. They deferred to the warring parties. To Norway's credit, once the parties set up the SGI, the Norwegians supported it fully.

- **Among the existing nineteen countries with UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans, the majority are currently donor countries**. Twelve of these are in Europe, with the UK, Norway, Germany, The Netherlands, Finland, and Sweden among them. Like their Liberian and Ugandan counterparts, the donor countries have struggled to fully integrate and implement the resolution. Typically it less evident in their domestic spheres than in their foreign and development aid work. Yet even in their international work, there is a lack of consistency between policy and practice. A 2010 review of European-based NAPs asserts:[37]

> A problem with most the NAPs that have been developed in Europe is that they lack key elements that help ensure action, such as specific and realistic goals, objectives and priority actions; clear timelines; a dedicated budget; indicators, benchmarks and targets; clear lines of responsibility (*e.g.* indicating which unit within which ministry is responsible for implementation of each specific commitment); and results-oriented and transparent monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

In other words, they are not plans of action, they are plans of aspiration. The report claims that the NAPs early successes have been in promoting women's participation in peace processes. Yet in the six cases we reviewed, international actors were mediators or facilitators and/or major financiers of the recovery process. Finland was involved in Aceh, Norway in Sri Lanka, the European Union in Colombia and the Middle East, among other such relationships. In each instance (as discussed earlier) they did not take decisive action in support of women's participation.

The European Union is also notable. The European Parliament adopted its own comprehensive resolution on "The Participation of Women in Peaceful Conflict Resolution" in 2000 soon after UNSCR 1325 was passed.[38] Over the past decade the EU has repeated its commitments to the women, peace, and security agenda and called for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325.[39] Yet the EU's interventions in conflict settings have lacked gender and conflict analysis, and have no comprehensive framing of the issues.[40] The evidence is clear in Colombia, the Middle East and the Balkans. In the latter instance, the EU plays a central role in issues pertaining to Kosovo and the Bosnian's ascendance to the EU. Yet the EU has not made any effort to ensure compliance with UNSCR 1325 in the processes it is engaged in.

[37] EPLO, UNSCR 1325 in Europe, 21 Case Studies of Implementation, European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, Brussels, 2010. On line at http://www.eplo.org/index.php?id=249
[38] The European Parliament was among the policy targets of the campaign, Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table, which also led to UNSCR 1325 and an OSCE resolution.
[39] For details see K. Barnes and Minna Lyyitikainen, *Improving EU Responses to Gender and Peacebuilding* (London: International Alert, 2008).
[40] Ibid.

In Colombia, the EU has supported SGBV and women and girls protection programs, and "peace laboratories" in different regions, attempting to generate alternative economic development."[41] But there has been no substantive work on the women, peace, and security agenda.

In the Middle East, the mandate of the EU Special Representative (EUSR) is based on the EU's policy objectives to bring a final settlement to the Israeli Palestinian conflict that includes: "A two-state solution with Israel and a democratic, viable, peaceful and sovereign Palestinian State living side-by-side within secure and recognized borders."[42] Yet the EUSR's office claims to have no responsibility on UNSCR 1325 issues despite the mandate's clear focus on peace in the region. Meanwhile, in June 2010, with the Spanish government holding the presidency of the EU, a high-level conference took place in Madrid with UNIFEM and the International Women's Commission (IWC) present, focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, UNSCR 1325, and the EU's commitments to the agenda. The dots are there, but they are not being connected. As a result, women are being sidelined again.

The Middle East also highlights the inconsistency of other international actors. The United States, for example, sponsored UNSCR 1820 under the Bush administration, yet it has not been applied in the case of the Gaza war. The Obama administration has also embraced the women, peace, and security agenda and asked for UN member states to "renew their commitment to resolutions 1325, 1820 and 1888 – and intensify their efforts to implement the provisions."[43] In the Middle East, US Special Envoy George Mitchell has met with members of the International Women's Commission, but no mechanism was in place to include women's voices in the formal process.

Finally the Quartet's has insisted, "Our mandate does not cover issues related to women."[44] Tony Blair, the Quartet's representative was the UK prime minister when UNSCR 1325 was passed at the UN. During his tenure the UK government claimed leadership of this agenda internationally. But when it comes to actual implementation, there is no action. Only the office of the UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process was aware of the resolution and their responsibility to act – but there is no evidence of its implementation to date.

B. "Which UN agency is responsible for peace?" The Participation Pillar Gets Lost

"Which UN agency is responsible for peace?" A Colombian peace activist raised this question. For good reason: there are 23 UN agencies active in the country. The coordination issue is a known problem for the UN and Member States, and there is major reform to create a "one-UN" model. But for NGOs and other organizations working at national or grassroots levels, the multiple points of UN responsibility remain overwhelming.

It is particularly pertinent for peace organizations and groups committed to the UNSCR 1325 agenda, because while each agency has its specific mandate, none is charged with addressing peace and peace

[41] Since 2007 they have supported the program, Women's Participation in Defence of their Right to have a Life Free of Violence and for the Negotiation of the Armed Conflict in Colombia, which is working in 12 Colombian departments. They have also supported the project, Input to the Protection of Girls in the Armed Conflict in Colombia, which aims to improve local government capacities to prevent violence and protect girls in three Colombian departments.
[42] Council of the European Union, "Marc Otte, EU Special Representative to the Middle East peace process," Consilium.europa.eu. Available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showpage.aspx?id=452&lang=en
[43] Remarks by Ambassador Susan Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. April 27, 2010; http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/2010/140914.htm.
[44] Email exchange with Polfus.

building. Even when they have developed departmental action plans for the resolution's implementation, the activities have not been undertaken coherently.[45]

Given the number of "crisis" or post-conflict countries now, peacebuilding and conflict prevention—and as a result, UNSCR 1325 (and related resolutions)—are relevant to more countries. Yet the UN has struggled to establish a unified or coherent means of supporting conflict prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding in many countries, particularly those where UN peacekeeping missions are not present. One result is that agencies have created their own internal divisions for crisis prevention and recovery-related work. Duplication of efforts on some issues—notably SGBV awareness raising—is common, while other issues important to the 1325 agenda earn even less attention. The women's participation pillar is among those that can and do get lost.

Another outcome is a shifting focus and lack of commitment to the issues. In Colombia for example, the 2008-2012 UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), which is the UN system's joint program of work, has four priorities areas: (1) Poverty, equity and social development; (2) Sustainable development; (3) Rule of law and governability, and (4) Peace, security, and reconciliation. But donors and civil society activists have criticized the lack of attention to peaceful conflict resolution, and acceptance of the Colombian government's framing of the conflict as primarily an issue of criminality. As some commentators observe, the "UN agencies have lowered their profile"[46] and "lost influence at the institutional level."[47] "Before this government, the UN had a clear and real concern about the peace in this country. This policy was interrupted and they changed policy . . . Now they do not care about the peaceful resolution of the conflict."[48] This activist continues: "The role of the UN system have changed, in the last eight years, the UN is bending [weakening] on human rights issues."[49]

Information gathered from the six-country case studies offer the following common key findings.

- **UN agencies and UNSCR 1325** The UN Population Fund (UNFPA) has become an active player as well, but its focus is directed more sharply on issues of sexual violence. For example, in Uganda UNFPA led the development of the UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan. As a result the priorities and indicators are heavily focused on SGBV issues.

  The UN Development Programme (UNDP) should be more prominent on the participation issues, especially preventive action, and supporting women's engagement in peace processes. Yet its *Eight Point Agenda (8PA) For Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality in Crisis Prevention and Recovery*, which is framed by UNSCR 1325 was only launched in 2006. In 2009, UNDP deployed gender advisers to ten of its missions in crisis settings. It may become a more prominent player, but so far, UNDP has not had a strong presence on the UNSCR 1325 agenda. There is a project-based approach to its existing work, and a lack of connectivity to other efforts. For example in Liberia, UNDP has supported are peace huts where women are trained in conflict resolution skills and can act as mediators in community level disputes, and the training of women for recruitment into the police. In Sri Lanka, UNDP supports capacity building for businesswomen to engage in peace. In Uganda, UNDP launched a "bicycles for peace" project providing 500 women with bicycles to enable them to react quickly to incidences of gender-based violence.[50]

[45] A 2010 evaluation of the system-wide action plan has not been published.
[46] Mar Humberto op. cit.
[47] Representative of the International community interviewed by Rey, op. Cit.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] A formal evaluation of the project was not available, but anecdotal information indicated that many of the bike recipients were themselves subjected to violence because their male relatives wanted the bikes.

The UN Department for Political Affairs (DPA) should also have a prominent role in the UNSCR 1325 agenda, given its work on mediation, conflict prevention, and support to peace processes. In practice, DPA has had fitful involvement. Internally there have been numerous initiatives including comprehensive staff trainings (2005 and 2008), the development of a departmental action plan (2005), and the launch of a gender and mediation strategy (2010). It has also 'made progress' in better reporting on gender issues, reaching out to women's groups—DPA worked with MARWOPNET in West Africa—and improving its roster of potential mediators to include women and gender experts. But its leadership has not supported the agenda consistently, and member states have systematically under-funded DPA such that internal capacity is severely restricted.[51]

The Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has been among the most thoroughly funded and developed around the UNSCR 1325 agenda. But DPKO enters the arena after peace agreements are signed. In many instances—Aceh, Uganda, the Middle East, Sri Lanka and Colombia among our cases—DPKO has no presence.

- **UNIFEM, the UN's smallest entity, has been the lead agency on UNSCR 1325.** For ten years, UNIFEM – the Women's Fund for Development—has led the UN's efforts at implementing UNSCR 1325 in conflict-affected countries, with special emphasis on women's participation in peace processes. The fact that a relatively small, *development* organization has been the primary actor on *peace and security* issues is indicative of the systemic problems relating both to how women are treated in the UN system and how peace and security issues are addressed. With UNIFEM coming under the umbrella of the new UNWomen and likely to lead its field presence, it is worth considering the experiences gained around the UNSCR 1325/participation agenda.

1. *UNIFEM is both innovative and inconsistent*: UNIFEM's prominence puts it in a difficult situation. As the main agency working on women's participation issues, it is open to criticism. Yet given its size, its achievements – small and large – must be recognized. UNIFEM's activities vary enormously from country to country because of the political, financial, and technical constraints it faces, across the different settings. Its staff and institutional capacities to address the peace and security issues are often weak. By being accessible to women's civil society groups, it also heightens their expectations and demands. Consequently, there is often disappointment with its responses and performance. Over the past decade, a key weakness was the lack of conceptual framing and comprehensive method guiding its interventions in and around peace processes (a framework was finally published in 2010). This contributed to the often *ad hoc* nature of work. Our cases indicate UNIFEM has initiated critical and innovative interventions in many instances, but its efforts are also marred by inconsistency and lack of follow-through. Examples include the following.
2. *Poor coordination and communication*: The formation of the IWC as a formal structure for women's engagement in peacemaking in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is groundbreaking and has provided women leaders access to the highest levels of international decision-making. Yet UNIFEM's local office in the Occupied Palestinian territories had no reference to the IWC in its strategic planning or program.
3. *Short-term planning and personality-driven programming*: Staff capacities and knowledge of the peace and security issues has varied tremendously from country to country. In Uganda, UNIFEM's political and material support to the women's peace coalition was critical during the Juba process,

[51] There is one person with primary responsibility for this mandate. This is progress from the past when the lead person was a "focal point for gender," meaning she had a full time job and her gender work was additional.

particularly its ability to step in and respond quickly. When the formal peace talks resumed unexpectedly in Juba after a long stall, UNIFEM chartered an airplane to ensure that the women's peace coalition delegation could be present. Yet by virtue of not having the resources and institutional capacity (operating with short-term consultants, staff turnover, and lack of sustained presence in Uganda at that time) much of its work was lost. The women's peace coalition disbanded with a sense of betrayal.[52]

4. *Inconsistency and mismatched expectations:* In Colombia UNIFEM initially (2003-06) took a comprehensive, strategic approach to institutionalizing UNSCR 1325.[53] On the one hand it supported women's organizations, giving them visibility, resources and recognition. On the other it reached out to local government and national ministries. Its goal was to create a paradigm shift in public policy so that women and their perspectives would be included in official peace processes. UNIFEM's external evaluation reflected "a very positive assessment of the vision, capacity of management, and dynamics . . . recognised by the organisation, other UN agencies . . . grassroots organisations, [as well as] local and departmental governments, not [just] from the national level."[54] But the approach changed with senior staff changes and pressure to respond to the host government's security policy paradigm. There was a shift to traditional economic development as a route to peace, rather than addressing the core peace and security agenda – or combining the two approaches. Activists also felt UNIFEM was no longer bridging the divisions between state and civil society. Instead it had taken on a government advisory role. While many valued UNIFEM's support to women's grassroots organizations dealing with sexual violence issues (it provided a level of protection when they faced armed groups and the state), there was disappointment about insufficient attention to the public policy dimensions of the conflict.[55] UNIFEM's Soraya Hoyos recognises that "the resolution is still very much unknown in Colombia'' and it must have the support of the international community if implementation is to be a reality.

- **Will the new UN Women be able to build and sustain the work?** For all its shortcomings and constraints, UNIFEM has developed experience and expertise in the WPS agenda's participation pillar. Reports produced in 2010 reflect the formation of a methodology and conceptual approach to supporting women, ensuring gender sensitivity in peace accords and addressing the structural issues including funding.[56] But whether there will be a systematic application of these lessons widely is still unclear, particularly given the restructuring of the agencies and formation of the new UNWomen. As UNWomen comes into operation, the full integration of UNSCR 1325 into its geographic and thematic divisions will be critical. To be effective on UNSCR 1325 issues, UNWomen must be carefully constructed with UNSCR 1325 norms and expertise embedded in all operations and geographic area. Its staff will require capacity building and expertise to guide them. As the leader of UNWomen, Michelle Bachelet will have to ensure coherence in driving the agenda forward, as well as ensuring a division of labor based on the comparative advantages of different UN players, particularly DPA, UNDP, UNFPA, and DPKO and the SRSG on Sexual Violence. Finally, attention to events on the ground and support for action is essential. Much of the current discourse on UNSCR 1325 is hinged on the Security Council indicators and the development of monitoring mechanisms. While these issues are important to generate systematic reporting, and activities, they should not detract from real time issues and actions needed to further the application of the resolution.

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[52] Email exchanges with Lina Zedriga, Uganda case study lead researcher, and discussions with international NGOs that were involved with the women's efforts in the Juba process.
[53] Cerón interview by Rey.
[54] Patricia Prieto, interview by Rey, op. cit.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Anne Marie Goetz et al, Guidance *Note: Identifying Women's Peace and Security Priorities: Building Voice and Influence*, (UNIFEM: 2010).

- ***Can the Security Council lead by example?*** Like most resolution**,** UNSCR 1325 was adopted under Chapter 6 of the UN Charter. As such there is no formal enforcement mechanism or punitive action for non-compliance. In 2009 the Security Council instructed the UN to develop indicators for monitoring progress on UNSCR 1325 implementation. A six-month frenzy of activity resulted in a list of 26 indicators (reduced from a long list of 148) under four areas: prevention of violence against women, participation, protection and relief and recovery. In October 2010 the indicators will be presented to the Security Council for endorsement, but acceptance and usage may still take time. To get past the inertia, Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury's launched a set of basic 'doable fast-track indicators'. If adopted they would generate awareness of the issues and action at the highest levels of government in the immediate term.[57] At the same time, the Security Council and its individual members could lead by example, because in the past decade their own adherence has also been ad hoc. As the 10th anniversary approaches and the United States becomes more involved with the agenda, the profile of the resolution may well rise. Nonetheless, the question remains whether the permanent five members (P5) will be consistent in their approach to the resolution in bilateral affairs and whether they will impose more systematic application of the resolution to the Council's work. Leading by example would certainly send an important signal to other countries.

[57]The indicators are available at http://www.gnwp.org/doable-fast-track-indicators-for-turning-the-1325-promise-into-reality.

C. Civil Society Organizations: Stretched, Vulnerable and Committed

As mentioned throughout this report, civil society organizations working nationally and internationally have taken on much of the work, but with the fewest resources. They have been the engine behind the UNSCR 1325 movement, pushing and leading advocacy initiatives, training programs, mobilization of grassroots groups and networks, and representing the spirit of the resolution by being involved in peacemaking directly. Over the past decade, they too have had good and bad experiences, demonstrated strengths and weaknesses, and still have much to do and learn from each other across country settings. In the six cases studied, the following issues arose.

- **Women peace activists face profound security threats.** Peace activism is not for the faint hearted. It takes courage, commitment, and resilience to face the range of threats that can and do emerge. At the personal and community level too, women who dare to step out and reach across the lines of conflict can face pressure and be ostracized. A more insidious trend in recent years has been the discrediting of organizations and individuals. States or non-state actors can and do target individuals and organizations for daring to speak out. In Colombia women's rights activists have been subject to death threats. In Israel, a member of the IWC was pilloried in the press for her political beliefs. The War on Terror has provided governments with an easy tool to discredit dissident voices: some women's groups have been labeled as terrorists, while others have been accused of treason. International acknowledgement of their work can provide some protection and bolster their credibility at the community level. At a minimum, acknowledgement provides moral support in situations where activists may feel very isolated.

- **Women's groups are over-burdened.** UNSCR 1325 is an important tool for women's groups. It enables and legitimizes their voice and demand to be included in decision-making. But it also places a heavy burden on them. Not only do they have to keep up their relief work, but women's groups are also having to absorb and engage in a political and advocacy process. They need to become familiar with new sets of issues, often removed from traditional domain of women's movements or so-called 'women's issues'. Yet they may have little access to information emanating from the state or international community. They often feel ill at ease with the language of the international policy community. While they are adept at addressing some aspects of a problem; for example women's groups are typically articulate and knowledgeable about the lack of security and a community's needs, engaging in a national policy debate and making the linkages to the technical and political dimension of the sector can be overwhelming. This is particularly true if they have had no support to build their confidence effectively. They cannot sustain their work or build their capacities without significant technical, political and financial support.

- **Women peace builders are falling through the funding cracks.** Women's peace and security work has a different twist and nuance than standard humanitarian, development, gender equality or even SGBV-related work so they fall through the cracks of the usual women's funds. The in-country resources that are available (from bilateral donors) often compel women to structure their work as projects, reducing flexibility to initiate work or respond to the fast-changing pace of events around peace processes and conflict resolution and transformation. In other words they may start out as spontaneous activism with a focus on peacemaking, but as donors come in, the groups end up responding more to donor requests and demands than being able to shape and respond to the real-time events and socio-political realities on the ground. In the decade since the resolution was passed, more funding has been available for the women, peace and security agenda, but most of it does not reach activists on the ground when and where it is needed and put to most efficient use.

- **Repackaging existing work as UNSCR 1325 implementation.** The pressure to adopt the women, peace, and security agenda and be seen to be "doing something" can lead to one-off interventions and overlapping projects in and around issues that CSOs are most familiar with. In the cases reviewed for example, the focus on women's political participation (as in Sri Lanka), and SGBV issues illustrates this tendency. Groups are basically repackaging existing programs under the UNSCR 1325 umbrella, but the substance is not necessarily well-adapted or tied to ongoing policy processes.

- **Women's peace activism can use "womanhood" creatively**: Where groups and movements have been successful (Liberia is notable among our cases), women advocated for issues that resonate with the wider population (e.g. "peace - no more war"), and used their own identities and social roles to further their demands. In other words, they have consciously and deliberately made their gender identities instrumental in their pursuit of their goals. As discussed above, governments often do this by appointing the token women or by invoking women's hardships to convey compassion. Basically they exploit women. Women's peace activism can turn the tables by reclaiming and using those gender identities—being mothers of missing servicemen, having access to clan leaders through kinship ties etc. – to their own advantage. It requires thinking of and drawing upon the multiple identities that women have and using them as an asset.

- **To sustain coalitions, groups must tackle issues of difference**. Gender identity does not automatically trump women's other identities. A basic premise of involving women in peace activism is that as women they can unite on issues of common experience—experience of violence, survival, struggle for equality etc.—and use this common platform to speak out for peace. But to sustain their efforts and gain legitimacy it is critical for women's movements to also tackle the issues of difference that exist—based on ethnicity, religion, class, etc.—which are integral to the violent conflicts they experience. In countries where women's peace activism has been effective, women have faced the harder issues that divide them. These processes take time and require attention, otherwise when crises erupt, the coalitions do not have the roots to withstand the impact. In the Israeli-Palestinian context for example, even the IWC with all its experience in dialogue and collaboration was shaken by the Gaza war. The issues that women and their organizations need to address include:

  -- *Women must recognize the inherent asymmetry in their relationships and develop a common narrative.* In Israel and Palestine, the IWC has sought to find a common narrative of the conflict and present a united message, recognizing that Israelis are in the more privileged position. In Sri Lanka, for example, Tamil women live a starkly different existence from their Sinhalese counterparts. The need for a just and sustainable peace is a matter of urgency and survival for them, while for many southern Sinhalese, the effects of the conflict were not a primary concern. Without an honest and safe discussion about the conflict and analysis of their difference, women's peace coalitions can be precarious and vulnerable when the political and security situation worsens. Similarly in Uganda, the peace coalition's collapse was in part due to the differences between urban and rural women's needs, particularly divisions between groups from the North conflict-affected regions and those from the capital.

  -- *Demand for inclusion is not enough; women's groups need a common core agenda*. Too often women's peace activism is centered on the demand for participation, without a clear articulation of their message or demands. Developing a common agenda and priority demands is critical to success. In Liberia, the women's mass action movement opted for a simple "we want peace, no more war" that was a basic, shared demand of the various organizations involved in peace activism. Their 4-point message – immediate ceasefire, negotiated

settlement, international political and peacekeeping intervention and women's inclusion in the peace talks – was also a strong rallying point. Another example is from South Africa, where the women's charter emerged out of a two-year consultation process and served as source document for the constitution.

-- *Uniting around core values can be more powerful than around ideologies.* In contexts where women's groups are rooted in historic feminist ideology, the ideology can get in the way of effective mobilization for peace. If groups become too focused on their political identity – feminist, pacifist etc. – they can appear exclusionary and uninviting to many people who would otherwise support their peace agenda. It is a delicate balancing act: to reach out to a wider popular base and risk a sense of identity, or to adhere stringently to organizational identities but by doing so, limit wider support for the group's public activities. In Liberia the mass action was driven by shared values. In the Middle East many women's peace NGOs adhere strongly to their feminist, anti-militarist identities. The labels can make them less welcoming and detracts from the work they do.

-- *Strategic division of labor based on comparative strengths of different groups*. The diversity of approaches within women's movements can sometimes be an obstacle to success. In Colombia, some groups were unwilling to work with the government, causing tensions with those that opted to so engage. Some groups specialize in mass mobilization and public protests, while others are better at policy research and targeted advocacy. Often groups duplicate work or focus on similar issues, leaving major gaps in other aspects of the agenda. Instead of competing or operating in isolation, women's groups would be more effective if they developed a common strategy in which the tasks and targets were divided according to the comparative strengths of each organization.

D. Non-state Groups and the Quest for Legitimacy

UNSCR 1325 makes reference to "all actors." In principle its provisions apply to non-state opposition groups and armed actors. But the opportunity to engage and advocate with such groups can be limited. Certainly the UN agencies cannot work with them officially if conflict with the state is ongoing. Women's groups are not so constrained and have proven to be quite effective in reaching out to non-state actors, such as in Sri Lanka. In the cases reviewed, there is no experience of engaging opposition groups on the women, peace, and security agenda specifically. But in Aceh and Uganda the non-state groups did put forward women on their negotiations teams to present a more liberal face and gain legitimacy. In Liberia, the women convinced the armed factions to participate in peace talks and became directly involved in disarmament. These experiences point to potential opportunities for engaging non-state actors to participate in negotiations and to adhere to the UNSCR 1325 agenda as a means of demonstrating their viability and legitimacy as political actors.

In past cases, non-state and opposition movements have been more amenable to addressing issues of gender inequality in peace processes than governments have. In El Salvador, Guatemala and South Africa in the 1990s, women from the opposition movements put issues such as equal rights to land and gender based discrimination into the discussions following consultation with their own constituents and women's rights groups.

Conclusion

UNSCR 1325 emerged at the cusp of the new century, with a view to addressing the conflicts and security threats of the 1990s. It came at a time when the human security debate was raging and challenging traditional state and national security paradigms. But that brief era came to an end with the 9/11 attacks in the US and the war on terror paradigm that signaled a radical change in security affairs. The past decade has been an era of heightened militarization, and an accepted notion that making war will bring peace. This false premise has given states a carte blanche to discredit and shut down dissent, and to weaken the foundations of democratic principles. More than anything, peace and human rights activism are under threat. Looking forward, two possibilities emerge. On the one hand, the current trends may continue. There will be fewer peace processes in the future, and more mutations and variations on war – disguised in language such as "democratic security." On the other hand, the sheer financial cost of militarism may force the international community to revisit the fledgling principles of conflict prevention and transformation and human security that emerged in the 1990s.

The four UNSC resolutions on women peace and security are key tools for realizing that agenda. They provide the framework for implementing the much talked about but elusive "human security" concept on the ground. Inclusion of women in security decision-making at international, national, and local levels is not merely an expression of equal rights. It is a powerful move toward including new security perspectives in policy making and practice—perspectives that emphasize sustainability, community, social cohesion, education, and conflict resolution. The discourse, moreover, privileges protection of those who are at greatest risk in armed conflict and *obligates* Member States to undertake both inclusion and protection. By bringing a human face to the impact of violence and peacemaking, provides a means of also addressing men's vulnerabilities. It also represents a profound shift away from only dealing with groups or actors that pose a security threat, to including and dealing with those who are committed to peace and non-violence.

In the last decade experimentation and ad hoc practice resulted in successes and failures. In the next decade a more strategic and coordinated approach is needed that builds on the successes and defines the issues and actors involved in this work. Not every issue affecting women falls under this rubric of peace and security, if it did, then the women, peace and security agenda would represent everything and nothing. Not every women's group is ready, able or willing to seriously engage with this agenda. Many are too divided on their own ideological or identity grounds. Those who cannot, should not be pressured into taking up this agenda. But those who do, need recognition and support from the outset. Advocacy around this agenda has to give way to action – by women's groups as well as the UN and governments. The NAPs will be worthless if they are not enacted. If demands for inclusion remain unanswered then alternative measures and new spaces should be created to ensure that women's voices are heard.

Ultimately, this agenda must become firmly integrated into the peace and security frameworks of governments and multilateral agencies, then its promise and potential will be realized. It is urgently needed for both state and human security.

Appendix A: Methodology

ICAN and MIT commissioned national researchers and practitioners to undertake six field assessments of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 with focus on efforts to include women and gender sensitivity in peace processes. The research was primarily qualitative with the use of structured and semi-structured questionnaires conducted in person and by phone. In each country the researchers led the work including consultations and focus group discussions and surveys, observations, key informant interviews in urban and rural settings, review of secondary sources including web-based information, publications, data and key policy documents and texts (of peace accords, recovery plans). Each research team identified a cross section of key respondents including representatives from the international donor community, UN agencies, notably UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNDP, governments and opposition movements, NGOs and INGOs supporting women's participation, women working with grassroots and community based organizations. Where relevant, women who had participated in the peace processes and related institutions or structures (e.g. committees and task forces) were interviewed. One on one interviews were also conducted with women who had undergone training on peace related issues. The preliminary findings were shared at a workshop in April 2010, allowing the project directors and researchers to exchange information and provide input to each case.

The report and the recommendations also draw from the findings of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) 1325 in-country monitoring projects conducted between February and September 2010 in Afghanistan, Burundi, Canada, DRC, Fiji, Nepal, the Netherlands, Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Uganda. They collected and analyzed data to assess progress on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the country level. They also assessed various women, peace and security initiatives by civil society, government and the UN and identified best practice examples, gaps and challenges. As part of their data collection, the GNWP members and partners conducted national and community consultations, focus group discussions, interviews and document analysis.

The SCR 1325 agenda is vast and multifaceted. This project could not cover every issue or project developed. The primary focus was on efforts to promote women's participation in peace processes, and the lessons that emerge.

The team faced a number of constraints in their efforts to gather the necessary information and conduct the full range of interviews. In some instances as in the case of government personnel and staff of international organizations, respondents were cautious about the information they were willing to divulge citing security concerns. In other instances (as in Liberia and Sri Lanka), staff turnover or poor knowledge management had led to either the loss of information, or ignorance among existing personnel of specific activities, budgets and outcomes pertaining to UNSCR 1325. In a number of instances, key respondents (e.g. mediators) either did not respond to interview requests or redirected requests. In the Israel-Palestinian case for example, the offices of the US Special Envoy, Senator George Mitchell team, Tony Blair, the Quartet representative, and the EU representative, redirected requests to UNIFEM or responded by email stating they had no special projects for women.

The work conducted was not a formal evaluation of existing initiatives and organizations. Where evaluations were available they were drawn upon, but the primary focus of these case studies was to review and learn from the range of existing (or extant) initiatives aimed at promoting women's participation and ensuring gender sensitivity in peace processes.

Appendix B: Country Contexts and Women's Activism Pre-UNSCR 1325

Aceh

The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) appeared in 1976 as a separatist group aiming to win independence from Indonesia, and an armed insurgency was underway. Aceh had a history of brittle relations with the state, including a rebellion in the 1950s against domination by Northern Sumatra. The more recent uprising was also occasioned by the development of oil and gas resources by U.S. companies and allegations that Aceh was not getting its fair share of the returns. The Indonesian state attempted a military solution to this challenge until the crisis of 1998, when Suharto fell and a more accommodationist politics prevailed in Jakarta. Negotiations commenced while Aceh was granted more autonomy. But the peace process was not producing a resolution of the diametrically opposite demands regarding independence, and violent clashes erupted frequently between GAM and government troops in the early 2000s.

The tsunami in January 2004 changed perceptions and moved GAM to accept autonomy, though many informed observers believe that independence is still its popular goal. The conflict was costly for GAM, which lost thousands of fighters, and civilians, of whom 100,000 or more were displaced and many hundreds or thousands harshly treated under martial law. The World Bank estimates the conflict's economic cost equaled $11 billion in destruction and lost economic activity. Despite petroleum income, Aceh remains beset by issues of poor governance and ill-defined autonomy, both legacies of the long conflict.

Women's Peace Activism Pre-UNSCR 1325

In Aceh, women's activism emerged out of necessity for survival and response to the 30-year war. In February 2000 over 500 women from diverse backgrounds joined in the All Acehnese Women's Congress (Duek Pakat Inong Aceh), the first public meeting calling for peaceful resolution of the conflict. Their dialogues included exchange of war experience and plans for the future. They demanded immediate negotiations and distributed 22 recommendations regarding peacemaking priorities to all parties, including the Indonesian President. They also lobbied international mediators – the Henry Dunant Center for Humanitarian Dialogue- that was facilitating a 'humanitarian pause' in the conflict. But they remained marginalized.

Colombia

Colombia is beleaguered by one of the longest conflicts in the world today, ongoing for more than four decades. In the 1960s, as in several other Latin American countries, an insurgent organization was formed to wage armed struggle against the state. The FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) was initially a regional band of 200 fighters growing out of *La Violencia*, the long period of civil war (1948-58), and formed to militantly oppose what its leaders saw as a privileged elite grabbing power for itself. Low-intensity conflict persisted for twenty years. In the 1980s, the conflict escalated, and Colombia became one of the most violent places in the world, with 25,000-30,000 deaths annually, many of them murders and assassinations. Other leftist armed groups emerged as well as paramilitaries sanctioned by the state, adding to the danger.

In the 1980s negotiations with the government and a ceasefire commenced, opening up some space for the FARC to participate politically. At the same time, the drug trade expanded quickly, and with it new sources of violence and corruption, as well as displacement of rural farm workers by drug lords. Some 2-3 million have been displaced by the conflict. The U.S., always supportive of the state, became more deeply involved via its "war on drugs." The post-9/11 strategy of the state has been essentially militarized, with hopes to defeat the FARC or force it to accept terms.

Women's Peace Efforts Pre-UNSCR 1325

In Colombia women were leaders in a mass peace movement, and participated in various peace initiatives. In 1997 the Mass Campaign for Peace, Life and Freedom led to the collection of 10 million signatures in favor of peace. The government subsequently issued law 434 (1998) to establish the National Peace Council as an advisory institution to the government with civil society participation. Aware of women's experiences in El Salvador and Guatemala, Colombian women's groups lobbied the High Commissioner for Peace to gain participation. Their success was limited: out of over 100 members of the NPC, one representative had a clear mandate to protect and defend women's rights.

In 1999 under the presidency of Andres Pastrana a series of peace dialogues commenced between the government and the largest guerrilla movement, the FARC. There was no ceasefire agreement in place, nonetheless talks began in January 1999 in the demilitarized zone of San Vicente del Caguan. A Thematic Commission (TC) was formed to channel input from civil society. The TC membership comprised government, guerrilla and civil society representatives, of whom two were women – Ana Teresa Bernal (of the National Peace Council) and Mariana Paez (from FARC).[58] The TC initiated public forums in which citizens groups raised issues of concern. The presence of the two women on the TC contributed to the formation of a women's public forum in June 2000. 600 women from across the country, different ethnic, educational and social backgrounds participated. They raised economic and employment issues in the context of the security and peace agenda.

The absence of a ceasefire during the dialogues process ultimately contributed to the failure of the talks. But the women's forum had clear implications. On the one hand the 'Caguan' process revealed that neither the state nor the guerillas had a plan for the negotiations process and had no effective capacity to address the issues raised by the women. It also revealed that Colombian social movements and organizations had limited experience in articulating their own comprehensive 'peace agenda'. The women's forum was an important event in this regard and it triggered an interest from the women's arm of the Swedish Trade Union movement to support the development of a women's peace agenda, called the Women's Peace Initiative (IMP). As discussed in the report, IMP remains active in Colombia today.

Israel-Palestine

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is rooted in the end of the British Mandate in Palestine in 1948 and the creation of an Israeli state that same year, sanctioned by the U.N. Wars between Arab states and Israel occurred at that time and in 1956, 1967, and 1973; the '67 war created a new entity, in effect—the Palestinian Territories, which had been part of Transjordan. As a result, the conflict has taken a special character, that of an occupation force imposing its will on a population that has frequently resisted and

[58] Two other women participated in the dialogues. Maria Emma Meija was on the first negotiations team and Ana Mercedes Gomez was on the Commission of Notables - four people tasked with drafting recommendations for a ceasefire agreement.

rebelled. Egypt and Jordan negotiated peace treaties with Israel that did not significantly affect the Palestinians.

The initial creation of Israel and the 1967 war resulted in between two and four million displaced and refugees. Economic development for Palestinians has lagged, and in many respects has worsened with the severe restrictions on Palestinians wishing to work in Israel. Many development indicators are below the average for the region (e.g., under-five mortality), and some are on a downward trend.

Efforts at resolving the conflict—namely, the creation of a Palestinian state and coexistence with Israel—have been fitful. The Oslo peace accord (1993) advanced some Palestinian control over a portion of the territories. Serious talks at Madrid, Camp David, the Geneva Initiative and Annapolis have clarified some potential solutions to the four main areas of contention—the refugees, territory, security, and the status of Jerusalem. In the meantime, however, dashed hopes have stirred two uprisings in the territories, while Israel has built a separation wall and Jewish settlements on Palestinian land and throughout Jerusalem; some 500,000 Israelis live in more than 120 settlements in the West Bank. In Gaza, the electoral victory of Hamas in 2006 has provoked a blockade of and occasional raids into Gaza by Israel, with severe humanitarian consequences.

Women's Peace Activism Pre-UNSCR 1325

In the Israeli-Palestinian context, there is extensive history of women's peace activism across the conflict lines and within their own societies. Israeli and Palestinian women (and men) leaders were meeting in the 1980s with personal relationships emerging and various forms of cooperation occurring by 1989. Among women's groups the Jerusalem Link was an innovative development; an institutional partnership between the Israeli organization Bat Shalom and the Palestinian Jerusalem Center for Women. Through their interactions and focus on the conflict, Israeli and Palestinian women reached joint solutions and were the first to publicly champion ideas such as the Two Capitals for Two States project.[59] Their efforts were a source of inspiration for UNSCR 1325.

While the ideas gained traction and entered the mainstream, neither the national nor international leadership addressing the conflict has acknowledged the women's groundbreaking work. Throughout the 1990s Jerusalem Link staged political demonstrations and its board has remained a forum where Israeli and Palestinian women leaders have met on a fairly regular basis. The outbreak of the second intifada (29 September 2000) led to a near complete breakdown of relations, including between the peace camps on both sides generally and in the women's movements. Even the institutionalized cooperation between the two women's movements through the Jerusalem Link was disrupted for nearly two full years. Nonetheless in October 2002 during the bleakest periods of Israeli-Palestinian relations, Israeli and Palestinian members of the Jerusalem Link appeared jointly in international forums (including the UN Security Council), voicing a shared message of returning to peace talks with the participation of women. Individuals associated with the Jerusalem Link have been key figures in the International Women's Commission (IWC).

Liberia

The country has been torn by civil war and authoritarian rule often in the last three decades, emerging only with a peace agreement negotiated at Accra, Ghana, in 2003 and the election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in 2005. In the 1980s, the conflict was driven by the rule of Samuel Doe, with several

[59] http://www.batshalom.org/jlink_sharing.php

insurgencies, mainly tribally based, vying for power. Charles Taylor, whose rebel forces attacked in 1989, finally gained power after years of war, involvement of neighboring countries, and largely unsuccessful attempts at regional peacemaking and the equally futile involvement of the U.S. Security Council. Several peace accords were reached along the way, but none held. The conflict's violence was brutal; many war crimes were committed (rape, child soldiers, etc.), and conflict diamonds fueled the war. A tenuous ceasefire led to an election in 1997 that Taylor won through intimidation.

A period of new conflict commenced in 1999 as rebel groups began to challenge Taylor's regime; the war involved Sierra Leone and Guinea, as those governments backed various groups and new insurgent forces were created in response. The chaos continued until a peace agreement was finally reached in 2003 in spite of Taylor, who fled; the Accra accord was significantly due to women's activism. West African peacekeepers, braced by a small contingent of U.S. marines, then restored order in Monrovia. A sizable U.N. peacekeeping force was deployed, nearly 10,000 of which remain in Liberia. The war's costs have been enormous: as many as 250,000 Liberians were killed in the wars, and it remains a very poor country, with its per capita income the lowest in West Africa.

Women's Peace Activism Pre-UNSCR 1325

In Liberia women had mobilized for peace in the 1990s with the Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI) leading the way. They were a public movement demanding accountability from all actors, and played a key role as informal mediation between warring sides. One of their leaders, Ruth Sando Perry was chosen as to lead the Council of State – a transitional government – between September 1996 and July 1997 when elections were held. The movement comprising grassroots and elite women was involved in supporting elections and disarmament initiatives before the resurgence of war in 1999.

In May 2000, with assistance from the Geneva-based NGO, Femmes Afrique Solidarite, the Mano River Women's Peace Network (Marwopnet) was also formed, comprising women from Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. The network got off to a fast start, delivering a women's peace appeal to the feared Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in Sierra Leone and addressing a Mano Rivers Union (MRU) heads of state summit within a week of its launch. In 2001 MARWOPNET achieved a major international success by breaking the impasse and growing tensions between the leaders of the Mano River Union (MRU) states. The intervention came after months of failure on the part of international actors. MARWOPNET gained accreditation to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and was involved in the 2003 peace talks in Ghana.

Sri Lanka

The long Tamil insurgency against the Sinhalese-dominated state ended last year with the victory of the state's security forces, which had a high civilian toll in casualties and displacement. The "Tamil Tigers" (LTTE) rose from a few farmers to a formidable militant group through the 1980s, striking widely to gain a separate state in what became one of the world's most prominent ethnic conflicts. Despite having a working democracy, Sri Lanka pursued policies of discrimination against Tamils, who had been favored under British colonial rule. The Sinhalese dominance, which was based on a substantial majority, resulted in a series of legal initiatives that solidified their cultural, social, and economic privileges, which in turn spurred the violent campaign for Tamil separatism. Deaths from political violence were especially acute in the early 1990s, in 1995-7, and in 2000, until the final conflagration of 2008-09.

Fitful attempts at peace talks appeared promising at times but never could be sustained. The 2002 ceasefire negotiated by Norway seemed to represent genuine progress, but finally came apart. Violence mounted again in 2006 and peace talks in Geneva failed that same year. In 2008, the government began a major military offensive. War crimes on both sides were widely alleged in brutal fighting. Finally, in May 2009, the Tamil rebels surrendered after being overrun and their leadership killed.

Women's Peace Activism Pre-UNSCR 1325

In Sri Lanka there was rich experience of women's peace activism prior to the passage of UNSCR 1325. But it did not culminate in mass mobilization like those in Colombia and Aceh, nor did have the strategic focus and structure of the work done in the Middle East. A 2008 mapping of women's peace activism reveals how different groups define and address problems. [60] For some the right to self-determination of minorities is a focus of their work on peace building while others linked development and socio-economic rights to peace building work. Some groups have prioritized a political solution to the conflict while others made a conceptual link that violence started from the home and continued into the community and the country at large. They address their activism not only to periods of conflict, but also to times of ceasefires and peace processes.[61]

In effect, women's peace activism in Sri Lanka has been part of the broader range of issues in which they are engaged: addressing cultural oppression, patriarchy, labor issues, socio economic issues, political rights and justice.[62] Women's anti-war coalitions were also part of the landscape and motherhood has been invoked to mobilize mothers of disappeared youth in Jaffna as well as those of missing national servicemen such as the Association of Parents of Missing Servicemen. The Women & Media Collective was a leading entity in calling for a negotiated peace process with the inclusion of. While much of the work was at a grassroots level or disparate, it nonetheless provided women with sufficient visibility and voice to articulate their demands when the opportunity for peace talks arose in 2002.

Uganda

After the ruinous reign of Idi Amin in the 1970s, Uganda gradually emerged to create and sustain democratic governance in an unstable region. For twenty years, however, it was plagued by an insurgency by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the north, a cult-like group that committed thousands of atrocities. An estimated 1.8 Ugandans were displaced, tens of thousands killed, and some 20,000 children abducted by the LRA. Concerted military action (including forces from DR Congo and Southern Sudan) against the LRA in 2008 prompted negotiations, but an actual agreement was never consummated. Further military action against the LRA, however, has brought a period of quietude, with many returnees to their homes. The long period of repression, instability, and conflict (including turmoil in neighboring states) has resulted in a weak economy and political in-fighting, but prospects appear somewhat better than in many years.

Women's Peace Activism Pre-UNSCR 1325

[60] Strategic Mapping of Women's Peace Activism in Sri Lanka, Women and Media Collective, 2008, p.6.
[61] Ibid. p.6.
[62] Ibid p.7.
[62] Interview with UN staff by Gomez, Sri Lanka Case Study.

In Uganda women as a group were overlooked in the sporadic government led peacemaking attempts between 2002-06. But there is widespread recognition of the contributions of individual women and women-led groups and organizations to peacemaking. In the public sphere, Angelina Atyam the co-founder of Concerned Parents Association (CPA), the late Geraldine Onguti (co-founder of GUSCO), Reverend Sister Rachele, former headmistress of St, Mary's College Aboke, and others came to prominence in their fight to protect and retrieve their kidnapped daughters and students. Santa Okot, a former Woman MP from Kitgum along with Atyam is recognized as torch-bearer for her involvement in various initiatives to end the conflict in northern Uganda and bring sustainable peace.

Betty Atuku Bigombe a former government minister was the most high profile of the women. Between November 2004 and January 2005 she initiated and attempted to maintain talks with the LRA. These known figures represent many others. In Northern Uganda women have served as the backbone of the reconciliation and reintegration efforts. They are key figures in the process of receiving and caring for returnees amidst stigma and hatred from members of the community who consider them as killers and rebels. With neither formal training nor counseling skills they have taken on the responsibility and role of family and community mediation. The motivation for many has been their ability to see the returnees as their own children, husbands and brothers.[63]

[63]Zedriga drawing on CARE International's report on women's participation in peace building and conflict Resolution in Northern Uganda.