

PROMOTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE AND SECURITY PROCESSES
OPERATIONALIZING UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325
NOVEMBER 18-20, 2004 | SAN DIEGO, CA USA



Convened by

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice | Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights
Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security | United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

FINAL REPORT



JOAN B. KROC
INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE & JUSTICE

UNSC 1325

A report from the working conference co-convened by

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), University of San Diego, is committed to fostering peace, cultivating justice, and creating a safer world. The IPJ was founded with a generous gift from the philanthropist Joan B. Kroc who asked that the Institute be a place that not only “talked peace, but made peace.” Through education, research, and peacemaking activities, the Institute offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights.

Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, a group of leading academic centers and programs in Boston dedicated to furthering the development of knowledge in the field of gender, armed conflict and security, and to help bridge some of the divides between scholars on the one hand and policymakers, policyshapers, and practitioners on the other.

Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security (CCWPS), a national coalition of individual and organizational members of civil society, government, and Parliament whose mission is to work toward the goals established in UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The CCWPS provides a forum for sharing information, experiences, and learning; raising awareness; and influencing policy and programming domestically and internationally.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the women’s fund at the United Nations provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programs and strategies that promote women’s human rights, political participation, and economic security. UNIFEM works in partnership with UN organizations, governments, and non-governmental organizations and networks to promote gender equality. It links women’s issues and concerns to national, regional, and global agendas by fostering coalition and providing technical expertise on gender mainstreaming and women’s empowerment strategies.

Made possible with the support of the **Fred J. Hansen Foundation**, which sponsors the Women PeaceMakers Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice.

Promoting Women’s Participation in Peace and Security Processes: Operationalizing UN Security Council Resolution 1325

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Printing: L&L Printers

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The Security Council adopted resolution (S/RES/1325) on women and peace and security on 31 October 2000. The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in peace-keeping, but also stresses the importance of women's participation in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in a United Nations peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict. The resolution provides a number of important operational mandates, with implications for Member States and the entities of the United Nations system.

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“The best practices shared were really wonderful and will help guide us to operationalize UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in our home countries. The program also gave us a platform where we were able to discuss, draw joint strategies, and build linkages with the people working in the same area. For example, the members of the ad hoc working session “Women in Peace Negotiations” have developed virtual linkages and electronic communication among themselves and exchanged documents, frameworks, and update each other about the future programs in their respective countries. This is no doubt a great achievement of the conference.”

Shobha Shrestha – Conference Delegate



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Foreword

Dee L. Aker, Ph.D., Deputy Director, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

October 2004 marked the fourth anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (1325). This was a revolutionary document. It reflected unprecedented attention by the Security Council to the bitter reality that many people surviving and working in communities devastated by conflict around the world have confronted for years: women are significantly absent from the official negotiation tables, postconflict reconstruction planning, and decision-making bodies that could address the root causes of conflict. At the same time, women suffer in gender-specific ways in conflict and postconflict situations and are key to reconstituting civility and community to allow human society to recover—battle after battle, century after century, culture after culture. Resolution 1325 calls for women's equal participation with men, indeed their full involvement, in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security. It reaffirms earlier calls to fully implement international humanitarian and human rights laws. And it clearly points out that gender perspectives must inform conflict prevention, postconflict reconstruction, and disarmament and reintegration programs.

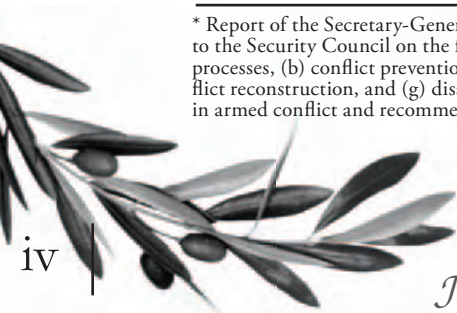
The global testimonies and experiences of women, as well as efforts to advance the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action formulated at the Fourth World Conference for Women in 1995, informed the depth and scope of 1325. At present, many of 1325's goals remain elusive and insufficiently integrated with global action guidelines and values. In order to achieve sustainable peace, there must be recognition of women's experiences in and after conflict, across a multitude of social and cultural manifestations. The subordination and dismissal of women can be overcome and equal participation of women in development, reconstruction, reconciliation, and peacekeeping efforts can be normalized, if we act on the premise and directives of 1325. Without this inclusive action, humanity limits its ability to envision, construct, and foster a world of peace with justice.

After four years of labor by international and national nongovernmental organizations, some UN agencies, a few national governments, and a number of very determined individuals calling upon the tenets of 1325, it is apparent that an even greater, more integrated approach is essential. In October 2004, Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, stated that it is time to fulfill the "promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed."* Around the world, lessons are being learned and best practices are being documented in diverse arenas. These experiences must receive greater exposure, be integrated with mainstream efforts, and serve as guideposts to replace the violence, marginalization, ignorance, and exclusion that both lead to conflict and prolong it.

"Promoting Women's Equal Participation in Peace and Security Processes: Operationalizing UN Security Council Resolution 1325," a working conference, was held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) on November 18–20, 2004 in San Diego, California, to continue efforts to build a more powerful, integrated, and influential international strategy. More than one hundred and twenty delegates from thirty-two countries participated, looking at a broad range of initiatives taken by many actors. The event was co-convenered by the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice; Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights; Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security; and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The IPJ is greatly indebted to the cooperation, passion, and energetic participation of our co-convenerers and all the delegates.

We particularly thank the Fred J. Hansen Foundation, which sponsors the Women PeaceMakers Program at the IPJ, as well as the Ford Foundation India, Angelica Foundation, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Reebok Human Rights Award Program, Sun and Moon Vision Productions, William and Christina Stockton, International Alert, Nona Cannon, United Nations Association of San Diego Women's Equity Council, Voices of Women, Women in International Security, and Women Waging Peace for the financial support that made this program possible.

* Report of the Secretary-General on *Women and Peace and Security* (New York: United Nations, October 2004). This is the follow-up report made to the Security Council on the full implementation of 1325 and provides examples of the progress in implementation in (a) intergovernmental processes, (b) conflict prevention and early warning, (c) peace processes and negotiations, (d) operations, (e) humanitarian response, (f) postconflict reconstruction, and (g) disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. It also addresses preventing and responding to gender-based violence in armed conflict and recommendations for furthering implementation.



Welcome*

Noeleen Heyzer, Executive Director, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Welcome to the conference on “Operationalizing Security Council Resolution 1325.” I am so sorry that I cannot be with you today. It is my loss. All of you are such great leaders—people who have been working on this issue with tremendous insights, with tremendous solutions, with tremendous courage. But I want to assure you that I will be paying attention to all of your recommendations and how to bring this forward in all of our work.

I just want to share with you a few thoughts that I have on how we can move forward on this issue. It is a big achievement to have 1325 on the agenda. We all know now that there is a huge constituency of support, there is a great awareness, but we need to implement it on the ground so that it can make a difference in realities of women’s everyday lives. And this means that we need to listen very closely in terms of what has worked and what are some of the critical challenges that still remain to be addressed.

I would like to just focus on two, and these are the issues of security and justice. We need to, as a movement, shift the understanding of security from weapons-based security to human security that is rooted in human development and human rights. We need to make the larger interlink—and a much stronger interlink—between conflict, development, and human rights. Another issue is to re-link peace and justice. Everywhere that I have been women are saying, “We have worked for peace, but justice has been sacrificed at the peace table.” Many of the leaders who have committed crimes against women are being rewarded with high-profile jobs with political leadership. We need to make sure that this does not happen. We need to end impunity against crimes against women, sexual violence, and abuse. We need to bring women to the peace table, celebrate women’s leadership, and make sure women have a role in the reconstruction process.

I know that with this audience I need not go step by step in terms of what that means, but at the end of the day, what we have to do is root out the causes that have led to war and to conflict. This means dealing with structures of inequalities and structures of discrimination. We need to address the fact that war is an economy. We need to address the structural inequalities that women face in terms of inequality and discrimination.

There are tremendous opportunities to move forward on this agenda. I know that we can all do it, and we can do it together to create a peaceful and secure world—a world where we can live in peace under the rules of justice. I thank you and wish you the very, very best for this conference.



Noeleen Heyzer
Noeleen Heyzer

* On November 17, 2004, Noeleen Heyzer gave the Distinguished Lecture at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. The following morning, she met with the facilitators and co-conveners in preparation for this conference. She recorded this welcome video for the opening before returning to Geneva for another session on implementation of 1325. Her *Women, War and Peace: Mobilizing for Security and Justice in the 21st Century* distinguished lecture is available at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/programs/dlspubs.html>.



UNSC 1325



Conference Delegates
Conference Delegates





Section I:

Plenary Sessions and Public Evening Presentations

Conference plenary sessions were designed to bring the general public and official delegates firsthand information. Various aspects of the reality of women in conflict and postconflict situations were exposed. Updates on the current status of attempts to address women's participation in solutions to conflict were provided.

Voices from around the globe articulated the serious challenges to women caught in conflict and illustrated some of the specific efforts undertaken to get women's voices to the table to address those challenges. They reported on postconflict situations that remain gender insensitive and called attention to where we must muster greater cooperation to assure inclusion of women in not only resolving conflict, but addressing its root causes. Rapporteurs documented the voices of these plenary sessions.

In addition to the four plenary sessions, two evening presentations offered insights for delegates and the public from the authors of two new publications. The first evening presentation addressed the relation between gender, conflict, and development. The second focused on the status of women's human rights and was presented by women from four different national and occupational perspectives. These presentations were recorded and summarized by facilitators and notetakers. They are included in Section I.



Conference Welcome and Evening Panel ✧ Thursday, November 18, 2004

Conference Welcome

Joyce Neu, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ)

Shalini Nataraj, Reebok Human Rights Award Program

Maha Muna, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

The conference was officially declared open on November 18 by Joyce Neu, executive director of the IPJ, following a reception hosted by the Reebok Human Rights Award Program and a delegate dinner. Sharing the opening stage in the Peace & Justice Theatre with Neu were Shalini Nataraj, associate director of the Reebok Human Rights Award Program, and Maha Muna, program manager and officer-in-charge of the Governance, Peace and Security Unit of UNIFEM. Neu welcomed delegates and guests

and wished them well in their endeavors. Shalini Nataraj, of the Reebok Human Rights Award Program which recognizes five young human rights leaders from around the world each year, called for all present to recommend young human rights leaders under the age of thirty from their countries who should be recognized and honored. Maha Muna joined in saluting delegates and introduced a short, welcoming video from Noeleen Heyzer, executive director of UNIFEM.



Conference delegates in the IPJ Theatre



World Bank Presentation: *Gender Dimensions of Conflict, Demobilization, and Reintegration* ❧

Ian Bannon, Conflict Unit of the World Bank, USA

Tsjeard Bouta, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, the Netherlands

Moderator: Joyce Neu, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ)

Ian Bannon and Tsjeard Bouta assessed gender dimensions of intrastate conflict related to the World Bank's agenda as covered in *Gender, Conflict, and Development*, the book they coauthored with Georg Frerks, published by the World Bank in November 2004. Bouta reviewed the book's primary points, chapter by chapter, while Bannon focused his remarks on how civil society needs to frame and present women's issues if women are to gain support of institutions like the World Bank.



Tsjeard Bouta, Joyce Neu, and Ian Bannon
Tsjeard Bouta, Joyce Neu, and Ian Bannon

Their book, a study of the literature on the gender dimensions of intrastate conflict, found that disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs typically underserve women and girls because these programs are structured to help male ex-combatants; women and girls are more often defined only as “victims” of conflict. In reality women and girls often occupy multiple roles in a conflict and the lines are often blurred between these roles, particularly among assignments in an irregular army. Women and girls may be the spouse or other relative of a combatant, may be abducted and forced to serve, or may be victimized by gender-based violence (GBV). Policymakers need to be aware of this multiplicity of roles and recast the definition of female combatants accordingly. GBV comprises physical, sexual, and psychological violence. Women and men are both victims and survivors of GBV; it is imperative that medical, psychological, and judicial options for assistance to survivors and perpetrators are provided. This gap between women's participation in informal and formal processes must be bridged in order to build an inclusive postconflict civil society.

The gap between women's participation in formal and informal processes must be bridged in order to build an inclusive postconflict civil society.

The study also found that women's participation in formal peace processes must be increased and that specific gender concerns must be addressed in peace processes and peace accords. Informal peace processes often involve a process of feminization. There are challenges, however, to providing sufficient and consistent external support to these informal processes during and especially after the conflict. While women's participation in informal processes is often welcomed, they have been historically and systematically excluded from formal peace processes.

In the postconflict phase, it may be essential to rewrite and “gender-sensitize” the country's constitution. Customary law tends to be gender insensitive, so returning to the preconflict legal status for women will not build a just society. Following conflict, people often question prewar institutions; participants in peace processes must seize this small window of opportunity to create gender-sensitive laws and institutions.

The postconflict phase also presents special challenges. The structures of society have been shattered, including those structures that define men's roles. Some men's postconflict responses take the form of domestic violence, a manifestation of backlash and their own psychological trauma. This is not only a psychological phenomenon where conflict has undermined men's livelihoods; during peacetime clear linkages emerge between men's unemployment and their propensity toward violent behavior, especially domestic violence.

Women must also be incorporated into reconstruction and employment plans. Women are traditionally confined to agricultural work and informal urban work; the World Bank study found that it may be a good strategy to support programs for women's employment in these traditional sectors following conflict, as well. Promoting community-driven development is a strategy that rebuilds social capital and social cohesion.

Women are most often the primary home providers of health care and education. This trend is even more prevalent during the societal breakdown that accompanies conflict. Women who become key leaders during conflict generally have only a short postconflict period to push for greater gender sensitization of social services.

Bannon asserted that civil society needs to move from advocacy to evidence to policy. It is necessary to answer the question, "What difference does it make to include gender in policymaking?" This question has to be answered with empirical evidence and in quantitative terms, because that is what economists understand and respond to. For example, approximately twenty years ago, gender and environmental issues were of little importance to the World Bank. Today, the bank has about ten times as many environmental specialists as gender specialists. What brought about this increase in environmental specialists? Evidence—quantitative evidence—the bank could understand.

When the World Bank is trying to reach out to women today in community development, the bank's practice is to say to a community, "We will give you a grant, but there is a catch: you have to decide as a community what you want to do and women have to be represented." The result of this approach can be positive social transformation.

In the discussion that followed the presentation, some in the audience expressed a sharply negative reaction to Bannon's insistence that the advocacy community has to provide quantitative evidence of the importance of gender-inclusion. The respondents fell roughly into two categories: those who asserted that evidence had already been provided decades ago (which implies the World Bank is not listening or is unaware of the research) and those who challenged the assumption that quantitative research, particularly as translated into economic terms, is inherently any more persuasive than the moral arguments put forth by advocates. In the discussion, some delegates raised the issue of World Bank-supported structural adjustment policies and their hindrance of peace and development.

The evening's discussion illustrated the need to open minds to multilayered responses to challenges in implementing 1325. The qualitative and quantitative picture of the value of women's voices in achieving peace with justice must be jointly drawn and articulated.

*...from advocacy
to evidence
to policy.*

*...participants in peace processes
must seize the small window
of opportunity to create
gender-sensitive laws and
institutions.*



Call to Work, Plenaries, and Evening Presentation ❀

Friday, November 19, 2004

Call to Work

Dee Aker, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ)

Jodie McGrath, Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security

Maha Muna, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Carol Cohn, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights

Dee Aker, deputy director of the IPJ, welcomed delegates. “We are pleased much of the world community has been in electronic connection regarding these important issues before us, but we must now spend some time working ‘face to face.’ We need to build a sound platform for moving forward. We have come together as practitioners, scholars, policy advisers, and local leaders, which cannot always be done at the same time on e-discussions. Let us work together to understand and get away from what is not working, so we can put our energy into what will bring women full participation in building just peace across this globe.”

Jodie McGrath, coordinator of the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security, replaced Senator Mobina Jaffer from Canada who was unable to participate. McGrath called on the delegates to “create a larger path for 1325 and get it implemented.”

Maha Muna, program manager and officer-in-charge of the Governance, Peace and Security Unit at UNIFEM, stated that “all of us have knowledge that is specific. Our challenge is to take the information and make



Lesley Abdela poses a question

it available. We must use this information to strategically intervene in policy and inform each other’s work. If we coordinate our work, we can break new ground.”

Carol Cohn, director of the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights focused those gathered on 1325’s radical potential, in contrast with its limited implementation. She noted that 1325 was shaped and constrained by factors ranging from the confines of the Security Council’s mandate to interstate political wrangling, but activists around the world have turned it into something bigger than itself, a whole new “women, peace, and security” agenda. In spite of minimal institutionalization now, she said, we can work hard “to reach 1325’s transformative potential and to prioritize and strategize with each other at this conference. We can take advantage of each other’s unique experience and knowledge in our work,” she concluded.



Conference co-conveners: Dee Aker, Carol Cohn, Jodie McGrath, and Maha Muna

Launch of Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action ✨ International Alert and Women Waging Peace

By providing clear, simple, but not simplistic information, the Toolkit aims to be a resource that enables women to engage strategically in peacebuilding and security processes.

Ancil Adrian-Paul, Gender and Peacebuilding Program, International Alert
Ambassador Harriet Babbitt, Hunt Alternatives and Women Waging Peace

Ancil Adrian-Paul, program manager of the Gender and Peacebuilding Program of International Alert, and Ambassador Harriet Babbitt, senior vice president of Hunt Alternatives and Women Waging Peace, introduced the new publication *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. The Toolkit for Advocacy and Action is also available at <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/toolkit.asp>.



Harriet Babbitt and Ancil Adrian-Paul
Harriet Babbitt and Ancil Adrian-Paul



Goals

The main goal of the Toolkit is to provide a resource for women peacebuilders and practitioners to engage effectively in peace and security issues. The Toolkit aims to do this by:

- Framing the Toolkit within current approaches such as conflict transformation and human security that currently govern conflict, peace and security issues
- Providing critical information, strategies, and approaches on key peace and security issues
- Bridging the divide between the realities of peace activists in conflict, postconflict, or transition areas, and international practitioners and policymakers with responsibility for designing implementing programs in these contexts
- Presenting issues in a user-friendly manner and demystifying the “policy speak” and terminology used by the international community
- Relating the issues to women’s experiences, highlighting how women are affected and how they contribute to core peacemaking, peacebuilding, and security processes
- Highlighting practical examples of women’s contributions and offering concrete, “doable” ideas for advocacy and strategic action
- Providing information on international human rights agreements and policies, which promote the integration of women’s human rights issues into all policies, programs and processes that affect women’s peace and security

Target Audience

The Toolkit has been developed specifically for women peace activists, advocates, and practitioners in conflict-affected and postconflict countries. In developing the chapters, International Alert (IA) and Women Waging Peace (WWP) found that policymakers and staff of major multilateral institutions, donor countries, and international NGOs also found the information useful. Therefore, IA and WWP encourage and welcome the use of the resource by all those concerned with global peace and security issues.

Structure

The Toolkit is divided into six sections, each with a number of related chapters. Each chapter is further subdivided to:

1. Define the issues
2. Identify key actors involved
3. Examine the impact on women
4. Discuss the role and contributions of women
5. Highlight international policies relating to women’s participation
6. Outline strategic actions that women peace activists might undertake
7. Provide references for further information

Use

At its most basic, the Toolkit is a compilation of information relating to peace and security issues and as such has multiple uses. It can be used in the following ways:

- As a reference guide providing information on internationally agreed laws and standards governing the protection of women during conflict and their participation in peace and security processes. It also provides information on strategies for the prevention of conflict
- As a tool for advocacy and action encouraging women to adopt the examples contained in the Toolkit of women’s strategies and advocacy initiatives for inclusion into peacebuilding and conflict prevention processes such as peace keeping operations or disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration, and postconflict processes such as elections
- For training and awareness-raising on issues such as HIV/AIDS, the need to ensure that refugee and internally displaced populations have adequate access to affordable and accessible health provision and care, and that the camps in which they are housed are made as secure as possible
- To enhance the understanding and effective use of 1325 as a tool to hold governments, policymakers and those involved in the development of budgets accountable. Enhanced understanding of 1325 can strengthen advocacy initiatives and provide openings for strategic action. In-depth knowledge of the tool can facilitate access to policy makers, and influence decision making relating to peacemaking and postconflict reconstruction



Morning Plenary: *Gender-based Violence in Conflict - Updates on Specific Protection Needs and Justice Issues for Women and Girls in Situations of Armed Conflict* ✨

Presenters:

Maha Muna, UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), USA

“Gender-based Violence: Realities and Consequences”

Shobha Shrestha, Peace and Governance Foundation, South Asia Partnerships-Nepal (SAP-Nepal), Nepal “Impact of Small Arms on Women and Children”

Nancy Ely-Raphael, Save the Children, USA

“The Short Path from Conflict Abuse to Postconflict Trafficking”

Vivi Stavrou, Christian Children’s Fund, Angola

“The World of the Girl Child Soldier”

Patricia Guerrero, League of Displaced Women, Colombia

“Women’s Bodies and Women’s Lives: Victims and Agents of Change”

Moderator: **Carol Cohn**, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights

Rapporteur: **Klara Banaszak**, UNIFEM

Notetaker: **Natalie Mathis**, Boston Consortium

The link between armed conflict and increased gender-based and sexual violence is well known, as is the disproportionate impact of this violence on women and girls. Inequality between women and men is magnified during war, when women more often than men remain unarmed, unprotected, and therefore vulnerable to violence at the hands of armed groups that intentionally and increasingly target civilians. It is also becoming clear that the harm caused by gender-based violence (GBV) is not restricted to its victims, but extends into their communities and can affect entire generations. This makes the need for protection and prevention all the more urgent, through such measures as protecting the displaced, stemming the illicit flow of small arms, ending the trafficking of human beings, abolishing the use of children as soldiers, and providing humanitarian aid that meets the real needs of those who receive it.



Carol Cohn and Maha Muna
Carol Cohn and Maha Muna

In her presentation, “Gender-based Violence: Realities and Consequences,” Maha Muna, program manager and officer-in-charge of the Governance, Peace and Security Unit of UNIFEM, noted that over the past decades, we have seen progress in the international community’s willingness to address GBV during armed conflict. In the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), language concerning GBV was couched in terms of national legislation, and it is often with regard to this language that signatories have made reservations.

In contrast, in October 2000 the Security Council included protection of women and girls during armed conflict as one of the central principles underpinning Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. Four years later, both an Arria Formula¹ meeting with the Security Council and the council's open debate on women, peace, and security focused explicitly on GBV during armed conflict. The Secretary-General devoted special attention to the issue in his October 2004 report to the Security Council on the progress that has been made—and the challenges that remain—in implementing Resolution 1325.

Unfortunately, protection of women and girls during armed conflict is one of the areas where commitments on paper have yet to be adequately translated into real change on the ground. The international community is still ineffective when it comes to preventing GBV, something we continue to witness in the ongoing conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan. Rape has been used as a form of ethnic cleansing in Darfur, leading to a rise in infanticide as women struggle to cope with the double stigma of having been raped and of bearing the child of “the enemy.”

Women's vulnerability to rape is partly the result of a failure by the international community to properly assess the needs of the displaced population in the face of GBV. During a field mission to Darfur in June 2004, UNIFEM discovered that displaced men and women were both becoming vulnerable to violence when they left the protection of the camp to collect straw (sold to buy food, clothing, and other basic needs and used as fodder for livestock). If men or adolescent boys were sent to collect straw, they would be killed; if women or adolescent girls were sent, they would be raped. Because rape is seen as a crime one can survive, women and girls were given the task of collecting straw and thus were placed in greater risk of GBV. Something as simple as providing straw with the basic humanitarian resource

package could have eliminated this heightened vulnerability and prevented this violence. But, as is so often the case, despite knowledge about when and why GBV

Women's vulnerability to rape is partly the result of a failure by the international community to properly assess the needs of the displaced population in the face of gender-based violence.

was occurring, not enough was done to prevent it—a fact noted and criticized by a real-time evaluation of the United Nations' humanitarian response in Darfur.

There are many manifestations and dimensions of GBV and the conditions that increase women's vulnerability during armed conflict. The increased availability of small arms and light weapons during armed conflict and the abuse of those weapons by the people—mainly men—who wield them often have a devastating impact on the security of unarmed civilians—mainly women and children. Conflict also exacerbates conditions that make it easier for trafficking in human beings, particularly women and girls, to proliferate. And while conflict greatly heightens the risk that men, women, boys, and girls will be forcibly recruited into armed groups, youth may be particularly vulnerable to forced recruitment. Experiences of girls are often quite distinct from boys as members of armed groups and throughout the demobilization process. It is essential to consider these gender differences when developing strategies to address armed conflict.

¹ “The Arria Formula is an informal arrangement that allows the [UN Security] Council greater flexibility to be briefed about international peace and security issues... [It] enables a member of the Council to invite other Council members to an informal meeting, held outside of the Council chambers...and chaired by the inviting member. The meeting is called for the purpose of a briefing given by one or more persons, considered as expert in a matter of concern to the Council.” Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/mtgsec/aria.htm>.



The Impact of Small Arms and Conflict on Women

NEPAL

Maoist insurgents, the Royal Nepalese Army, and district police forces continue to kill civilians with seeming impunity in Nepal. At this time, Nepal has one of the world's worst disappearance problems. This ancient country of twenty-four million people was cut off from the outside world for much of its history. It was ruled by a monarch or hereditary chief ministers for most of the past two hundred years except for an attempt at representative government in the 1950s. A multiparty democracy was established in 1990 within the framework of a constitutional monarchy. In 1996, Maoist rebels began an insurgency against the royalist government; over twelve thousand people have been killed and over half a million have been displaced in what has become an increasingly violent and armed encounter. Frustrated by corruption, inept political leadership, entrenched poverty, classism, and a lack of seats in the first elected government, Maoists are seeking to form a People's Republic. Political instability has been heightened by undisciplined police forces who kill and rape civilians. Women make up over 35% of the fighting forces. In 2001, after the massacre of the royal family by the crown prince, the deceased king's brother, Gyanendra, came to the throne. With the Maoists in control of 80% of the countryside, and a cease-fire and peace discussions under way, Gyanendra mobilized the army, declared the Maoists terrorists, and sought new arms and special forces training from the international community. Seeking complete power and, apparently, an end to democracy, he has dissolved the government twice. Compounding the adverse effects of the political turmoil, Nepal continues to be one of the poorest countries in the world; 40% of its population lives beneath the poverty line and the adult literacy rate is 49%.



Nepali delegates

Shobha Shrestha, program officer of SAP-Nepal, explained that since 1990 nearly three million civilian women and children worldwide have been killed by small arms and light weapons (SALW),² which have become the primary weapons of choice for many armed groups because of the ease with which SALW can be obtained, concealed, carried, and used.

Political, rebel, and criminal groups in Nepal are no exception. Until the late 1980s, the illegitimate use of SALW in Nepal was almost unknown. The number of SALW in the country increased somewhat in the 1990s, then leapt dramatically with the 1996 Maoist insurgency. In the early days, insurgents used homemade guns for the most part and supplemented these with whatever weapons they could obtain through looting. But over the last eight years, illicit trade across the open border between India and Nepal as well as legal trade to Nepal from international arms suppliers such as India, Israel, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Germany have made SALW available on a massive scale. Within less than a decade, twenty-five thousand members of the "people's militia" were armed with SALW and five thousand more were specially trained in using explosives and laying land mines.

² SALW have killed four million people since 1990. Civilians made up 90% (or 3.6 million) of the victims, and 80% (or 2.88 million) of the civilians killed by SALW were women and children. Women's Action for New Directions, <http://www/wand.org/issuesact/smallarms.html>.



The rapid proliferation of arms in Nepal has fueled both criminal activity (including additional arms trafficking) and political violence. It has also contributed to an ongoing process of militarization that has diverted hundreds of millions of rupees from spending on peace or development to spending on war.

Meanwhile, the increased numbers of SALW make civilians more vulnerable to potentially lethal attacks by both insurgents and security forces. Men, women, and children have been forced to flee their homes as a result of torture and killing by both sides, or from fear of be-

The availability of large numbers of illicit small arms and light weapons does not necessarily recede when a conflict ends. Experience elsewhere has shown that in peacetime, these weapons are brought into the home and used to intimidate and abuse women, heightening the risk that domestic violence will become deadly.

ing caught in the crossfire between them. The forced recruitment of children into the Maoist militia, sometimes achieved through the torture or murder of their parents, has also fueled displacement. Children as young as eight have been abducted into the militia and forced to serve as cooks, laborers, messengers, and to help in the transfer of illicit arms. The Maoist militia has also demanded sex labor of its women members, forcing them to infiltrate the security forces as sex workers as a way to gather intelligence. Both sides have used sexual harassment and rape to punish civilian women suspected of having a connection with “the enemy.” Fear of GBV has forced many young women in particular to flee their homes, making them more vulnerable to trafficking or sexual exploitation as they seek a means of survival. This same fear has led to a rise in early marriages as families seek to protect their daughters from abduction by the militia.

The state’s increased spending on defense has been financed in part by the scaling back of spending on social and health services and by a greater reliance on women’s unpaid labor. Where men have been killed or disappeared, the burden of care for the household has fallen on women. This has included care of children and the elderly left behind, as well as the additional agricultural labor.

It is estimated that the conflict already has left more than four thousand widows, often referred to as single women to lessen the social stigma and abuse these women face. Isolated by the perception that they are a burden on the community, single women are particularly vulnerable both to the increased likelihood of torture by security forces, insurgents, or even members of the community and to falling victim to trafficking and/or sexual exploitation. Moreover, the lack of adequate psychosocial health services has had a deep impact on civilian victims of the conflict. Three-quarters of students in Maoist-affected areas now suffer from a fear of abduction. Thousands of orphans have been traumatized by the violent loss of parents and relatives; bereft of guidance, protection, or support by either family or state, many of these children have turned to revenge to try to cope with their trauma. And with little support available to them, women who have survived torture, sexual violence, or the brutal killing of family members are left to cope alone with terror, depression, and psychological stress and trauma.

Moreover, the availability of large numbers of illicit SALW does not necessarily recede when a conflict ends. Experience elsewhere has shown that in peacetime, these weapons are brought into the home and used to intimidate and abuse women, heightening the risk that domestic violence will become deadly. Such abuse can prevent women from being able to perform even household tasks and often constrains women’s political participation as well as their involvement in wider peacebuilding and reconstruction initiatives. It will therefore be some time before the long-term social consequences of small arms and gender-based violence in Nepal can be adequately addressed.



Trafficking in Women and Girls During and After Conflict

According to Nancy Ely-Raphael, Save the Children, USA, it is estimated that eight hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand people, most of them women and children, are trafficked every year—trade in human beings is as lucrative as drug and arms trafficking and flourishes in the unstable environment created by armed conflict.³

Women and children are forced to flee or are pushed into a choice to migrate because of the threats to their physical security—violence, hunger, disease, death—that accompany armed conflict. They migrate in search of livelihood because of the loss of crops, livestock, shelter, or support; the destruction of roads, sanitation, and access to clean water; and the presence of land mines. Women and girls who have been raped or who have engaged in sex work—voluntarily or not—may be ostracized by their communities and have little choice but to seek other options. And the lure of security, protection, aid, money, and a better quality of life, whether real or imagined, can also influence the choice to migrate. Such physical, economic, and social vulnerabilities, intensified by armed conflict, make women and children susceptible to coercion or exploitation by traffickers.

As well as exacerbating the conditions that fuel supply, armed conflict also increases the demand for services performed by trafficked women and children. Armed groups may recruit or abduct children to serve as combatants, laborers, servants, messengers, porters,

sex slaves—or all of the above. The demand for prostitutes rises with the increase of male migrants separated from their families and the presence of fighting forces and even peacekeepers. There is a continual demand for cheap or free domestic servants or factory workers. All of these factors create an environment ripe for the proliferation of opportunistic elements loosely organized into a criminal network fueled by profit.

In order to develop an effective response to this scourge, it is essential for “safe migration” practitioners to better understand the dynamics of trafficking and migration, and the range of circumstances that lead women to be trafficked involuntarily, to migrate voluntarily, or to become sex workers with varying degrees of knowledge, choice, and economic independence. Only

Women and children are forced to flee or are pushed into a choice to migrate because of the threats to their physical security—violence, hunger, disease, death—that accompany armed conflict.

with this information can appropriate interventions and programs that both protect women migrants and reduce the incidence of trafficking and forced prostitution be designed and implemented. Some organizations—such as Save the Children, which works to address trafficking in Nepal, Indonesia, and Guinea—advocate a

safe migration approach to give vulnerable populations, particularly women and girls, the information they need to protect themselves from trafficking and other forms of migration-related exploitation. Built on partnerships between government and civil society, safe migration aims to prevent unintended negative consequences and migration made necessary by armed conflict. It works through a combination of efforts to prevent trafficking, to intercept and rescue victims of trafficking, and to rehabilitate and reintegrate survivors, including efforts to ensure that survivors are neither re-trafficked nor prosecuted as criminals.

³ The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, defines trafficking in persons as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.” Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/protocoltraff.htm>.



Gender-based Violence as Labor Exploitation: Girl Child Soldiers

ANGOLA

A war of independence from Portuguese colonists in 1961, followed by a twenty-six-year guerrilla war, kept Angola in a situation of armed conflict for forty-one years. This protracted conflict, part of which was fought as a proxy cold war with significant investment from external powers, has taken an enormous toll on Angolan society. With estimates of two million to seven million land mines, Angola is one of the most mine-ridden countries in the world. Nearly 100% of Angola's population was displaced at some point during the conflict, and one-third—or 4.5 million people, 65% of them children under fifteen—was still displaced at the time of the Luena cease-fire in April 2002. Angola is now one of the least developed countries in the world, ranking 164 out of 175 on the Human Development Index published by the United Nations Development Programme, with high rates of child malnutrition and maternal mortality, the third-highest infant mortality in the world, limited education for children, and a very young population: 50% of its population is under twelve, and more than 70% under thirty-five. Three generations of Angolans have never known a stable peace.

Vivi Stavrou, Christian Children's Fund, stated that one of the most harmful practices followed by armed groups throughout the conflict in Angola, which intensified during the 1998–2002 post-Lusaka Protocol civil war when resources were rapidly decreasing, was the abduction and forced recruitment of children to serve as a pool of forced labor. Upon entering communities, armed groups engaged in a scorched-earth policy that was heavily reliant on gender-based violence: men were captured and killed; the elderly and often women with young children were left behind; and children and adolescents were targeted and captured. Girls and young women were particularly sought after because they were low cost, silent, easy to control and hide from view, easy to replace, and already trained in domestic and support tasks as a result of existing gender roles within the community. In other words, girls were cheap and efficient sources of multiple types of labor.

Labor exploitation, whether sex-related or not, is one of the forms that gender-based violence takes during armed conflict. Angolan girls and young women spent



Vivi Stavrou presents
Vivi Stavrou presents

years with their captors, and some were abducted several times by different armed groups. It was a sentence of hard labor that scarred its victims with a lasting memory of suffering and buried victims' recollection of family or identity. As members of armed groups, girl soldiers walked hundreds of miles through the bush carrying weapons and other supplies, moving constantly. The journeys were often fatal: many girl soldiers died from exposure or cold, hunger, or exhaustion; those who admitted their exhaustion might be killed on the spot.

Among the duties armed groups required of girl soldiers was sex labor. During the conflict, age, sex, and gender norms from wider Angolan society—where it is accepted for girls as young as thirteen to marry and have children—seem to have been institutionalized into the regulated societies created by armed groups. Girl soldiers, upon reaching adolescence, were therefore seen as ready to be involved in sexual activity and enter into “marriage” unions with male soldiers. As the war became increasingly one of survival, fought for prolonged periods in the bush, these norms and regulations broke down and sex became one of the means to keep male soldiers motivated.

The impact on girl soldiers of war “marriages” and sex labor endures well beyond the end of conflict. None of the forty formerly abducted girl soldiers interviewed by the Christian Children's Fund were returned to the place they wanted to go upon demobilization. Those who were “married” were sent to the village of their “war husband,” and nearly half were abandoned upon their war husband's return home. As well, 80% of the young women interviewed had borne children during the conflict and thus faced greater barriers to finding work and becoming economically secure after they were demobilized.

Gender-based labor exploitation has also continued in the postconflict period. The use of girls and women as soldiers is new to Angolan culture; therefore, young women were not treated as demobilized soldiers when

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the conflict ended and received none of the benefits associated with demobilization packages for male soldiers. They received very little emotional or material support upon their return and also faced barriers to acceptance and assistance from the community, which depend on being accepted by a family member in the area of return or returning with a husband. Rehabilitation has therefore been particularly difficult for these former girl soldiers, and nearly all of the young women interviewed now live in extreme poverty.

These three presentations on small arms, human trafficking, and girl soldiers illustrate some of the dangers that women and girls face as a result of armed conflict and demonstrate the need for gender-specific protection and prevention strategies during and after conflict. While these dangers are visible, they do not represent the entirety of women's experience in situations of conflict. Like men, women can be both victims and perpetrators of violence, and they have a crucial part in preventing conflict, creating a lasting peace, and rebuilding communities after war.

Women Victims Becoming Agents of Change

COLOMBIA

Despite several attempts at negotiated peace, Colombia has been plagued by forty years of internal armed conflict. Currently, the state is fighting against two well-armed guerilla organizations, the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), and fast-growing paramilitary forces. Both guerrillas and right-wing paramilitary groups commit serious violations, including massacres, targeted assassinations, and kidnappings. In 2002, Colombians elected President Álvaro Uribe on a pledge to strengthen the state's authority and improve security. While fighting drugs is clearly crucial, peace must remain Colombia's policy priority. As a result of the conflict, Colombia has one of the largest populations of internally displaced persons in the world. It also has one of the world's highest numbers of child combatants, with more than eleven thousand children belonging to guerilla and paramilitary groups. Human rights defenders, journalists, academics, indigenous leaders, and labor union leaders are frequently targeted for their work.

Among the many organizations and individuals around the world who are playing a vital role as agents of change is the League of Displaced Women in Colombia. The league is comprised of three hundred Afro-Colombian, multiethnic, and indigenous women who are working together for the restitution of their fundamental rights, for justice, for reparations to victims of war crimes, and for an end to impunity for perpetrators. Colombian women make up 54% of the population and have been subjected to sexual violence, sexual slavery, forced recruitment, murder, abduction, disappearance of family members, and other crimes of war.

Patricia Guerrero, League of Displaced Women, explained how her organization collects testimonies from women victims in order to provide evidence that can be used both to pursue justice and to create a historical memory for Colombian women and for the population as a whole. But the league also takes a very active role to mitigate the impact of conflict, which includes staging demonstrations and rallies to demand participation in the peace process, distributing information about



1325 and international laws to empower other women to claim their rights, building sustainable housing for members, and caring for five hundred children of

The urgent need to end the rampant violence against women... must be met not only by commitments on paper, but also by the political will to put sufficient human and financial resources toward ending violence by addressing its direct and indirect causes, as well as its direct and indirect consequences.

refugee women. League members have been threatened as a result of this outspoken activism, but they continue their work despite the potential danger to themselves.

Around the world, women are working to stem the illicit flow of arms, to address the factors that put women and girls in particular at risk of sexual exploitation, to make their voices heard in peace negotiations, and to ensure that the needs of women and girls are adequately addressed in disarmament programs and in the recon-

struction of communities after conflict. The urgent need to end the rampant violence against women that occurs in every conflict, in every region of the world, runs through all of these efforts. And it must be met not only by commitments on paper, but also by the political will to put sufficient human and financial resources toward ending violence by addressing its direct and indirect causes, as well as its direct and indirect consequences.

Summary of Discussion Following the Plenary

- Prioritize public accountability and equal funding for the rehabilitation of victimized women and girls
- Recognize and emphasize women's critical role in early-warning signs of deadly conflict
- Highlight what women can do to mitigate production and trade of SALW and to get small-arms treaties signed
- Coordinate remedies for, not just diagnoses of, GBV by connecting medical clinics and humanitarian groups with one another
- Incorporate gender-sensitive plans in humanitarian programs: do not marginalize gynecological and other gender-specific needs
- Foster regional links for victimized women that allow women to share solutions to GBV and violent conflict
- Establish an international fund to support war-crime survivors in a timely manner



Conference delegates in the IPJ Theatre



Afternoon Plenary: *Getting Women to the Negotiation Tables and Postconflict Decision-making Bodies*

Presenters:

Anita Sharma, Conflict Prevention Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (WWICS), USA “Getting to the Policymakers”

Ancil Adrian-Paul, Gender and Peacebuilding Program, International Alert, UK
“Linking Policy to Practice: From Rhetoric to Reality”

Stella Tamang, Southeast Asian Indigenous Women Forum, Nepal
“Including Indigenous Voices”

Luz Méndez, National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG), Guatemala
“Getting to the Post-accord and Peace Agreement Decision-making Bodies”

Alma Pérez, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Women and Gender Equality Adviser, Colombia
“Implementing 1325 during Conflict”

Moderator: Ambassador Harriet Babbitt, Hunt Alternatives and Women Waging Peace

Rapporteur: Elena McCollim, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ)

Notetaker: Joanna Haszek, Poznan University of Economics

Women gaining access to the negotiation table is no less complicated than the actual negotiations at that table. There must be recognition of rights, trust, understanding of the others’ basic concerns, and joint perception of the greater cost of not working together. In spite of the good intentions and intensified focus since the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing to integrate women into all levels of decision making, there has not been an orderly process to move women, and the greater civil society they represent, consistently forward into the spheres of power that are setting the agendas. Women’s integration into government and policy-influencing structures where they can work on peace accords and reconstruction efforts, as well as respond to early warnings, remains patchy and difficult.

The panelists were asked to report from personal experiences both what has worked and what must be



Anita Sharma presents, Alma Pérez listens

done to have greater and more consistent success. Primary points included the need for better outreach from activists to policymakers, greater understanding of what policies exist that can help women move peace agendas forward, broadening of the base and knowledge of actors who can and should be engaged, rigorous training for strategic use of 1325, and a concerted and continual effort to make qualified candidates visible.



Reach the Policymakers

The disconnect between advocates and policymakers must be understood and addressed, according to Anita Sharma, deputy director of the WWICS Conflict Prevention Project. Peace processes are too often held hostage to unyielding personalities. To reach policymakers takes a great deal of coordination and preparation. “We, as advocates, need to make it hard to say ‘no’ and easy to say ‘yes,’ a tactic similar to conflict prevention itself,” Sharma said.

Know the Articulated Resources

Ancil Adrian-Paul, Gender and Peacebuilding Program, International Alert, continued the theme that women must be engaged now, be visible now, and use what is available now, to change course during conflict and after conflict. Occasionally, women have succeeded with their desire and networks to end conflict with or without the underpinning of an international reference like 1325. She said it was the Mano River Women’s Peace Network in Liberia that persuaded Charles Taylor to come to the negotiating table, when the women

Women are increasingly establishing themselves as central actors in a variety of capacities in the movement of humanity for peace. Their full participation in decision making, conflict prevention and resolution, and all other peace initiatives is essential to the realization of lasting peace.

Attention to conflict prevention has increased, and it is harder for anyone, including policymakers, to say they did not or do not know when conflict is imminent—especially if it is being pointed out clearly, directly, and timely. Gender advisers must be involved at the planning stages of conflict prevention. Early gender inclusion and sensitivity bring both educational and economic benefits up and down the line. Women should not be relegated to just small projects, such as micro-credit lending, or included belatedly in decision making. We must bring in women early—they are already cognizant of the problems and must be given a voice.

The United States has held up women’s rights as a cornerstone of democracy in Iraq and Afghanistan. While the U.S. government’s motives are suspect, advocates can still use the policy of promoting women’s rights. We should have lists of qualified women leaders ready to present to policymakers when it comes time to field candidates for office, or to determine who shall sit at the negotiating table. Peacebuilding after conflict presents a window of opportunity, so we must push for gender inclusion or risk a return to the status quo. It has been ten years since the massacres in Rwanda and Srebrenica occurred, followed by calls for an Agenda for Peace and work leading to 1325, which will soon be five years old, and yet the massacre in Darfur is happening. Sharma concluded that women must reach policymakers now. One resource is the Woodrow Wilson Center, whose mission is to connect practitioners, academics, and policymakers.

determined they would not bring more children into a world simply to fight and die. International Alert (IA) created its Gender and Peacebuilding Program to ensure that 1325 was implemented; the program provides support to train and prepare women for participation in conflict resolution activities. Compromise, consensus, confidence building, and mutual trust, all essential in conflict resolution, are enhanced by women’s tendency to think in the long term, about their children’s future. Negotiations that include these concerns can be a blueprint and set a course for the economic and social progress of a country. But women must first get to the table.

Stepping-stones to guide women along this path to the negotiation table exist, but women must be informed of them. Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which the vast majority of countries in the world have signed, demands that governments allow women “(a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for selection to all publicly elected bodies; (b) to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;” and “(c) to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.” Article 8 demands that governments “take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and

without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.”

The Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) states that “women are increasingly establishing themselves as central actors in a variety of capacities in the movement of humanity for peace. Their full participation in decision making, conflict prevention and resolution and all other peace initiatives is essential to the realization of lasting peace.” Recommendation E1 of the PFA demands that states “[i]ncrease the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation.” Resolution 1325 itself “[c]alls on all actors involved . . . [to] involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements.”

To begin regular implementation of all these agreements, it is necessary for women to take the time to read the policies and receive training. IA provides training in 1325, going through the resolution, article by article, in great detail. Women need to know CEDAW and other tools as well so that they can craft the right messages about their situations to take to policymakers. IA helps grassroots activists reach policymakers by creating a safe space for dialogue. Women need to be enthusiastic and passionate and know which tools to use in which circumstances. They must also be persistent in articulating their rights to policymakers. Women must engage them to implement gender-sensitive policy decisions and follow up constantly, Adrian-Paul advised.

Include and Learn from the Whole Community

In spite of rejection, refusal, and extreme abuse, indigenous women are coming forward to lead and suggest how community and social policies can be re-created, according to Stella Tamang, an indigenous woman from Nepal, a country brutalized by conflict. Present armed conflicts are the power games of men. Women and children are the victims, she said, but they are also the essential ingredients of human community and maintain our relationship to nature. All women are covered with “layers and layers of invisible veils” that render them invisible to the dominating society and to one another. To end the silence that prevents communities from coming together, she said, women must remove these veils and “focus on small actions and small steps by sisters down in the villages.” She added, “The big actions are under never-ending discussions, the big actions are under remote control (including foreign

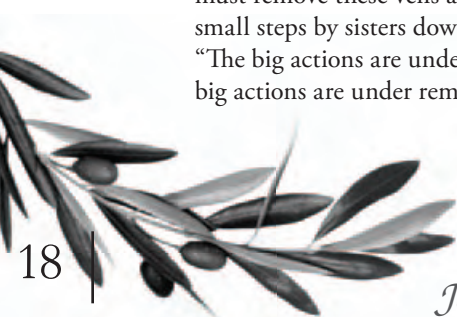
powers)... but indigenous women and their organizations have been at the forefront of collective resistance against aggression and oppression without knowing even what they are doing in defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” They can bring their wisdom to the efforts to effectively address armed conflicts and help in peacebuilding.

Indigenous people have struggled for land, language, resources, and identity and have experienced the negative consequences of colonization, nationalization, and privatization. In the face of the contemporary threat of neoliberal globalization, indigenous women have come forward in protest. Other vulnerable sectors—victims of conflict and internally displaced people—are coming forward, too. They may not perceive themselves as leaders given their customary roles in indigenous communities, and they are not aware of 1325, but they work in generally nonviolent and informal activities that can lay the groundwork for formal peace dialogues. Currently in Nepal women have stepped into roles as guerrilla fighters, negotiators, mediators, and peacemakers. Because of the conflict, men have left home to fight or have been killed; therefore, women head most families in the villages now. The conflict is liberating women from customs that prevented their leadership or their voices from being heard in the past, and now they should be sitting at the peace tables. The argument that women are weak, sentimental, and emotional cannot be defended when you see what they are doing. Tamang explained, “Indigenous women are defending, protect-

*Women are working ...
with the honest desire to take
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of future generations.*

ing, and saving the lives of the members of their families and communities when governments are still discussing how to go about peace talks.” They work with what they have, from where they are, and with love and simple creativity. “Women are working... with the honest desire to take responsibility to save the lives of future generations,” she said.

Therefore, Tamang concluded, the debate is not whether Nepalese women should participate in peace talks or negotiations. Instead the debate should focus on the following questions: How is women’s perspective included in the peace talks? How can we make women’s



participation effective? What should be our agenda? How can 1325 be fully implemented? Who takes the responsibility for its timely implementation? Where are the available resources? How can we help women working at the grassroots and when will we include them? “Two voices are louder than one,” Tamang said. “Women coming together can bring change. In Nepal, there is a saying: ‘A task that men could not accomplish for years, if women are serious, they can do it in a second.’” It is essential to get the experienced voices from the grassroots to the table if root causes of conflict are to be addressed and traditional reconciliation wisdom is to be recognized.

Indigenous women are defending, protecting, and saving the lives of the members of their families and communities when governments are still discussing how to go about peace talks.

Share Experiences and Build on Them

GUATEMALA

The thirty-six year internal armed conflict in Guatemala left over two hundred thousand dead or disappeared and over a million refugees and internally displaced people. Government forces were responsible for over 85% of these human rights violations. The violence during the armed conflict disproportionately affected indigenous Mayans who suffered 83% of the violations while comprising only 60% of the total population. The scorched earth policy reflected in over six hundred and fifty massacres, orchestrated by Romeo Lucas García and Efraín Ríos Montt in the early 1980s, razed entire villages and destroyed the social fabric of the communities. Victims still live alongside perpetrators, producing a climate of fear and silence. While the Peace Accords were signed in 1996, the past is not forgotten and the violence has continued. The genocide of the Mayan population in the 1980s has a new face: femicide. Predominantly in urban areas, hundreds of women are killed each year; 66% of the murders were carried out with sadism and extreme force often involving rape, torture, and mutilation.



Conference co-conveners and facilitators in Boardroom

Luz Méndez, president of the National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG), was one of only two women involved in the six-year peace negotiation process that resulted in the 1996 peace accords for Guatemala. Since then, she has maintained a profound commitment to indigenous rights, human rights, and the importance of equal participation of women and men in a postconflict society in Guatemala. During the peace negotiations, Méndez facilitated the flow of information from the parallel informal dialogue table, the assembly of civil society. The civil society groups participating in the assembly proposed recommendations for the formal peace accord negotiations. Méndez’s participation in both the formal and informal dialogues enabled her to serve as a conduit for civil society’s concerns. Her experience in Beijing at the Fourth World Conference for Women further empowered her, and she gained support from UNAMG.

BURUNDI

In Burundi, the conflict of the mid-1990s that left over two hundred thousand dead was divided along political and ethnic lines. Women experienced an additional disadvantage due to gender-specific violations. Increased incidents of rape, forced concubinage, and displacement put women and girls at higher risk of sexual exploitation and contracting HIV/AIDS. However, in 2000, the women of Burundi gained access to the formal peace process through the All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference, united in a common agenda for peace. With the support of UNIFEM, the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, and Nelson Mandela, the facilitator of the Burundi peace process, more than fifty women, two women representatives from each party, were invited to present proposals to be considered in the peace talks. Twenty-three of their recommendations concerning women's security and accountability of gender-based crimes, guarantees of women's property rights, and equal access for girls and boys at all levels of education were included in the Arusha Accords of 2000.

In 2000, Méndez shared the experience she had gained in the Guatemala peace process with participants in the Burundi peace process. In Burundi, women had been advocating for a long time to be heard, without success, until UNIFEM responded to them by appointing a Gender Experts Team. This team consisted of three women, including Méndez, and one man who had taken part in peace negotiations in their own countries. The team advised and provided consultation to their Burundian counterparts at the negotiating table. The Secretary-General's special envoy to Burundi had previously been the moderator for the Guatemalan peace talks and the chief of the UN Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) for years, and spoke often about the Guatemalans' negotiations. Consequently, throughout the time Méndez was in Arusha, Tanzania, where the Burundi peace talks were conducted, she received a great deal of attention. She emphasized the inclusion of women's rights in discussions. It is important to bring women of experience together with negotiators and mediators, she said.

UNIFEM and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation also convened the All-Party Burundi Women's Conference, which was extremely important, according

to Méndez. Hutu and Tutsi women were able to find common ground and present their recommendations to the negotiators. In the end, all but one of the women's proposals were incorporated into the Burundi Peace Accords. The friendly format, the support of the international community, and the inclusion of the previously taboo subjects of gender-based violence and women's rights to equal education and housing all came together. This, Méndez concluded, is why women must be at the table and must stay at the table.

Keys to Making 1325 Work and the Importance of Informal Alliances

Alma Pérez explained how she worked to incorporate 1325—not just in words, but in action—in Colombia. She said there are several important points to consider from her experience, and the most important is that power comes from informal alliances. Implementation of 1325 is possible only if there is an agreement among civil society, government, and the international community. Work will need to be done to connect or gain support from each of these groups. After an assignment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pérez saw that the Colombian government could actively commit to 1325 if it received help in understanding the resolution.

Pérez started with short talks and small steps. She built a constituency inside the Colombian government and started talking to the Ministry of Defense. Next, she went to the think tanks and nongovernmental organizations, discovering the great mistrust between women and government officials. People did not know about 1325 in those arenas either. Therefore, she started to educate both inside and outside government. She translated 1325 into popular language, so people could understand it, and conducted workshops to deepen this understanding. Her efforts led to a request from the special adviser for gender in the Colombian government that a national strategy be developed that could inform all sectors of society. In response Pérez developed a national strategy (the template is available in Section III of this conference report). She and four women—one in government, one in academia, and two from groups in civil society—formed an informal coalition to press forward. One result is that the government is now offering training for women; Luz Méndez from Guatemala has been invited to Colombia as an adviser to that program.

*...power comes from
informal alliances.*



Discussion

Illustrative experiences from other regions added or expanded points in the discussion that followed. Nancy Kanyago of Urgent Action Fund in Kenya explained how Somali women were able to get to the peace talks. When the talks were organized, only the five major clans were allotted seats and those, of course, were occupied by men. “So the women said, in effect, ‘Okay, we, the women of Somalia, constitute a sixth clan.’ They pressed for their rights and in that way they not only got to the table but into the Parliament.” Her point was that women must be creative and innovative—they must think outside the box.

Another point addressed the fact that women continue to be excluded from formal peace negotiations; they need assistance to raise their profiles and gain admission to any table. Anne Hoiberg of the United Nations Association Women’s Equity Council asked Sharma how lists of women to be put forward were prepared in the Afghan and Iraqi reconstruction processes. Sharma pointed out that the international community, and the Woodrow Wilson Center specifically, can and have offered support in compiling such lists. Rosters of qualified women were prepared and still exist at the Woodrow Wilson Center and with Ambassador Babbitt. Despite these lists of qualified candidates, the rosters are not utilized in-country and support to include women remains weak. While women are not necessarily or inherently more peaceful, they have equal rights to be at the table, Sharma said. Finding and supporting qualified women is important because it allows those working for women’s inclusion to meet policymakers halfway. It is important to show policymakers that such candidates exist so there is no pretext for not involving them.

Other questions and responses concerned the perceived legitimacy of grassroots groups participating in the assembly of civil society in the Guatemalan process and the nature of cooperation among these grassroots groups. Méndez responded that the United Nations recognized civil society for the process. Notably, all the churches came together for the first time and were joined by other sectors such as the peasant and trade unions, academics, indigenous people, and women to craft a consensus document. In response to a question of whether the Afro-Guatemalan community was represented, Méndez explained that that community, comprising only 1% of the population, was not recognized separately. The Afro-Guatemalan community was included as part of the indigenous movement representing twenty-two ethnic indigenous groups, and women

were to be commended on making sure the voices of this community were heard.

In response to a question regarding the need for monitoring the Guatemalan Peace Accords, Méndez said that this is now a concern because the UN Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) terminated its mission in December 2004 and the mechanisms that were left behind are weak. Civil society does not have sufficient power or a clear role to ensure continued democratic and human rights progress in Guatemala. She said that civil society made a mistake at the time of the accords by not creating a formal civil society body to monitor and verify implementation. This, Méndez noted, is an important lesson for others engaged in the peace process.

Summary of Discussion Following the Plenary

- Be creative to gain access to the negotiation table
- “Remove the veils of invisibility” by helping locals understand and demand their rights
- Develop national as well as local strategies to implement 1325
- Disseminate lists of qualified women to key policymakers
- Ensure representation for small minority groups, even if not directly
- Establish a place for women and civil society to be represented in all levels of peace negotiations and implementation of peace accords



Delegate in audience poses a question

Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) Presentation: *Engendering Human Rights & Human Security* ❧

Geetanjali Misra, Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA), India

Mahnaz Afkhami, Women's Learning Partnership and Foundation for Iranian Studies,
former minister for Women's Affairs, Iran

Alda Facio, Women, Gender and Justice Program at the United Nations Latin American Institute
for Crime Prevention (ILANUD), Costa Rica

Joanna Kerr, Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), Canada

Geetanjali Misra, Mahnaz Afkhami, Alda Facio, and Joanna Kerr are all contributors to *The Future of Women's Rights: Global Visions and Strategies*, which was released by Zed Books in November 2004. Each presenter contextualized women's rights concerns and offered strategies on how to address them.

Geetanjali Misra discussed the rise of religious fundamentalism and its cost to India, the largest democratic state in the world, as well as how to address religious fundamentalism at a strategic level. The global reality is that religious fundamentalism always leads to a decrease in plurality and acceptance, the basic and essential precepts of human rights, she said. Misra explained how violence against women "became accepted as normal" after the destruction of a prominent mosque in India. One might approach this issue from a legal and civil rights framework, Misra explained. However, this is not easy in a country like India that does not "essentialize" women. Using government and law may not bring about the end intended. Citizenship can be an exclusionary process in patriarchal states, preventing voices from being heard and human rights from being assured. In this context, women would be better off revitalizing their strategies at the base, that is, with the help of strong, grassroots-based organizations of poor women. Working from below, creating alternative and new spaces for women who need to become leaders for change, is one essential starting point.

Mahnaz Afkhami noted that violence against women is global, not unique to any one culture. She explained how fundamentalists came to power in Iran by placing morality in women's bodies and blaming the Western media's displays of sexuality for the corruption of moral values. She said the triumph of patriarchy and fundamentalism is exemplified by the legal status of women; they do not have the same rights as men. Afkhami explained that women's agency—women intervening and speaking out on their own behalf, reinterpreting religious texts from a women's perspective, increasing the presence of women in social and public spheres, and enhancing technological skills—is a strategy for achieving an egalitarian culture base and a just society.



Mahnaz Afkhami, Geetanjali Misra, Alda Facio, and Joanna Kerr
Mahnaz Afkhami, Geetanjali Misra, Alda Facio, and Joanna Kerr

Alda Facio focused her remarks on globalization, which she called "a five-thousand-year-old process of patriarchy," and its current cost in Latin America. Facio explained how the silent deaths due to structural violence, the concentration of wealth, and the spread of extreme poverty are not factored into the costs of an unjust, capitalist globalization. The structural adjust-

ment programs (SAPs) have stripped many women of the meager health and education benefits once available to them. She acknowledged a few hopeful signs such as the recent fair elections in Uruguay, however. She said an independent, strong judiciary might help subvert patriarchy.

Facio pointed out that some institutions and mechanisms could help greater equality evolve. Scientific advances and the Internet, for example, can help and have helped us learn about the state of women; but it is globalization created by the few greedy transnational companies that use their power to diminish what could be done with these international tools, she said. Facio sees the most urgent need in confronting capitalist globalization is for women to reaffirm themselves as spiritual, thinking beings living in the present and not the morass of past patriarchal objective assumptions. “Political spirituality” is a power for women that goes beyond reinterpretation or misinterpretation and must be at the heart of change. Women must find a sacredness and power in their bodies that cannot be changed or undermined by the Western media’s selling and

In order to strategize about where we go from here, we have to conceptualize a real culture of change and bring into being a world where 1325 is the norm.

degrading of women. “Women have only been human for eleven years,” Facio said, referencing the 1993 world conference on human rights that explicitly recognized “women’s rights are human rights.” A primary strategy to protect their rights is to have citizenship rights spelled out in human rights law, Facio concluded.

Joanna Kerr identified four major trends in human rights and security. The first trend, globalization, links economies at a tremendous speed. We need to pay attention to the types of markets that are being opened up. The global privatization of basic services and resources such as water will cause resource wars and have environmental impacts. The arms trade, too, is now global and threatens women’s basic rights to security. Kerr said that foreign policy, HIV/AIDS, and the role of media are the other three trends we must address. In order to strategize about where we go from here, we have to conceptualize a real culture of change and bring into being a world where 1325 is the norm, she said. This is a crossroads moment; we need to realize that so much happens through economics and that we must focus on

an economics of human rights and peace. She spoke of transferring some of the energy and focus women have in the United Nations to leadership in international financial organizations and applying different and appropriate, democratic economic frameworks in countries. We need to promote a new morality that brings more young people into the arena and makes greater spaces for them to see that intersectionality,⁴ spirituality, and environmentalism are essential for human rights and human security.

Postpresentation discussion focused on several questions. First, what kind of economic democracy should we be looking for when the democracies of both India and the United States violate human rights and women’s rights? Second, should UNIFEM and other women’s organizations focus on gender mainstreaming (joining in existing structures) or gender engines (new and entirely different, women-led programs) to bring about change? Which is more likely to bring about greater gender justice? Third, what is the role of men and boys in promoting gender equality and how do we make an inclusive society? Kerr responded that democracy must be defined as a political system, rooted in fair and just participation and representation, and is not inherently associated with a capitalist economic system. Gender mainstreaming is a more inclusive approach to facing the challenges of inequality. Equality does not mean that women want to be more like men, but that women and men should have 100% of their human rights and needs met.

Simultaneous efforts toward gender mainstreaming and gender engines complement each other and more holistically promote women’s human rights. We want to work with men, Kerr concluded, but because violence is the grossest violation against women, it is also essential to maintain an autonomous, courageous women’s movement worldwide.

⁴ According to the Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), “Intersectionality is a tool for analysis, advocacy and policy development that addresses multiple discriminations and helps us understand how different sets of identities impact on access to rights and opportunities.... It starts from the premise that people live multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the operation of structures of power. People are members of more than one community at the same time, and can simultaneously experience oppression and privilege (e.g. a woman may be a respected medical professional yet suffer domestic violence in her home).” From Association for Women’s Rights in Development, *Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice*, http://www.awid.org/publications/primers/intersectionality_en.pdf.



Plenaries and Conference Closing

Saturday, November 20, 2004

Morning Plenary: *Postconflict Reconstruction - Gender Dimensions of Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, and Reintegration* ✨

Presenters:

Lesley Abdela, Shevolution and Project Parity, UK

“Gender-mainstreaming in Developing Democracies”

Sarah Martin, Refugees International, coauthor of *Peacekeeping in West Africa: A Regional Report*, USA, “Peacekeeping: Problems and Promise”

Selmin Caliskan, Medica Mondiale, Germany

“Addressing Sexualized Violence in and after Conflict through Policy Changes”

Christiana Thorpe, Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), Sierra Leone

“Reintegration of Girl Survivors of Sexual Violence”

Shreen Abdul Saroor, Mannar Women’s Development Federation, Sri Lanka

“Reintegration across Conflict Lines: Micro-credit as a Way Forward”

Moderator: **Jodie McGrath**, Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security

Rapporteur: **Kristin Valasek**, United Nations INSTRAW

Notetaker: **Melissa Fernandez**, London School of Economics

Issues of peacekeeping, justice, governance, security, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration are central to moving toward a new society that can be fair and inclusive. When these issues and gender-sensitive policies are not in place, the victimization of women and children only increases. Perpetrators and victims of violence, the internationally concerned community, and women advocates for women and civil society all have a role in postconflict peacebuilding. Without the full and vibrant participation of these parties, peace remains elusive. This plenary session reported on various postconflict issues from a gender-sensitive perspective.

Gender Inclusion

Cannot Be Reduced to the Face of One Woman

As we embark on a process of gender inclusion that may take years, if not decades, we must also recognize successes along the way. In the dialogue about gender inclusion, Lesley Abdela, Shevolution and Project Parity, said the discourse has progressed from defending why women should be included to strategizing how to in-

clude them. This advancement provides the springboard from which this conference can speak of “operationalizing” 1325. Our actions to take concrete steps to establish a gender balance in UN institutions, to promote proper training of peacekeeping troops, and to empower local communities to address gender issues begin to fulfill the British suffragist call for “deeds not words.”

The discourse has progressed from defending why women should be included to strategizing how to include them.

Twenty-five member states of the European Union have begun to implement 1325, at the initiative of small NGOs, supported by European women’s networks. These efforts continue as the groups advocate and lobby for even further gender balance in the political arena, such as the minimum requirement of 40% women and 40% men (40/40) in all government bodies.



Gender inclusion cannot be reduced to the face of one woman. It is the role, the influence, and the respect given to her position and the structural changes within institutions that truly addresses the plea for gender balance. During peace support operations in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner, special representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG), did not appoint any women. The international community began to lobby the United Nations, and eventually, Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed a woman. This same trend—appointing a few token women to mask the overrepresentation of men—was also seen in Iraq. Paul Bremer claimed that the Iraqi government was representative of the population; however, three women in the twenty-five-member Iraqi Governing Council in June 2004 are not representative of 55% of the population.

[We must] fulfill the British suffragist call for “deeds not words.”

Abdela outlined three recommendations to answer the question of how to fully implement 1325. First, create gender training using the *Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* for personnel deployed on peace support operations. Second, focus on the final stage of the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process. This includes the redistribution of funding specifically for the reintegration of women who have been raped or widowed; reintegration programs should allocate specific funds to target the needs of women. Third, enhance representation and participation, including a minimum 40/40 requirement for political bodies. Rooted in the words of 1325, these deeds will construct a more gender-inclusive approach to gender balance in peace support operations.



Sarah Martin presents
Sarah Martin presents

Monitoring and Accountability

The rhetoric of gender representation does not match the reality on the ground in conflict and postconflict situations, according to Sarah Martin of Refugees International. She shared her experiences and reflections evaluating the implementation of gender inclusion in UN missions in Africa.

The rhetoric of gender representation does not match the reality on the ground in conflict and postconflict situations.

Martin reported that in Liberia SRSG Jacques Paul Klein stated that the mission had a zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and misconduct; punishment of these crimes was guaranteed. He also stated that there was a gender adviser in Liberia but that he did not know her name. While thirteen thousand UN troops had been deployed, none had received any gender training or had any contact with the gender adviser. Those responsible for gender-sensitive training only worked with the officers because they did not speak the language of the troops; the officers, however, never translated the message to the actual troops on the ground.

The treatment of HIV/AIDS and potential sexual exploitation was another inconsistency in the mission implementation with regard to gender. The Pakistani officers kept condoms locked in a room, and the troops would have to ask for one. When asked about this policy, the officers replied that the troops are under orders not to interact with the local population; therefore, they would not need condoms. A survey of soldiers, officers, support personnel, and the local community revealed that there was no channel or method to report sexual exploitation or misconduct. If you asked seventy-five different people, Martin said, you got seventy-five different answers about how to handle sexual abuse or exploitation. Although follow-up to the survey resulted in the appointment of a specific person to respond to these abuses, Martin posed the following questions: How serious is the United Nations about gender issues? Why is the United Nations not able to make [these types of appointments] happen immediately?



Trafficking and reintegration also pose a threat to the integrity of peace support missions and the lives of women in war-torn societies. Martin commended the SRSB for taking serious steps to rescue women who have been trafficked. However, there were no follow-up services in place; the SRSB relied on NGOs for assistance once the women had been removed from danger. In the DDR sites that she visited two weeks before the demobilization efforts were to begin, only one site was operational and none had addressed the female components of DDR. Martin gave them her copy of the *Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*.

Gender training at the beginning of a peacekeeping mission is not sufficient; gender attention and accountability must be integrated into each stage of the mission. Managers must be held responsible and report directly to the SRSB, who in turn must respond to the concerns and publish the actions taken. Martin concluded by referring delegates to the Web site of Refugees International, www.refugeesinternational.org, to learn more about how to address sexual exploitation and misconduct.

Addressing Trauma in Gender-based Violence

Trauma has psychological and social consequences for survivors and surrounding community members; therefore, trauma treatment should be integrated in different disciplines, organizations, and political agendas. Selmin Caliskan, Medica Mondiale, provided a model in which trauma treatment was offered for both survivors of rape and domestic violence in Kosovo, Albania, and Afghanistan and for police officers and judicial bodies in Bosnia. In Afghanistan, Medica Mondiale trains medical physicians to be aware of trauma symptoms exhibited by their patients. Through this organization, exiled Afghan physicians living in Germany travel to Afghanistan to partner with and work alongside Afghan counterparts. This professional partnership has enhanced trauma awareness and created a more holistic form of medical attention in Afghanistan.

The physicians in the partnering Afghan hospitals have begun to collect gender-specific data to document the cases they encounter. They have found that 80% of their clients, men and women, show signs of trauma. These data have shed light on another important post-conflict phenomenon: the increase of domestic violence throughout the DDR process. Humanitarian organizations must not view gender-based violence as a separate

issue, but one that is intimately linked with DDR and postconflict peace.

Finances must be committed to treating traumatized survivors of rape. Caliskan is lobbying the German government to include funding for female war rape survivors in the annual budget; leaving this issue to ad hoc action is lengthy and threatens the security of women in dangerous situations. She also noted that 1325 does not currently contain language specifically addressing the trauma dimension; protection of women and girls must explicitly include protection from physical, psychological, and social trauma.



Selmin Caliskan presents
Selmin Caliskan presents



Holistic Reintegration of Women and Girls

SIERRA LEONE

Throughout the eleven-year conflict in Sierra Leone, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), civil defense forces, and the Sierra Leonean Army brutally and systematically utilized sexual violence against women and girls as a military tactic. Sexual violence broke social taboos and further marginalized women survivors of rape; it was used as a weapon to terrorize, humiliate, and punish the entire civilian population. In 2000, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) reported of the 1,862 female victims of sexual abuse surveyed, 55% reported having been gang raped and two hundred had become pregnant. Sierra Leoneans are now grappling with how to handle the future for these children of rape. RUF leader Foday Sankoh and his troops were notorious not only for mass rape but also mutilations during the civil war. It is estimated that in 2002 there were over one thousand amputees nationwide with little access to services or medical attention. The Lomé Peace Accord was signed in 1999, and the war officially declared over in 2002. Sierra Leone, however, is still in the process of healing and regional insecurity continues to threaten advances made towards peace and reconciliation.

A photograph of four smiling young girls, with their babies on their hips and holding the hands of small children, represents the ten thousand girls assisted by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) chapter in Sierra Leone. Christiana Thorpe, founder of FAWE-Sierra Leone, narrated the story of these young women, each abducted ten to fifteen years ago, each a survivor of rape. One girl is now pursuing college, and a second runs her own business and employs the other two young women. Each of their children is enrolled in elementary school. These young women have also shared their stories: two testified before the truth and reconciliation commission, and a third is bringing her case to court. The photograph depicts the accomplishments of individual, social, professional, political, and judicial reconciliation. Thorpe emphasized that it is the process, however, not the product, that she would like to share with the conference delegates.

FAWE employs a comprehensive and holistic approach to reintegration and reconciliation. When girls first arrive, FAWE provides them with medical attention and trauma counseling; this treatment continues as long as it is needed. When the girls are ready, the next stage includes education and skills training, specifically in nontraditional areas. Many of the girls are trained in carpentry, challenging gender roles in the society. Through this process, a holistic reconciliation is fostered. First, the girls must reconcile themselves to accept what has happened and to leave the trauma behind before they can move forward with dignity. Then, the girls must bond with one another, building a community among themselves. Finally, FAWE works with the host communities through mediation, and the girls are eventually reintegrated back into their local villages. This process attempts to address specific medical and psychosocial needs of survivors of rape, working with the individual and community, to create fertile ground for reintegration.

Collaboration among NGOs is also essential. We must not be preoccupied with protecting our own section of work, Thorpe said, but rather we must share what we are doing and cooperate with others in the field. When FAWE began, it partnered with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in Sierra Leone, as well as with UN agencies and local communities. Connections to the communities where the girls came from were essential to the success of the project. The greatest happiness, Thorpe concluded, was watching the girls return to their communities. For this goal, we must all work together.



Christiana Thorpe presents
Christiana Thorpe presents

Crossing Conflict Lines: Humanizing the “Other”

SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka has experienced violent inter-ethnic tensions between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) militants from the north and east and the government controlled by the majority Sinhalese population since the 1950s. Acute periods of violence occurred in the early 1980s and late 1990s. Over the last two decades, an estimated sixty thousand people have been killed and more than six-hundred and eighty thousand people have been internally displaced. Women are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and abuse when passing through security check points and living in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. The conflict has also created an increase in the number of female-headed households, single women and widows, and women left to care for male relatives injured or maimed during the conflict. Movements towards peace have yet to hold; the collapse of peace talks in 1995 and 2002 resulted in a resurgence of violence and deepened the political crisis.

The women of Sri Lanka have been working on gender sensitivity in DDR without ever having heard of 1325. The need for equal participation and women-to-women efforts exists, and women have been rising to meet that challenge in spite of great barriers.

Shreen Abdul Saroor, internally displaced fifteen years ago, and founder of Mannar Women’s Development Federation, shared the history of Sri Lanka, reminding delegates that other minority groups have also paid a high price in the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict that has ravaged the northeast part of the island nation since 1990. While religious leaders were attempting to divide the communities along ethnic and religious lines, using the Muslim refugees as pawns in their political agenda, women began to meet and focus on how the two communities can coexist. From their efforts, the Mannar Women’s Development Federation was formed. In months, the organization grew from 504 participants to more than fifty thousand in 2000. As a result, women have stepped in to protect their sisters from religious persecution.

The advancement of community dialogue is strengthened by national campaigns that raise awareness about the struggle of women against violence and oppression in Sri Lanka. In 2001, two women were

raped by fourteen navy officers. For the first time in the history of the conflict, women poured onto the streets of the capital for seven days, protesting by covering their mouths with black tape, to pressure the government to establish a commission to investigate the rapes. All fourteen officers were stripped of their duties and power.

Sexual violence has been used to terrorize the female Tamil population. Rape is a tool to recruit women militants; in the Tamil culture, if you are raped, you have no life. These women are then recruited to use their polluted bodies as suicide bombers, Saroor explained. The Mannar Women’s Development Federation has addressed this trend and established programs focused on reintegrating the survivors of rape to prevent their induction into militant forces.

Women must also be included in formal negotiations. Although grassroots efforts are addressing the pressing needs of women in local communities, they are not sufficient to change the structural components of gender-based violence. In the last thirty-three cease-fires not a single woman has been able to gain access to the negotiation table. Militant women, recruited after surviving sexual violence, are killing politicians and human rights activists, yet only men sit at the table discussing the steps toward peace. Voices of women marching in the streets, speaking out against human rights violations, and demanding government accountability for the protection of its citizens are having some impact. “I am happy to share with you,” Saroor said, “that women are visible at the track-two level of Sri Lankan peace. But, I appeal to you, the international community today, that at least one woman be included in the formal, track-one negotiations.” The failure of Norway to model women’s inclusion in the mediation team further inhibits Sri Lankan women from gaining entry to the negotiation table.



Shreen Abdul Saroor presents
Shreen Abdul Saroor presents



Discussion

Visaka Dharmadasa of the Association of War Affected Women Sri Lanka commended Saroor for her depiction of the situation in Sri Lanka. Previously, Dharmadasa had spoken with the Norwegian ambassador overseeing the formal negotiation process, telling him that women must be included in the process. He advised her to bang on all the doors and one will open. She and her colleagues launched a dialogue process at the track-two level, the first of its kind. Rebels and influential politicians came to the table, and currently they are working to resume talks with women participating from both sides of the conflict.

Mary Ann Arnado of Initiatives for International Dialogue explained how women in the Philippines mobilized a monitoring campaign when U.S. troops were sent to their community to train Filipino soldiers just as a cease-fire Arnado had helped to facilitate was obtained. The community was outraged. “Why did U.S. troops have to come into the war-torn society that was rehabilitating itself? Couldn’t the training be done at West Point?” she asked.

*Women should not have to wait for men to invite them to the table
We are waiting at the cost of our children’s lives.*

Arnado also voiced frustration in gaining access and acceptance as a woman when she went to the military officials. When she spoke with the international monitors of the cease-fire, they could not imagine a woman working in the arena of peace and security. Arnado and a group of women organized and went to speak with the local base commander. He assured the women that the troops would be in the Philippines for only sixty days and would have no interaction with the local population. The women warned him that they would be watching, monitoring movement in the camp, and if the soldiers approached a bar, the women would call the governor. They watched vigilantly for weeks, and on the fifty-ninth day they went to see the same commander and reminded him that the troops were scheduled to leave the next day. Women can be creative in this arena and have success, she said.

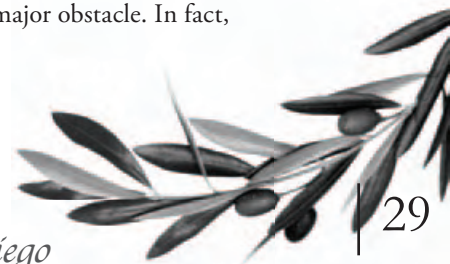
Female ex-combatants from Rwanda have just been sent to Darfur’s peacekeeping team, added Sarah Martin. This is another example of how women in all sectors of society can contribute to the implementation of gender-sensitive policies.

“Women should not have to wait for men to invite them to the table,” said Stella Tamang of Nepal. “Why have we allowed men to make decisions for us? Isn’t it time we organized ourselves? How much patience are we expected to have? We are waiting at the cost of our children’s lives. We must be like our sister from Sri Lanka; we must organize and be ready to meet with our sisters from the Maoists groups. We can come together and then tell the men what we have decided. Please support us; we are tired of waiting for men.”

Other conference delegates stated that structural adjustment programs and international financial institution’s policies are killing women everyday through the reduction and discontinuation of social services. Maternal mortality rates directly increase with the decrease of social services. As much as we struggle with ending violent conflict, we must also shift the ways in which we think and behave. Structural violence cannot be ignored. We must not overlook the murderous effects of international political and economic policies, in Africa and elsewhere, especially the effects on women.

“With every crisis, there is an opportunity,” Noleen Heyzer had said in her Distinguished Lecture. This is clearly seen in the case of sexual violence in South Africa, another delegate commented. Although a multiracial democracy was introduced there ten years ago, South Africa still has some of the highest statistics of sexual violence in the world. Police training has been expanded, but we must normalize gender education and training, institutionalizing it for the military, nurses, and teachers, to enhance accountability. We are dependent on outside funding; nonetheless, we must try as hard as possible to pressure the state to mainstream and institutionalize gender awareness.

In Palestine, there is still work to be done on why we have not reached the “how” yet, Galia Golan-Gild noted in response to Abdela’s earlier presentation. Everything in the negotiations in Palestine is in the hands of the Israeli and Palestinian military or ex-military. Over the length of the conflict everything has been framed in a purely military manner, including the negotiations. Values brought to the table are values developed in the military; this has been our major obstacle. In fact,



women have been involved in track-two negotiations in the region, but these negotiations have not been able to influence the track-one processes. This is the real issue for us, how to break through so that women can be part of the formal negotiating process. As a result, the International Women's Commission for Just Peace in the Middle East was formed. "We hope that with the help of the international community, our voices will be heard," concluded Golan-Gild.

As Abdela confirmed, security is a much more complex issue than what the military is making it to be. In regard to international support and partnership, we must be prepared for the counter-argument that the international community should not intervene in local conflicts. For example, the argument of cultural relativity has also been used to exclude women; some have stated that gender inclusion is not part of their culture. One delegate responded with a light note to this viewpoint by stating that computers and cell phones were not part of their culture either, but there has been little resistance to the inclusion of these things in daily life. The informal sector needs to continue to push for a more holistic understanding of security.

One delegate asked Sarah Martin if Refugees International also monitored NATO forces. Although her organization is not actively engaged in that process, delegates from the audience had contact information and the names of others involved in monitoring NATO. The delegates planned to meet after the plenary session to further discuss coordination of monitoring activities.

Kristin Valasek asked the panelists to share which aspect of their work they believed would be most reproducible. Saroor stressed that micro-credit must be considered a tool for peacebuilding. Thorpe encouraged the audience to support the initiatives of local NGOs, helping create a culture of sustainable peace. Caliskan suggested that each country use Germany's model of a Women's Security Council to monitor its government's implementation of 1325. This could enhance governmental funding to build a broader network of individuals and organizations.

One delegate noted the U.S. State Department realized that it lacked the capacity to address postconflict situations and has created the Office of Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization to respond to crises involving failing, failed, and postconflict states. We need to ascertain whether this office is sensitive to gender and share the Toolkit with them. We must also address U.S. peacekeeping missions, ensuring that gender training is

mandated for government contractors as well. We must craft language that we can use to talk to policymakers in Washington, DC, and, with other organizations, present our demands as a unified front, she said.

Marian Douglas, founder of the Women in International Missions Network, reflected on her experience on international missions in Kosovo. In 2000, she was one of two in charge of supervising monitors for the municipal elections. A business corporation, with different salaries and working conditions, soon took control of overseeing the mission. Six weeks later, the U.S. government changed contractors and the rules were modified again, including 30% pay cuts and new contracts. The commercialization of peacekeeping missions must be addressed. Sarah Martin added that accountability mechanisms for U.S. corporations must be installed; of the seventy-seven officers sent to Liberia, not one was a woman. The company recruited only from unions of retired military personnel.

Anita Sharma stated that peacekeeping missions must be designed to address the specific security needs of women. In particular, other delegates added, human trafficking by Bosnian peacekeeping forces threatens women and girls. There are more than eight hundred women from countries such as Moldova and Russia who are trafficked in Bosnia for official employment and sex trade on the black market. Training for state officials, police, judges, and so on should focus on four areas: legislation, rehabilitation, protection of witnesses, and working with border officials. By 2000, 20% of the new police force in Bosnia was women, sending an important signal to the community that women would be directly and integrally involved in peace and security.

Summary of Discussion Following the Plenary

- Have women bridge the gap between track-two and track-one negotiations
- Demand women's participation in both track-one and track-two negotiations
- Use creative means to mobilize women, such as monitoring and policing
- Frame security as more than a military issue, specifically as a human issue
- Mandate and enhance in-depth gender training and accountability mechanisms for police and contracted peacekeepers
- Monitor accountability of all contractors hired in conflict and postconflict settings



Final Plenary: *Moving Forward Together - Building on the Secretary-General's Report on Implementing 1325 toward Beijing+10, Millennium Development Goals+5, and the 2005 High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change* ✨

Presenters:

Kristin Valasek, Gender and Security Consultant, United Nations INSTRAW, USA

“What Next? Research and Capacity Building on Gender, Peace, and Security”

Eva Zillén, cofounder Kvinna till Kvinna, Sweden

“Women in the Peace Process: Kvinna till Kvinna 1325 October Seminar Outcomes”

Maha Muna, Governance, Peace and Security UNIFEM, USA

“Moving Forward Together on the Secretary-General's Fourth Anniversary Report”

Meenakshi Chakraverti, Public Conversations Project, USA

Carol Cohn, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, USA

“Facilitator Reports from our 1325 Conference Working Sessions”

Béatrice Maillé, Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations and Commission on the Status of Women, Canada “Toward Beijing+10 and the 2005 UN High-level Event”

Moderator: Dee Aker, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ)

Rapporteur: Anne Hoiberg, United Nations Association

Notetaker: Bree Del Sordo, University of California, Santa Cruz

The goal of the final plenary, moderator Dee Aker began, is to clarify further issues and strategies to fulfill the commitments contained in 1325. The culmination of this working conference on how to operationalize 1325 will prepare delegates to return to their organizations with new tools, networks, and renewed energy and hope. The discussion will be guided by the salient points in the UN Secretary-General's report of October 13, 2004, coalesced with information gleaned from sources such as UNIFEM, rooted in the Beijing Platform for Action, built from the outcome of the Twenty-third Special Session of the UN General Assembly (i.e., Beijing+5) and deliberations of the sessions of the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women, and influenced by the Millennium Development Goals. With this information as the compilation of a decade's work post-Beijing, each panelist will share how her agency is actively engaged in implementing 1325.

Capacity Building and Crafting a Research Agenda

Kristin Valasek of the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) advocated for the adoption of the language of capacity building, rather than training. Considerable e-discussion on 1325 has been devoted to this topic, strongly encouraging and frequently emphasizing the need for capacity building. Often used in discussions about 1325, as well as in the Secretary-General's reports, capacity building generally encompasses training but is often implemented by action-based, participatory research. The *Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* is welcomed in our discussion on 1325, but gaps still exist for implementation of 1325 that must be addressed.

The gaps can be addressed by nine objectives, divided into three broad areas of focus: (1) awareness and action on gender issues in the field, (2) increasing women's participation, and (3) protection and justice for women. The nine objectives, as Valasek described, are to:

- Collect, translate, and distribute data to complement the Toolkit, gathering additional resources by talking to NGOs
- Review gender issues within capacity-building workshops, such as HIV/AIDS training, to develop guidelines based on best practices
- Ensure that HIV/AIDS training is given during pre-deployment of peacekeeping troops
- Incorporate gender perspectives in capacity-building programs for such entities as the European Union and the UN Development Program (UNDP)
- Develop gender-sensitive frameworks and strategies to increase women's participation in all levels of conflict transformation
- Collect sex-disaggregated data on the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process to guide future policy
- Review and analyze obstacles to women's participation in peace processes
- Develop recruitment strategies for women to serve as police officers and in peacekeeping bodies
- Conduct research and develop programs that teach nonviolent conflict resolution and prevent future violence, especially against women

Valasek concluded that one way to accomplish these objectives is through a research agenda that revitalizes INSTRAW to collect sex-disaggregated data (data showing statistical outcomes along gender lines) that address gender, peace, and security as well as gender, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution. Valasek posed a final question for e-discussion centers to discuss and guide this agenda: What types of research and capacity building are needed in the next five years to implement 1325?



Eva Zillén and Lesley Abdela

No Sustainable Peace without Women's Involvement

The Kvinna till Kvinna (Woman to Woman) Foundation, cofounded by Eva Zillén, has been supporting women for more than ten years. “We have learned that women should stop complaining and come up with solutions—creative, active solutions. We work to show not only how different actors within society find it easy to exclude women, but also to show simple ways in which to include women in peace processes,” said Zillén.

In an effort to prove why women should be included in peace processes, Kvinna till Kvinna published a handbook for sustainable peace, *Rethink!* (2004). It is time to rethink our strategies and to have different programs that target women and their involvement. We have learned that there can be no sustainable peace without women's involvement. Available in the handbook, Kvinna till Kvinna has developed a diagram to show one way forward.

One of the most important issues is redefining the term security. When the international world moves in, the security of women is not a top priority. After a conflict, too, the security of women is limited and sidelined, making it difficult for them to leave their homes. The consequence is that it is harder for women to participate in peace and reconciliation processes.

The international community must counteract cultural trends that make women and their contributions to peace and security invisible. Engaging in positive change for their local communities can put women at risk, both at home and at the international level. International actors must contribute to reduce and eliminate these risks and raise the visibility of women working for peace. “How do the ‘Friends of 1325 Governmental Group’ respond to this need?” Zillén asked.

Language must be crafted to explicitly identify and include women. For example, as many delegates, such as Shreen Abdul Saroor, have done, we must demand that at least one woman participates in peace talks and serves on international peace teams. Language can reshape or reconceptualize how a problem is addressed. The overrepresentation of men at the negotiating table is not only a “women's issue”; men must be engaged to solve this problem. Language can also shift the perception and treatment of women from victims of injustice to agents of change. Framing the need for equal participation and consideration as a shared goal for women and men to fully realize true security and peace is an essential component of implementing 1325.



Woman-to-woman partnerships are imperative. In Kvinna till Kvinna, all funding directly supports women. In other settings, we have to ask the question, how much money goes to men compared to women? We know an old boys' network exists, but there is also

... language can also shift the perception and treatment of women from victims of injustice to agents of change.

a burgeoning women's network that is highly effective and powerful. For example, at the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation seminar on October 14, 2004, women from Georgia, Liberia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Israel, and Palestine discussed women's role in peace-building. They created connections and learned how to run elections. Kvinna till Kvinna demonstrates how rethinking security, visibility, language, funding, and networking can promote women's involvement in sustainable peace efforts.

Entry Points to Implementing 1325

Maha Muna, program manager and officer-in-charge of the Governance, Peace and Security Unit of UNIFEM, reflected on the recent history of UNIFEM and its work in Africa during crisis phases of the 1990s, addressing the problems with refugees, and its expanded attention to other areas, such as Kosovo, Croatia, southern Caucasus, Asia Pacific, and East Timor. From these countries rose the voices of women, voices that came from the ground. These stories were compiled in the book *Women, War and Peace* (UNIFEM, 2002), documenting the voices of women from fourteen countries.

UNIFEM has been involved in promoting a four-pronged framework to implement 1325 since its inception in 2000. Outlining the four best entry points or the best areas of focus, Muna began, "We need readily available information to be strategically available, but not just to the UN Security Council." We have to provide names and detailed information in a strategic and targeted manner. New gender-sensitive information has become available, but it has not been funneled to the UN Security Council. We need to devise mechanisms to systematize the information that has been gathered

from UNIFEM's fifteen regional offices, two country program offices, sixteen national committees, and other global programs worldwide.

The second entry point is improving peace mechanisms. Questioning what we have learned, we recognize the need to compile a book on guidelines for peace negotiations. In this field, however, there is rarely time to think; we are always moving forward. One possibility would be to foster strategic partnerships between UNIFEM and think tanks or other organizations to provide an opportunity for this material to germinate.

The third entry point of UNIFEM's approach is the protection of women to ensure full participation. To better protect women, we need to respond with more than paper; we need to develop rapid-response initiatives. Postconflict situations have received considerable humanitarian assistance, but the European Union, for example, refuses to fund projects that address gender-based violence (GBV). The European Union does not treat GBV as a life-threatening or a life-saving issue.

Finally, we must identify women who are most in need of 1325 and ensure that the text and tools reach these women to enhance the potency of their struggle. We have met women in communities using the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Partnering with Women Waging Peace, we want to link CEDAW with 1325, strengthening and promoting a worldwide launch of the *Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. Currently, there are sixty-one translations of 1325, but if women in Sri Lanka are still not hearing about it, then there is still much work to be done. Muna stated that we need to address where we have been, where we are, and where we should be.

*To better protect women,
we need to respond
with more than paper;
we need to develop
rapid-response initiatives.*



Take Time to Reflect and Generate a Broader Discussion

Carol Cohn commented that this conference, “Operationalizing UNSC Resolution 1325,” has provided us with the opportunity to exchange ideas, build networks, share best practices and solutions to common challenges, and find mutual inspiration and hope in the contributions all of us here have made to the full and vigorous implementation of 1325. Thanks go to all who have participated. What is particularly important is that the conference has given us the time to reflect together on our priorities and strategies. Rather than simply coming up with yet one more set of recommendations for the UN to ignore, we have invested time to learn from each other, considered how to adapt the successes of others to our own contexts, and coalesced in our determination. We have brought forward peace activism stories of women on the front lines to men at the World Bank. Now, we need to commit ourselves to take the next steps. As workers in the field, we have learned incredibly valuable information from these sessions. As a community of advocates, where are we going next?

We have two challenges: first, we as the conveners and participants of the conference have the challenge of using the information we have learned when we go back to our colleagues and coworkers. Second, we must identify ways to open and expand the ideas formulated in this conference to generate a broader discussion. These challenges may be a bit daunting. However, every one of us needs to bring these ideas back to our own organizations, institutions, and translate them into our own context. We need to keep this focus and employ the lessons learned. With this vision for the future, our determination in the present is fortified.



Delegates reflect
Delegates reflect

Looking Ahead and Moving Forward

“I am pleased to have the last word, to discuss with you forward-looking strategies. It has been a privilege to meet all of you,” said Béatrice Maillé. Since the Fourth World Conference on Women, we have had the Platform for Action (PFA) and Beijing+5 documents to implement. Implementation is vital, but what assessments have been made over the past decade? In fact, evidence indicates that we may be moving backward in the commitments that came out of Beijing and the United Nations’ Special Session on Beijing+5. The Beijing conference was an important moment in gender history that will be reviewed and appraised during the sessions of the United Nations’ Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in March 2005.

We entered the new millennium building on an incredible decade of conferences: Rio, Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen, and Beijing. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) also provide us with a way to move forward. In September 2005, the MDG will be reviewed. In October, the fifth anniversary of 1325 will be commemorated. The year 2005 will also host a number of important anniversaries: the thirtieth year since the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City, the twentieth anniversary of the Second World Conference on Women in Nairobi, and the tenth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. From Nairobi, we had the forward-looking strategies for women’s empowerment and the achievement of the goals of women’s equality, development, and peace. Over the years, valuable lessons were learned, stressing the importance of a gender perspective, as reflected in the MDG.

During 2004, Secretary-General Kofi Annan prepared a detailed questionnaire to assess the achievements and obstacles concerning women’s advancement and empowerment to be completed by member states of the United Nations. Divided into four parts, the questionnaire addressed the following: (1) What were the major achievements and the major obstacles? (2) How have the actions in the PFA’s twelve critical areas of concern been implemented? (3) What institutional mechanisms have been implemented? and (4) What are the remaining key challenges and constraints? The responses from 131 nations are available online. Reports from governments have been submitted to the CEDAW committee, as have national action plans on a whole array of issues. Currently, a comprehensive millennium report is being compiled.



By looking ahead, we can all stay informed and actively engaged in the discussion and actions that are developing around the globe. One Expert Group Meeting on “the role of national mechanisms in promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women’s achievements, gaps, and challenges” is scheduled to occur from November 29 to December 2, 2004, and will continue in 2005. In this forum, linkages between the PFA, MDG, and 1325 will be explored, in part, through online discussions of the PFA’s twelve critical areas of concern (see Section III). The World Bank will be monitoring the e-discussions on women and poverty.

In 2005, the CSW session will have two weeks to assess progress, which will differ from traditional CSW gatherings. The format of the CSW session will include a presentation by Secretary-General Annan and a series of panels, roundtables, and interactive debates; CEDAW, 1325, and the MDG will all be on the agenda. Statistics and linkages that integrate gender perspectives will be discussed. There will be a program for NGOs and one for government delegates. Regional organizations, such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), will discuss innovations and institutional mechanisms at the regional and intergovernmental levels. During the 2005 International Women’s Day presentation, panelists will include secretaries of each of the key conferences mentioned above. We hope that they will bring the energy of those conferences to the table. There will be a strong, unequivocal reaffirmation of the Beijing Platform for Action.

...we as the conveners and participants of the conference have the challenge of using the information we have learned...

Coordination between the various conference and action plans will be woven together during 2005. Several tracks, such as the High-level Panel Report, the Millennium Declaration, and the Cardoza Report, will be discussed in September. To celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, a special session will be held in San Francisco to reexamine the United Nations, define the role it plays in the current world order, and review the contributions of previous reports and the status of all conference goals. The question remains, how will all of these reports be brought together in this meeting? The answer lies with us. All of us dream of what can be, of the promises that



Conference delegates

each conference held. The realization of these goals is in our hands, Maillé concluded.

Discussion

Delegates shared concerns and posed questions about the integration of 1325 and a gender perspective in the various conferences to be held in 2005. Alma Pérez asked how to mainstream 1325 into the agenda of these conferences. Twenty-eight countries now actively exchange information about 1325 through meetings between heads of departments within each government. While there has been some success in gaining attention for 1325, there is still a need to get women more involved, Maillé responded. She also raised the following questions: What type of action plan is needed for the fifth anniversary for 1325? Will we have an action plan? Will we want another resolution?

Galia Golan-Gild suggested that the United Nations demand the implementation of 1325 so that it can be heard at the grassroots level. It is the responsibility of the Security Council to implement 1325, since it is the council’s resolution. While the Secretary-General has provided reports on the status of 1325, with responses from twenty-five states, fuller participation is needed in future assessment, Maillé said. It remains to be seen

what impact a plan of action will have since there is no formal body or structure within the United Nations to monitor and implement 1325. The bottom line is that partnerships must be established with organizations like UNIFEM or UNDP to push for “gender nuggets” within proposals and gender-sensitive development projects.

Lesley Abdela added that U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) requires that project proposals include a gender perspective, or funding is not granted. Maha Muna suggested that a centerpiece of expertise is still needed at this point. An effective strategy would frame the issue as a human rights concern, not as a needs-based approach.

Adding to the list of relevant events in 2005, Heide Schuetz informed the group about a conference on the prevention of armed conflict and her efforts to include 1325 on the conference agenda. She emphasized the important role civil society plays to incorporate a gender perspective in conferences such as this, which are composed primarily of men. Muna suggested utilizing the most recent Secretary-General’s report that explicitly calls for a gender perspective on conflict prevention. Maillé raised another concern: even though 1325 may be included in a conference agenda, when discussions on topics such as Darfur, Congo, or Kosovo arise, discussions of women are ignored and fade into the background. This highlights Pérez’s first question of how to effectively mainstream the gender agenda and 1325.

It remains to be seen to what impact a plan of action will have since there is no formal body or structure within the United Nations to monitor and implement 1325.

Patricia Guerrero, who has worked with internally displaced persons (IDPs) for six years, painted a complicated picture of the role of UN agencies and gender mainstreaming in Colombia. The United Nations is working only in areas of conflict and leaving the rest of the impacted society alone. In Colombia, there are nineteen UN agencies, and all have the mandate to work on gender issues. In spite of this mandate, gender concerns are addressed in a limited context; women are



Delegates discuss

considered a target group to receive food aid, but their basic security rights are not considered when addressing conflict transformation in her country. There is no approach to address the security rights of women in Colombia, Guerrero stated.

The High Commissioner for Refugees changes the agenda with each new government, which is very confusing and complicates relationships. With this method, civil society and the conflict-affected community lose. Guerrero said, “UNIFEM entered Colombia last September, and we hope that they will be able to manage and coordinate an appropriate gender response better than the other UN agencies.” Muna added that it is a problem of the UN agencies’ ability to transition from conflict to humanitarian to development responses. UNIFEM is only a small catalytic fund. UNIFEM Colombia is operational primarily because there is tremendous demand for an inclusive gender agenda owing to internal mobilization of civil society. There are growing pains, and UNIFEM is moving quickly.

Summary of Discussion Following the Plenary

- Encourage government participation in UN efforts to implement 1325
- Partner with UN agencies to mainstream gender issues in all UN efforts
- Push to include and integrate 1325 and gender rights in all conference agendas
- Address the mentality that considers women as recipients of humanitarian assistance without addressing their right to basic security and to participate in decision making



Conference Closing: *Celebration and Congratulations* ✨ Saturday, November 20, 2004

Conference Closing

Dee Aker, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ)

Dee Aker, deputy director of the IPJ, concluded the conference with the presentation of certificates and thanks. “We all have to have enormous pride in our work these past three days. So many of you have come so far to participate and contribute to the dialogue,” she said. “The office of the Mayor of San Diego has awarded every delegate a certificate recognizing them as honorary citizens of San Diego. This continues the City Council of San Diego’s support for women’s rights as this city has endorsed and encouraged the ratification of CEDAW by the U.S. government.”



Dee Aker, Carol Cohn, Maha Muna, and Luz Méndez
Dee Aker, Carol Cohn, Maha Muna, and Luz Méndez

Aker extended a special thanks to the 2004 Women PeaceMakers, the Fred J. Hansen Foundation, other funding sponsors, Sun and Moon Vision Productions, all delegates, facilitators, notetakers, and the staff and interns of the IPJ.

Following the final plenary, all the participants gathered in the IPJ rotunda to celebrate three days of rewarding work. The distinct contributions by presenters and working delegates are reflected both in the preceding reports and in the working session reports, which follow in Section II. A complete list of delegates appears in Section III.





Section II: Working Session Reports

Conference working sessions were designed to bring forth the wisdom and experience of official delegates in cross-fertilization discussions and planning on how common goals could be advanced. A global range of voices was present in most sessions, and discussions were rich and intense. Through these interactions, best practices, strategies, and barriers to accomplishing goals were identified. Efforts were made to find leverage or pressure points that could be applied to advance goals and general awareness of 1325.

Facilitators had convened prior to the opening of the conference and agreed on a general format to “frame the discussion” at the initiation of each working session to establish the parameters of the dialogue with delegates. The frameworks and summation varied by group and topic. Each working session was held twice daily to enable delegates to more fully discuss each topic. At the conclusion of the first day’s formal sessions, ad hoc sessions based on the interests of delegates were scheduled for the following day, November 20.

The outcomes of the working sessions are reported here to the fullest extent possible. While all delegates may not be identified, it is believed the outcomes presented reflect the majority of voices and interests.



Working Sessions

Friday, November 19, 2004

Early Warning and Conflict Prevention

Framing the discussion

- Share best practices in gender inclusion in early warning and the prevention of armed and deadly conflict⁵
- Propose strategies to accomplish gender-inclusive conflict prevention
- Identify barriers to accomplishing this goal
- Recommend leverage points that can be utilized to achieve this goal

Best Practices in Gender-Inclusive Conflict Prevention

Several stories of best practices emerged. The first recounted the peaceful revolution in Germany on November 11, 1989, when the Berlin Wall came down. Women were a dominant force in making this revolution peaceful. For a year and a half beforehand, women in East Germany lined the streets holding candles; the candle factory laborers in Leipzig worked overtime to ensure there were enough candles. The candles symbolized nonviolent protest; when holding a candle, one cannot make a fist to fight. This precedent of nonviolent protest, which included men, helped lay the groundwork for the peaceful transition and unification of the two Germanys despite fears and expectations of mass violence.

The second story described the peaceful diplomacy orchestrated and carried out by women that contributed to a reduction of nuclear tensions between Pakistan and India. Forty Indian women traveled to Pakistan and met with the president; later, forty Pakistani women went to India with the same message of peace. This exchange of women helped to relieve immediate pressure; this model of citizen diplomacy has continued to alleviate tensions between the two nations.

The third story concerned a nonviolent protest leading to a cease-fire in Mindanao, the Philippines. Women took to the streets with signs saying, “Cease-fire Now,” for three days in two provinces, after which the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) agreed to a unilateral cease-fire. After further negotiation, the government agreed to the cease-fire. Women then organized

a cease-fire-monitoring watch group with their own monitoring outposts. Using mobile phones, women in the watch groups reported violations to the entire cease-fire committee.

Strategies for Conflict Prevention

Following the best-practices discussion, delegates listed several priorities for the advancement of 1325 in conflict prevention and agreed that the main priority is the role and contribution of women in early warning, armed conflict prevention, and crisis management.⁶ Women are often overlooked as resources in early warning: while women recognize that tensions are rising and may become violent, they do not have access to convey those warnings to policymakers or to those in a position to take proactive steps to prevent the outbreak of violence. Delegates agreed that strategies would include entry points to policymaking and implementation and the creation of networking opportunities for mutual support. Specific recommendations included:

- Develop trust between civil society and government
- Educate across conflict lines and share information across sectors, for example, academics and practitioners exchanging information
- Build capacity of women so that they can craft documents, agreements, and resolutions in language and formats that will have credibility with policymakers
- Build capacity of policymakers so that they can understand the need for gender inclusion to build sustainable peace
- Encourage donor and supporting organizations to develop standards to implement 1325
- Incorporate and monitor gender-sensitive indicators into official policies
- Disseminate information about work through Web sites, such as Womenwarpeace.org, where international visibility can give legitimacy and protection to national NGOs

⁵ A discussion on the use of language highlighted a preference for specifying “armed,” “violent,” or “deadly” conflict prevention rather than just “conflict prevention” as the latter implies the prevention of all conflict, even potentially constructive conflict. However, for report consistency “conflict prevention” will be used in this section.

⁶ Delegates noted that armed conflict prevention is often limited to only crisis management.

- Find common ground and goals with other women inside and outside the region
- Promote joint and coordinated action with other women on multiple levels of planning and action
- Cooperate, advise, and work with men
- Develop a core network of women's Web media sources

Barriers to Conflict Prevention

Delegates acknowledged that major barriers to gender-inclusive conflict prevention existed. They noted the following as key challenges to be addressed and overcome:

- Exclusion or underrepresentation of a variety of political perspectives in many women's groups
- Limited access to policymakers
- Patriarchy: women are not treated as equals and their contributions are not considered relevant
- Media ignorance and avoidance of gender-specific issues and gender-focused reporting

Leverage Points and Resources for Conflict Prevention

To achieve gender-inclusive conflict prevention, delegates recommended the following leverage points and resources:

- Linkages with organizations, such as Global Partnerships, to guide the incorporation of a gender perspective in their work
- Networks, coalitions, and support from international groups through organizations such as Womenwarpeace.org



Joyce Neu calls delegates for working sessions



Zarina Salamat and Meenakshi Chakraverti

- Advocacy strategies for the UK government, as it will hold the presidency of both the G-8 and the European Union in 2005
- Web sites, such as Peacewomen.org, to share gender-sensitive frameworks for prevention
- Annual reports that monitor and evaluate international commitments to implement 1325

Participants:

Mary Ann Arnado	Susan Penksa
Rebecca Booth	Alma Pérez
Galia Golan-Gild	Zarina Salamat
Marjaana Jauhola	Dondov Sangishiirev
Elena McCollim	Heide Schuetz
Alla Mozol Laporte	Shobha Shrestha
Maha Muna	Kristin Valasek

Facilitator: Joyce Neu

Notetaker: Emma Johansson



Gender Issues in Peace Support Operations (PSOs): How to Ensure that PSOs Collaborate with Women & Women's Organizations from the Conflict Area

Friday and Saturday, November 19 and 20, 2004

Framing the Discussion

- Set goals for the working session
- Identify characteristics of an “ideal” PSO based on lessons learned from best practices
- Propose methods to overcome barriers at the international and local levels
- Share resources and linkages between international and local actors and organizations

Goal Setting

The goal of the workshop set forth by the facilitator was not only to learn about best practices from one another, but also to develop strategies, tools, and policy recommendations. Delegates brought a wide range of understanding of PSOs, based on their cultural backgrounds and diverse experiences with conflict situations. These perspectives were brought together under a more holistic understanding of PSOs that was not limited to international military intervention but included civilian missions and the work of local organizations.

Goals for the session as a result of the discussion included:

- Network and share experiences and ideas with the other delegates
- Examine the reality confronting peacekeeping and PSOs
- Empower women to exercise leadership in PSOs in partnership with men
- Encourage outsiders to gain a better understanding of the local dynamics in conflict areas
- Identify the fundamental stumbling blocks and barriers to implementation of gender inclusion in PSOs
- Involve civil society and women in PSOs and funnel these voices to the government
- Incorporate youth in PSOs
- Understand the role of education in PSOs
- Acknowledge the training that already exists
- Discern strategies to better connect and integrate women into local and international peace efforts

Identifying an “Ideal” PSO

Following the enumeration of goals, delegates imagined and described an “ideal” PSO that would include:

- Gender-sensitive senior officials on staff from the initiation of PSO planning
- Gender advisers to PSO personnel in planning, operation, monitoring, and assessment
- Intensive gender training for peacekeepers, monitors, and international and national NGOs
- Clear mandate that includes a gender perspective and uses appropriate language to inform the local population about that mandate
- Accountability of peacekeepers to address impunity, including UN personnel
- Coordination between civilian and military components of PSOs
- Transparency throughout the length of the PSO process
- Official PSO acknowledgment of and engagement with the local structures and organizations in the conflict area and their efforts for peace
- Local capacity building and empowerment to create a foundation for sustainability
- Space for women to come together and create common goals and strategies
- Culturally sensitive international actors and organizations that will listen, establish trust, and enhance understanding between conflicting parties
- Efforts to think outside the box, including utilizing religious leaders and other influential figures when possible to leverage more support for women's rights
- Understanding of the psychological impacts and implications of trauma
- Two-way implementation and monitoring between local and international actors
- Evaluation measures that include female researchers to document and analyze patterns across conflicts and PSOs and to systematize findings to create future recommendations
- Sufficient funding to accomplish the aforementioned tasks



Overcoming Barriers

With these goals and ideal PSO in mind, the session divided into three small groups to brainstorm three angles into enhancing the role of gender awareness in PSOs. The three groups focused on the approach of the (1) international community, (2) local civil society, and (3) the linkages between international and local efforts. A common challenge that was identified in each group was that women professionals and women's organizations on the ground are not acknowledged and are not included by the international community.

To overcome this barrier, the group recommended a "civil society monitoring campaign" to pressure for the inclusion of a strong 1325 mandate as a requirement for all peace support missions. The specific language of 1325 should be used to guide gender inclusion in PSO mandates, and more explanatory language should be employed to communicate the role of gender in PSOs through local community media. The civil society monitoring campaign would organize women at the local level and promote gender mainstreaming in international institutions.

The group addressed the lack of involvement of local women and women's organizations in PSOs. A number of reasons for this exclusion of a gender perspective were suggested, such as deliberate resistance, based on misogyny and "old boys' networks"; unconscious ignorance, based on assumptions about women's competency; "respect" for local patriarchal culture; or a narrow understanding of gender in the peace and security paradigm. The group concluded that a specialized, follow-up workshop to overcome these challenges should:

- Learn from bilateral PSOs that have been successful in introducing some form of gender conditionality, such as those from Sweden and Canada
- Define and set clear standards for a mission with strong gender components
- Explore the need for an enforcement mechanism for including a gender perspective in PSOs
- Form monitoring networks to ensure the inclusion and implementation of 1325 in all PSOs
- Lobby regional organizations and local governments to incorporate gender experts and gender-sensitive officials
- Craft a marketing strategy, using mass media, to inform international and governmental bodies and to mobilize and support local organizations
- Identify "champions" or high-level persons who would take on the cause

- Develop checklists and examples to advance these political strategies
- Network with other women to exchange strategies and enhance global efforts

Resources for the Continuation of These Efforts

Possible partners and resources to address and promote gender-inclusive PSOs include:

- The Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, specifically to conduct a humanitarian dialogue with the military
- Kvinna till Kvinna, which also works with the military through the Swedish Armed Forces International Center (SWEDINT)
- Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Canada
- International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centers

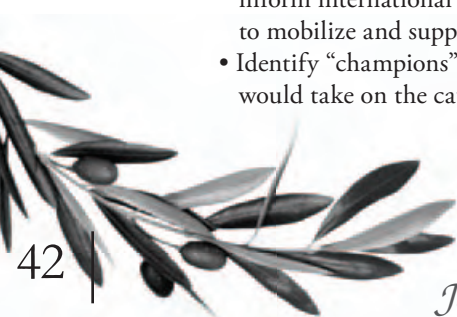
Participants:

Tsjeard Bouta	Navita Mahajan
Valerie Jean Deveraux	Sarah Martin
Albina Digaeva	Natalie Mathis
Marian Douglas	Kathie Murtey
Celia Cook-Huffman	Sudha Ramachandran
Jean-Paul Edmond	Zarina Salamat
Dana Eyre	Irene Isoken Salami
Peter Gantz	Edit Schlaffer
Galia Golan-Gild	Marijana Senjak
Fareeha Jaleel	Anita Sharma
Colleen Lenore Keaney-Mischel	
Lisa Hall MacLeod	

Facilitator: Carol Cohn

Cofacilitator: Eva Zillén

Notetaker: Maren Dobberthien



Child Soldiers

Friday, November 19, 2004

Framing the Discussion

- Define “child soldier”
- Clarify how disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs should benefit child soldiers, especially girls
- Identify obstacles and strategies to implement gender-sensitive DDR programs

Definition of a Child Soldier

Children appear as soldiers in many roles, such as porters, combatants, cooks, and sex slaves. All of these young soldiers must be included in the working definition of child soldier. A common misconception assumes child soldiers are boys, neglecting the role that girls and women play. A more inclusive working definition of child soldiers must recognize the role of girls in combat, incorporate them into this category, and provide them with access to DDR programs, services, and assistance they deserve and desperately need. The inclusive working definition must consider the range of ages of child soldiers from eight to twenty and children who were born into the army.

Consensus on the engagement of children in combat is not readily achieved between governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and militias. Therefore, while a definition is helpful in policymaking, delegates recognized that it may have limited application at the local level.



Maren Dobberthein documents working session
Maren Dobberthein documents working session



Janet Gottschalk addresses working session
Janet Gottschalk addresses working session

DDR Programs' Participants and Services

In Angola, millions of children are affected by the conflict. Limited resources to address their needs made it necessary to clearly define who would qualify for DDR. An in-depth study differentiated between the needs of child soldiers and children in IDP camps, as well as between the needs of boys and girls. The research recommended psychological assistance for child soldiers, especially girls. Delegates noted that child soldiers have been denied a childhood, and these children must be removed from the army and allowed to become children again. This is a complex process; however, some NGOs have identified, responded to, and begun to address this need.

Collaboration strengthens DDR programs. However, it is not uncommon for local and international NGOs working in the same area to be unaware of what the other is doing. One delegate shared an example of a successful partnership in which one Ugandan militia group asked the World Health Organization (WHO) for doctors and counselors. This cooperation facilitated WHO's treatment of women and girls at designated areas and times, providing them with medicine and reproductive health services.

In Uganda, demobilized child soldiers are asked by the government to return to their homes. In many cases, they have no home to return to and are relocated to so-called protected villages or rehabilitation centers. Former child soldiers continue to live in vulnerable conditions and are often recruited by the Uganda People's Defense Force



(UPDF), the national army, to help locate the rebels' hiding places, according to the government. In reality, these children become soldiers in the UPDF and must fight against the rebels who originally abducted them.

It was reported that in Sierra Leone child soldiers could qualify for the DDR programs by turning in their weapons. In response, child soldiers would receive a cash payment, skills training, and employment. For women and girls, the DDR package also included child care while the mothers were in training. The DDR programs in West Africa have not been a complete success, however, and the major challenges of reintegration into civilian life must still be addressed.

Obstacles to Progress and Recommended Strategies

I. Obstacle: No baseline for recognizing the specific needs of child soldiers in DDR planning and implementation

Strategy

- Encourage universal acceptance of the Cape Town Principles and Best Practices definition of child soldiers by national governments, international agencies, and all warring parties

Cape Town Principles and Best Practices on the Recruitment of Children into the Armed Forces and on Demobilization and Social Reintegration of Child Soldiers in Africa

As part of the effort to deal with the tragic and growing problem of children serving in armed forces, the NGO working group on the Convention of the Rights of the Child and UNICEF conducted a symposium in Cape Town, South Africa, on April 27–30, 1997. The purpose of the symposium was to bring together experts and partners to develop strategies for preventing recruitment of children, in particular, for establishing eighteen as the minimum age of recruitment, and for demobilizing child soldiers and helping them reintegrate into society. The Cape Town Principles and Best Practices are the result of that symposium. The principles and best practices recommend actions to be taken by governments and communities in affected countries to end this violation of children's rights (the full text is available at http://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/Cape_Town_Principles.pdf).

II. Obstacle: Inability to track the abduction and conscription of children into war

Strategy

- Promote international support for governmental accountability for birth registration; proof of age and identity may help minimize recruitment of child soldiers

III. Obstacle: Needs of women and girl soldiers, and their children, are not recognized in DDR programming

Strategies

- Create gender-sensitive DDR programs
- Develop methods that entice women fighters to participate in reintegration, such as offering child care while mothers attend classes

Participants:

Christine Atukoit-Malinga
Tsjeard Bouta
Gail Dimitroff
Béatrice Maillé
Vivi Stavrou

Facilitator: Christiana Thorpe

Notetaker: Janne Gillesen



Gail Dimitroff addresses working session



Reconciliation, Reintegration, and Rehabilitation

Friday, November 19, 2004

Framing the Discussion

- Identify specific language in 1325 to frame recommendations to integrate gender-sensitive mechanisms in reconciliation, reintegration, and rehabilitation (RRR) and disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) processes

Based on specific country experiences in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Albania, Bosnia, and the United States, this discussion focused on a number of significant areas highlighted in the language of 1325. Delegates anchored their recommendations in the explicit language of 1325.

Article 8

“[A]dopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:
(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and postconflict reconciliation...”

Recommendations

- Establish a role for unaffiliated women who are active in coexistence and reconciliation efforts at the community level
This legitimizes the role of the informal sector and builds upon existing relationships on both sides of the conflict, especially those already involved at local-level peacemaking but who are not affiliated with a political party or formalized NGO.
- Formulate a process that identifies missing persons and provides remaining family members of the missing, including female-headed households, with information in a timely and sensitive manner
Families of the missing cannot begin the healing process until some closure is established on the status of the missing person. While the status remains unknown, psychosocial services are limited in being able to address grief and loss. If the remaining head of the household is a woman, she must be given both psychological and financial assistance, particularly in cultures where women are excluded or discouraged from participating in the formal economy.



Barbara Bamberger calls delegates for working session

Article 12

“Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls...”

Recommendations

- Include immediate psychosocial, medical, and gynecological attention and services in refugee camps
- Provide long-term (five years plus) financing of psychosocial services that begins at the “mission” stage, is carried through the evaluation stage into the refugee camp stage, and is transitioned to community-based programs after resettlement and reintroduction
Psychosocial mechanisms need to be sustained through long-term funding, given that women may not talk about their experiences until a significant period has passed after the cessation of conflict.

- Evaluate camp design from a gender and security perspective for placement of facilities and consider, where necessary, separate DDR camps
- Include gender experts on IDP camp design and evaluation teams
- Assess the social impacts and security risks faced by women in the camps who move to and from the camps to maintain their livelihoods in villages and identify methods to mitigate these threats
- Establish gender-sensitivity training for journalists to reduce the potential for additional trauma due to uninformed journalistic inquiry

Article 13

“Encourages all those involved in planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants.”

Recommendation

- Develop a new definition of ex-combatant that provides a more inclusive “entry ticket” that will include women who were at various levels of combat support but may not have carried guns, thus guaranteeing that women have access to DDR funds and support

Participants:

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Facilitator: Barbara Bamberger

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Protection of Internally Displaced Persons, Including Displaced Women Heads of Households and Single (Widowed and Divorced) Women

Friday, November 19, 2004

Framing the Discussion

- Clarify why internally displaced persons (IDPs) must be addressed on a global scale
- Indicate essential IDP rights and services through delegates’ experience and expertise
- Identify methods to implement 1325 to fulfill IDP rights
- Develop research agendas to inform policymaking

IDPs are a Global Concern

IDPs, displaced within national boundaries, are truly a global problem. Despite the fact that IDPs greatly outnumber refugees, those forcibly displaced outside national borders, IDPs receive far less protection and fewer benefits than refugees. Current international law and norms, crafted to address interstate conflict, are insufficient to provide adequate protection for IDPs, a majority of whom suffer as a result of intrastate and civil conflicts. Therefore, the terminology and the methodology that protect IDPs must be amended to better reflect their needs, the scale of the problem, and new patterns of violent conflict.

Delegates were particularly critical of humanitarian organizations’ disproportionate attention to and services for refugees compared with those provided to IDPs. IDPs have the same rights as refugees and deserve the same treatment and support. Displacement is not solely a consequence of violence that can be “fixed” by humanitarian aid; it can also be a strategic tactic against a given population. Therefore, the international community must critically analyze the root causes of displacement to generate adequate responses beyond humanitarian aid.

Delegates recognized the particular difficulty of “single” women, specifically widows. Cultural or social exclusion and revulsion of widows enhances their vulnerability. They are more likely to be excluded from food and health services as well as denied homestead claims in case of return to their land. Delegates articulated the importance of treating the unique needs of men, women, and children separately from one another in IDP programs.



Essential IDP Services and Rights

The following are essential services and rights to meet the current gender gaps in IDP treatment:

1. *Basic Needs*

- Shelter
- Clean water
- Sufficient food
- Freedom of religious expression
- Right to be consulted and to participate in IDP planning and protection
- Sanitation and privacy needs of women

2. *Safety and Security*

- Physical safety and protection from sexual violence, rape, and physical assault
- Safe passage and return to sources of food, water, wood, and other resources
- Protection from abduction and forced recruitment
- Accountability for and protection against child abuse
- Dissemination of information about “lost” and separated children

3. *Legal Protection and Enforcement*

- Justice and the end of impunity through the development of a just legal framework and adequate enforcement mechanisms
- Treatment of displacement as a crime rather than a humanitarian issue
- Right of return
- Protection from government-enforced resettlement, expropriation of property, and manipulation of displaced population
- Special provisions for orphaned children and the elderly
- Legal rights for IDPs
- Right of citizenship for children born in IDP camps
- Marriage registration and laws that give land rights to widows
- Registration and identification documents in working order for practical and psychological identity concerns

4. *Health Care and Health Education*

- Access to medication
- Provisions for reproductive health care, family planning, and obstetric care
- Female genital mutilation (FGM) education and prevention
- HIV/AIDS education and prevention
- Psychosocial trauma counseling
- Basic education on sanitation

- Confidentiality, continual care, and accessible records for mobility

5. *Land Rights*

- Equal access to landownership
- Transfer of property rights for widows
- Equity in occupancy and possession rights

6. *Education and Training*

- Accessible education
- Support and training for dropouts
- Adult education for women as well as men
- Occupational training and skills building regardless of gender
- Promotion of higher education
- Child care while mothers receive education and training

7. *Economic Rights*

- Resolution of unequal compensation, particularly for widows of military and civilian casualties
- Provisions of sustainable alternative livelihood to combat sex trade, including skills training and micro-credit programs
- Work permits that can be used outside IDP camps
- Understanding the impact of IDP camps on the receiving community to determine effects on its livelihood
- Consideration of displacement caused not only by armed conflict but also by privatization and globalization

How to Obtain These Rights

Resolution 1325 could be utilized to operationalize a mechanism to address IDP needs. The resolution provides guidelines to include gender-appropriate measures to handle IDPs throughout the conflict and peace process. In addition, the inclusive nature of the resolution advocates for the participation of IDPs in planning for and managing IDP camps. Women and civil society must be consulted in the planning and implementation of aid to IDPs, particularly by member states of the UN.

Resolution 1325 must be amplified, however, to more directly address the rights of IDPs. The Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP), an emergency response program cycle used by agencies working with relevant authorities at field level, coordinated by the United Nations, and supported by donors, could be used to procure funding to monitor camps and conduct research specifically on women IDPs. Through CAP, the United Nations could take a more proactive approach to monitoring the camps and citing violations of IDPs’ rights.

Research and Policymaking

Research is essential to influence policy and implementation. It can rely on and build from previous inclusive models, such as the Rapid Rural Appraisal, a technique developed in the 1970s and 1980s to communicate extensively and informally with rural people and to observe local conditions. Interagency cooperation is also essential; it may be possible to create an expert group, as suggested by UNIFEM, a “SWAT” team of NGOs that intimately understands and lobbies for a gender perspective on the issues and is ready to go into the field to assess the situation.

Delegates recommended a comprehensive investigation of these issues that should:

- Compare current provisions for IDPs versus refugees, through the framework of the aforementioned gaps in protection of IDPs
- Consider the distinction between IDPs in camps and those living on their own outside the camps
- Review legal provisions to support the needs of IDPs
- Prepare documentation for the Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) to 1325
- Identify and report which countries have a gender provision in their guidelines for aid and refugee/IDP assistance
- Study the current implementation of the new UN policies in Burundi
- Coordinate efforts and energies to lobby for the implementation of policies to address the aforementioned IDP needs

The investigation would produce a toolkit that could be shared with policymakers and NGOs to raise awareness about the specific needs of IDPs as a result of the changing face of war.

Participants:

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| Mimidoo Achakpa | Patricia Guerrero |
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| Nirmala Dhungana | Sarah Martin |
| Melissa Fernandez | Merideth Sarkees |
| Reem George | Shreen Abdul Saroor |
| Janet Gottschalk | |

Facilitator: Igne Relp
Notetaker: Rebecca Saffran

Postconflict Elections

Friday, November 19, 2004

Framing the Discussion

- Address the roots of exclusion of women from electoral processes
- Identify challenges to including a gender perspective in postconflict elections
- Recommend methods to achieve a gender balance in all aspects of the electoral process

Elections are only part of the peace process, following the cessation of violent conflict. However, it is essential that a gender perspective in postconflict elections be considered in the premission planning. In addition, while most attention is focused on how the outcome of elections reflects gender issues, such as quotas for elected positions, gender balance must be achieved in all aspects of the electoral process, including, but not limited to, electoral commissions, polling stations, and voter education and registration.

Women’s Participation in Electoral Processes

Strategies to achieve gender inclusion in the electoral process must be rooted in and sensitive to the specific cultural, historical, and political context of the country. Women’s roles before and during the conflict should be considered. Women often step into leadership for the first time during conflict. Countries vary in their approach to women’s representation. Establishing gender quotas in postconflict governments has been one manner of addressing this issue.



Conference delegates





Regine Mehl facilitates

The transitional administrative law in Iraq required women's representation to be at least 25% of the governing body. Dissent from this policy was voiced by various groups for different reasons. Shiite and other religious fundamentalists believed a woman is only worth half as much as a man and thus women did not deserve the seats. The Kurdish and other more progressive populations, on the other hand, thought that the required percentage was low, limiting women's participation. The United States, it was pointed out, was in opposition to the quota system altogether and considered it undemocratic.

In other postconflict settings, the approach to women's representation is to establish a "ceiling" rather than a "floor" for the percentage of either sex, no more than 60% female or male. Kosovo was presented as a positive example of maintaining women's presence: if a woman steps down from an elected position, she is replaced by another woman.

Challenges to Gender-Inclusive Electoral Process

In addition to policymaking, work must be done at the grassroots to prepare and motivate women to participate in elections as voters, workers, and candidates. Voter registration and poverty are two key roadblocks to a full and vibrant civic participation that can be overcome. For example, in Kosovo, each individual was issued an ID card to be used in voter registration, as opposed to a single vote for the head of the family.

To address issues like encouraging poverty-stricken women to vote or to overcome the difficulty of how to get women elected to senior posts, delegates reminded one another to rely on the local expertise of women

in each country. There is no single response, but there are local people with the techniques, education, and necessary experience to encourage even the most marginalized individuals and groups to participate in the postconflict elections process.

Obstacles to including women in the electoral missions exist as well. Currently, only one mission is headed by a woman. One explanation for this is that women may find it difficult to be able to commit to two-year mission tours; if true, it was suggested that properly trained women past childbearing age should be recruited.

Recommendations for Gender Inclusion

In order to overcome these challenges, individual voter registration, education and training, strengthened infrastructure, an informed and balanced media, gender-balanced electoral law, and appropriate funding must be obtained. To work toward gender balance and inclusion in the electoral process, delegates proposed the following set of recommendations:

- Mainstream a gender perspective into premission planning of any peacekeeping mission, including a fact-finding team sensitive to gender perspectives
- Establish relative safety and security for voters and candidates within the country before beginning the election process
- Incorporate a gender-balanced 40/40 quota at all decision-making levels of governance and all aspects of the electoral process
- Educate the public beforehand, not at the polling stations, and include gender awareness in election processes, democracy, and government
- Develop gender guidelines and checklists for political parties, voters, media, and other election stakeholders
- Evaluate the impact of implementation of gender-mainstreaming efforts; for example, create an ombudsperson responsible for evaluating gender inclusion in postconflict elections

Participants:

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Facilitator: Regine Mehl

Notetaker: Leslie Gabrielson



Engendered Transitional Justice Mechanisms

Friday, November 19, 2004

Framing the Discussion

- Discuss gender equality in transitional justice mechanisms
- Establish priorities and areas of concerns for incorporating a gender perspective in transitional justice
- Recommend a number of strategies, based on best practices, to achieve these priorities

Transitional Justice Mechanisms

While not confined solely to the postconflict setting, transitional justice generally refers to the establishment or reengagement of institutions, the constitution, and the legal system. It may include mechanisms to establish the truth about the conflict; enact legislative reform; determine reparations, both material and nonmaterial as well as collective and individual; prosecute and try those responsible; vet or limit their employment possibilities; and foster the groundwork for guarantees of nonrepetition of violence, such as a civilian police force and historical memorials. The current system of retributive justice focuses on prosecuting perpetrators; victims and survivors, a majority of whom are women, are not taken into consideration. Through the peace process and constitutional, legal, and judicial reforms, policies must balance traditional justice of prosecution, prevention, and protection with a survivor-oriented approach, such as rescue, removal, and reintegration. A gender perspective must be woven into every level of transitional justice mechanisms, from the courts, commissioners, judges in the International Criminal Court and tribunals to local organizations and individuals working to reintegrate survivors and perpetrators into the community.

Despite similarities in the need for gender inclusion, each cultural, historical, political, religious, ethnic, and social context shapes the framework through which women can be included in transitional justice. In Afghanistan, for example, women can be tried for “moral crimes” such as adultery, the wish to divorce, and so on. Selmin Caliskan works with a legal aid project that addresses not only the judicial aspects, such as the training of lawyers and judges, but incorporates a psychosocial program for victims as well. The organization employs a comprehensive program that works for a fair trial for

women, training on treatment of prisoners, follow-up with women after their release from prison, and legal outreach and education. The latter includes sensitizing communities to accept women when they return from prison, since it was the family that originally delivered the women to the courts.

In Nepal, the question of citizenship rights limits an individual’s rights. One obstacle is the recognition of women’s testimony in the court of law. Another obstacle is defining who are victims and survivors and what protection they are entitled to and for how long. Health services for children of rape may be more important to the mothers than traditional justice and trying the perpetrator, for example. Binda Kumari Magar shared her experience during a series of rape cases in one district in Nepal. Nineteen women were gang-raped in a short period of time; human rights groups called an emergency meeting to conduct fact finding in the district and file a case against the perpetrators. Despite these coordinated efforts and providing legal aid for victims, citizen insecurity and fear of torture and death prevented witnesses from coming forward. She stressed the need for rehabilitation and reintegration, including shelters and protection for survivors and witnesses.

There has been some advancement in the participation and inclusion of women in transitional justice, however. In East Timor, reconciliation hearings were one component of the Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation. Similar to South Africa, perpetrators could come forward and admit the full truth in exchange for amnesty. This forum provides the opportunity for women to raise their voices, to ask questions, and to search for the truth. Rwanda’s gacaca process is another example of how restorative justice at the local level can be employed when the judicial infrastructure is not equipped to handle mass violence.



Conference delegates
Conference delegates



The Philippines offers another example of best practices. There, women have made headway in the government and civil society sectors. In 1988, the first family code was drafted, became law, and now is being implemented and followed by all courts. Specialized family courts also have specific rules for treatment of women, children, victims, and witnesses. In some places, special “women’s desks” have been set up in the police stations so that women can have a safe space to report abuses they have experienced. Trained legal and personal counselors can assist women who choose to seek justice. Recognition of judges and prosecutors who have made gender-sensitive decisions is another example of best practices.



Patricia Guerrero and Klara Banaszak
Patricia Guerrero and Klara Banaszak

Priorities and Areas of Concern

- Strengthen the rule of law through the establishment of restorative mechanisms for survivors and the inclusion of gender perspectives in the rebuilding and reforming of the judicial and legislative systems

A more survivor-centered approach is needed to provide sustainable support for survivors; trials and prosecutions are not sufficient. Countries with large-scale incidents of gender-based violence must also use all disciplines—economic, legal, and psychosocial—to strengthen and complement gender-sensitive judicial mechanisms.

- Establish linkages between women on the ground doing transitional justice work and governmental and international strategies, specifically involving women in formal transitional justice processes

For example, commissions and judges in war crime tribunals such as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and the Special Court for Sierra Leone are intended to be gender blind. More attention and funding are needed in the recruitment and gender-awareness training of personnel involved in investigating, prosecuting, and judging cases of violence against women.

- Utilize the media to advocate for women’s rights and gender issues

In cases of domestic violence or rape, for example, the media often become involved at the beginning of the case and the survivor is hopeful that because of the exposure, justice will be done. But the media do not always continue coverage of the case, to follow up and see if justice was indeed obtained.

- Establish legal mechanisms and pass legislation that protect women’s rights and ensures them a fair trial and humane treatment in the prison system

There is a need for equality in terms of citizenship laws, child entitlement laws, and laws regarding “moral crimes” to eliminate double standards between men and women that these laws perpetuate. Follow-up support for women upon their release from prison must be provided to ease their reintegration into society.

- Provide more comprehensive services to survivors and local communities in postconflict situations

Increasingly, women receive skills training, but their psychosocial needs are not addressed. For example, women and men need to be educated about the power roles between men and women, why women are more easily exploited, and why reintegration is challenging. Tolerance building, gender education, and equality programs should be conducted at the local level to prepare communities for the reintegration of women prisoners, refugees, and ex-combatants, as well as survivors of rape and sexual trafficking.

Actors from government, civil society, and the international community share the responsibility to ensure that these priorities are met. A balance must be struck and permanent mechanisms established such that civil society does not assume the government’s responsibilities to its citizens.

Recommendations and Strategies

- Establish a victim support fund that will address the needs of women in postconflict situations

This must be a sustainable support system that includes not only economic aid and skills training, but also assistance in psychosocial aspects that will ensure women's comprehensive reintegration into society.

- Call for a disciplinary committee that will punish peacekeepers who engage in rape and trafficking of women

Since it is unlikely that the United Nations or the sending country will prosecute, other methods of punishment must be established, including demotions, negative exposure, and permanent career damage. It is unacceptable that peacekeepers simply be reassigned if they engage in human rights violations or criminal activity.

- Use the window of opportunity immediately after a conflict ends by having a package of legal reforms ready to be proposed to the legislature or parliament for approval

Develop a complementary package of reparations to victims that includes economic assistance, education, health and psychological services, and legal protection. It is unacceptable to wait until a conflict ends to decide what needs women have and then decide what legal reforms will be necessary to protect them. The package of legal reforms must include protection of human rights, antidiscrimination laws, employment, and property and economic rights laws. International human rights conventions, Resolution 1325, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) can be used by international and national law faculties, universities, NGOs, and grassroots support groups to accomplish this goal.

- Use the media as an instrument for education and advocacy and to affect changes in laws that protect women

In addition to television and print media, radio programs that educate women about their rights, reparations, and access to justice can be very effective.

Participants:

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Facilitator: Christiana Thorpe

Notetaker: Amy Super



Ad Hoc Working Sessions

Saturday, November 20, 2004

A key component of the conference was creating a space for dialogue, networking, and future planning among participants. At the conclusion of the formal working sessions, a series of ad hoc working sessions was scheduled for the following day; the focus of each session was determined by the delegates. The ad hoc working sessions provided a forum for the full and vibrant participation of conference delegates and represent the “living nature” of operationalizing 1325.

At the delegates’ request, the following ad hoc working sessions were conducted: building a gender and security research agenda; creating a rapid response unit; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration: strategies to address the gender gap in reintegration; developing national and regional strategies to implement 1325; utilizing the media to advance women’s rights; and women in peace negotiations: linking formal and informal peace processes. Owing to the structure of these sessions, only the main points are summarized in this report; delegates may not be fully identified as some contributed to and participated in several sessions.

Building a Gender and Security Research Agenda

Research on how to mainstream women’s participation in peace processes is needed to drive the political agendas of national and international organizations and donors. Limited funding prioritizes efforts to disseminate the existing data and bridge the gap between academic research and UN and NGO practical experience. Two questions framed the working session: what research is needed over the next five years to promote mainstreaming women’s participation in peace processes into the political agendas of international and national organizations and donors? What research would be of use to grassroots organizations?

Delegates brought a range of research specialties to the ad hoc working session. These included women’s self-doubts and inhibitions, especially in positions of power; women and Islamic law; widows’ inclusion in postconflict reintegration; land rights and indigenous people; and young “at-risk” men who are often times under- or unemployed, disenfranchised, and living in militarized societies. Delegates recommended bridging the gap between these various research agendas and creating databases of researchers, projects, knowledge building workshops, and funding, particularly for researchers from the South.

In academia, communication among disciplines will strengthen the application and distribution of research. Students must be engaged and encouraged to contribute to a gender and security research agenda through their dissertation projects and academic research.

Long-term goals and analyzing patterns of participa-

tion and consequences should frame the research agenda. For example, five years from now, research should provide concrete data on the impact of women’s involvement in peace processes and in positions of power, such as parliament, with regard to sustainable peace. The role of gender in civil law, postwar assistance, trauma counseling, rehabilitation, reintegration, and national development should be expanded. A gender perspective should also be woven into investigations with regard to local transitional justice mechanisms, such as the gacaca courts in Rwanda, and truth commissions, such as a comparative study on justice and healing for women. Political participation and the impact of gender quotas in transitional governments and subsequent elections should be studied.



Carol Cohn and Linda Markarian

Carol Cohn and Linda Markarian

Cross-disciplinary cooperation, accumulation of knowledge in research databases, fostering researchers from conflict areas, and South-South research exchange are essential. Collaborative efforts among researchers, the United Nations, and NGOs can be compiled and disseminated to demonstrate the need to include women in conflict resolution and peace processes.

Participants:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Mary Ann Arnado | Colleen Duggan |
| Christine Atukoit-Malinga | Marjaana Jauhola |
| Barbara Bamberger | Susan Penksa |
| Ian Bannon | Naomi Roht-Arriaza |
| Carol Cohn | Kristin Valasek |

Creating a Rapid Response Unit

Saturday, November 20, 2004

The goal of this ad hoc working session was to outline how a gender-sensitive rapid response unit (RRU) could be created that would allow a “fast moving and flexible” team to be available to move into unstable contexts. The team would need to have legitimacy and a mandate to act. It was agreed that a gender-sensitive RRU could be created through a consortium composed of a UN and NGO arm and be funded by private foundations and a revolving fund with UN support. The RRU team will involve women and gender-aware actors in postconflict situations to help establish a just peace after armed conflict.

The RRU will select qualified women from a “ready list” to serve as special envoys. Appropriate university training, frontline NGO management, civil society participation, or demonstrable conflict transformation experience will serve as the criteria for participation on the unit. Envoys will lead a team sensitive to the psychological needs of victims, survivors, and RRU team members. A key component of any RRU team will be the inclusion of local women; they will be paid staff and given training before and after deployment.

Security of the RRU is essential as team members will work in conflict and postconflict settings to identify mechanisms to protect the safety of citizens and document their findings. Debriefing reports will contribute to postconflict knowledge and ensure clear communication and transparency. The media, including women’s magazines and radio stations, can be utilized to connect

the local populations to the RRU and international community. Coordination with local and international police forces may include providing education and information for the most frequently asked gender-related questions. If unable to respond to the needs of civilians, the security forces could refer questions to the RRU. The RRU could also be accessible through hotlines, where appropriate.

The RRU will be organized into phases. In the first phase, ten-day advanced teams will focus on prioritizing immediate needs and identifying key local partners. During the second phase, three- to six-month residency teams will link appropriate actors in recovery and reconstruction actions and outline long-term needs and concerns. The timing of each phase of the RRU will correspond with the specific needs of each context, recognizing the long history of violence in many cases, and will address the relevant issues, such as gender-based violence and women’s inclusion at the negotiation table.

Creation of the RRU will respond to the need to integrate immediate action and gender sensitivity. Through communication and coordination these teams will provide the essential link between the local and international communities, as well.

Participants:

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Lesley Abdela | Janet Hunkel |
| Mimidoo Achakpa | Maha Muna |
| Klara Banaszak | Marijana Senjak |
| Gail Dimitroff | |



Mimidoo Achakpa
Mimidoo Achakpa



Developing National and Regional Strategies to Implement 1325

Saturday, November 20, 2004

Coalition building is a useful strategy to pressure national governments to implement 1325. Key linkages with champions of 1325 in the government and media campaigns to mobilize grassroots networks are essential. Searching for commonalities among those working for gender rights and freedoms can serve as the precursor for larger consortiums such as the Women's Security Council, which emerged from efforts led by Heide Schuetz in Germany. Delegates suggested ways to strengthen coalitions, including:

- Collaboration on information dissemination, such as fact sheets, pamphlets, posters, documentaries, articles, and books
- Networking through universities and the media
- List services to facilitate communication between organizations, institutions, and agencies
- Calendar of upcoming conferences and opportunities to connect with policy influencers

To implement a national strategy to address gender, peace, and security, delegates recommended taking advantage of every opportunity to engage with the government. Critical steps include:

- Preparation of a written document and plan of action, specific to each country, that can be presented at these windows of opportunity
- Framework that describes 1325 in the interests of the government
- Establishment of crucial links with government officials to enhance cooperation and gain access to other policymakers



Visaka Dharmadasa and Alma Pérez
 Visaka Dharmadasa and Alma Pérez

- Programs that train women in national governments; partnership with UNIFEM to play a role in this training

Alma Pérez distributed a step-by-step guide for the plan of action they have developed in Colombia as a model (see Section III). Through coordinated national and regional efforts, the tenets of 1325 can be achieved. Coalition building and collaboration among groups are two key strategies to realize this goal.

Participants:

Ancil Adrian-Paul	Jodie McGrath
Mary Ann Arnado	Alla Mozol Laporte
Jean-Paul Edmond	Alma Pérez
Anne Hoiberg	Heide Schuetz
Marie Christine Jacob	Catherine Standiford
Binda Kumari Magar	Kristin Valasek

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration: Strategies to Address the Gender Gap in Reintegration

Saturday, November 20, 2004

Disarmament and demobilization focus on armed combatants; reintegration is a society-wide process in which the specific needs of women are often overlooked. The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process as a whole must be addressed in peace negotiations and must include women's full participation.

Child soldiers also present a specific set of needs that must be addressed in the reintegration process such as identity documentation, medical attention, localization of families, and transport to their place of return. Vocational training should integrate resocialization into education and specifically address the needs and rights of girl soldiers.

Gender-specific programs should be developed that are sensitive to the needs of women, especially mothers. Women with children are often stigmatized as being "old," "needing to take care of their children," and "beyond the age for retraining." This bias excludes them from receiving essential education to rebuild their societies and provide for their families. Child care and gender training for communities must be included in reintegration programs to overcome this bias against mothers in postconflict societies.





Christine Atukoit-Malinga and Béatrice Maillé

Civil society must play an active role in the programming and implementation of reintegration projects. A vibrant civil society can protect citizens from exploitation by the “winning” government and create a more secure sociopolitical climate for local and international agencies and institutions to work. Funding from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) is often diverted by corrupt government officials. Vigilance on the part of civil society, as well as international donors, can ensure accountability and transparency in the disbursement of aid earmarked for DDR programs.

Each phase of DDR presents a set of unique challenges and opportunities; women must be included in the planning and implementation at every level. Civil society has a vital role, specifically in delivering gender-sensitive reintegration programs to rebuild communities.

Participants:

- Christine Atukoit-Malinga
- Ian Bannon
- Bree Del Sordo
- Melissa Fernandez
- Reem George
- Patricia Guerrero
- Colleen Lenore Keaney-Mischel
- Lisa Hall MacLeod
- Vivi Stravrou

Utilizing the Media to Advance Women's Rights

Saturday, November 20, 2004

The media are frequently responsible for perpetuating women's subordination in society by portraying them as commodities and objects. The media, however, can also be agents in the development of women's rights and help educate and empower women to bring about legal reforms. The media can monitor and evaluate the advances or failures of implementing 1325 in each particular country, for example. Together, 1325 and the media can open doors to new networks and strengthen linkages to promote women's human rights.

The media can be influential and effective in promoting gender equality at all levels of society. In addition to reporting on gender-based violence and victimization, it is equally important that the media report on women's positive contributions to peace and justice at the local, regional, and international levels. For example, the appointment of women to high-level positions, as well as their leadership and participation in peacebuilding and postconflict reconstruction efforts, must receive proper attention and media coverage.

Recommendations on how to effectively work with the media include:

- Identify and partner with reporters sympathetic to issues affecting women
- Recognize reporters and newscasters who report positively on women's issues with an award such as “Feminist Reporter of the Year”
- Encourage or train women to work in the media as female reporters sensitive to gender issues
- Train an organizational spokesperson to become the



Rebecca Sangha and Kathy Sangha



media liaison and establish a working relationship with sympathetic media sources and personnel

- Frame media messages and campaigns to illustrate how a violation of women's rights connects to the larger societal context

For example, use the media to promote legal reforms. A human story associated with an unfair law not only educates the public, but also can mobilize valuable support to change the law.

- Have the primary source of the story, if possible, and all relevant facts prepared and accessible when contacting the media

Tools to advocate for women's rights in the media include press releases, television or radio interviews, sound bites, press conferences, public service announcements, and opinion articles.

Partial Participant List:

Dee Aker
Manorama Upadhyay
Lilia Velasquez

Women in Peace Negotiations: Linking Formal and Informal Peace Processes

Saturday, November 20, 2004

The question of how women can gain access to peace negotiations framed this working session. Sharing best practices enabled delegates to generate a list of needs and strategies to be addressed in response to this question.

Delegates shared experiences of successful trust-building mechanisms that facilitated peace processes in their countries. In Sri Lanka, for example, women from both sides of the conflict met to talk with each other and generated a set of mutual and shared recommendations. As a consequence of this effort, Tamil Tiger women from the northeast and the Sinhalese women from the south have continued a peace dialogue. In Uganda, trust was also the key for a former minister who organized a three-hundred-mile safe zone where rebels could come together and discuss their platform for a peaceful settlement to the eighteen-year conflict. The declaration of a safe zone was the product of the former minister's own initiative and credibility—trust with the president and trust with the rebels.

In addition to dialogue among and between groups at the local level, women have an important role in formal, track-one negotiations. Third parties can bring visibility to women's groups and pressure for their inclusion in formal peace processes. As in the case of Burundi, a gender-sensitive mediator and the support of the international community can result in women's inclusion in the formal peace process.

Track-two initiatives can feed track-one negotiations. Women can gain access to the negotiation table through participation in civil society and NGOs. Women can create parallel peace talks; by documenting their progress, they can raise the profile of peace in their country. Through the parallel peace process women can also leverage support for their inclusion in the primary negotiations. Advocacy of a "support group" composed of friendly countries, institutions, and agencies is another strategy to incorporate women into formal peace negotiations.

Gender inclusion in the design and process of negotiations, accountability when gender is not included, and support and training for women once they get to the table all must be considered. Possible models for a process or framework to include women in the pre-negotiation planning, negotiation, agreement, and implementation stages are found in the Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security (see Section III).

Women must not wait for men to invite them to the table. Through parallel negotiations, grassroots dialogue, and leveraging international pressure for their inclusion in track-one negotiations, women can raise their voices and create their own spaces for peace negotiations.

Participants:

Rebecca Booth	Elena McCollim
Valerie Jean Deveraux	Luz Méndez
Visaka Dharmadasa	Joyce Neu
Pat Duggan	Dondov Sangishiirev
Susan Elliot	Shreen Abdul Saroor
Galia Golan-Gild	Shobha Shrestha
Glory Onyinyechi Imo	Stella Tamang
Marjaana Jauhola	





Section III:

Important Notes and Reference Documents



A Working Conference Comes to Life ❀

In the spring of 2004, the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) initiated explorations for hosting a conference on the progress of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (1325). Like 1325, the IPJ was coming upon its own fourth anniversary that year. Fall, thus, seemed an appropriate time to hold the conference at the IPJ. The IPJ's work, particularly with women peacemakers and peacebuilding programs, has made it clear there are limitations in knowledge about or use of the resolution. Aware of the strategic value of this revolutionary document calling for women to be truly engaged in peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding, the IPJ sought co-conveners who could advise, participate in, and inspire a working conference made up of practitioners, scholars, and policymakers. By summer the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security, and the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights had joined the IPJ in developing this working conference. Knowing the costs of conflict, including the rise of gender-based violence, provided an additional impetus to move forward quickly with conference organization and selection of delegates. A November date was chosen.

The conference timing complemented other scheduled IPJ activities as well. Noeleen Heyzer, executive director of UNIFEM, would be giving a public Distinguished Lecture in November and would be available to work with conveners, speakers, and facilitators. The IPJ Women PeaceMakers (WPM) Program would be underway with four leading peacemakers in residence and ready to participate: Luz Méndez, the solitary woman's voice in the UN-backed Guatemalan Peace Accords; Shreen Abdul Saroor, a Sri Lankan internally displaced person (IDP) taking the lead in creating reconciliation and reintegration programs; Christiana Thorpe, a former government minister in Sierra Leone working with thousands of girl children raped and brutalized during the long civil war; and Zarina Salamat, a Pakistani woman working against nuclear proliferation and with people-to-people programs with India. Leading women from the IPJ Nepal project, "Women, Politics and Peace: Working for a Just Society," were to be invited to San Diego and would be valuable assets to the conference.

Outreach to potential delegates, primarily via the Internet, began in July 2004. The conference was designed to intentionally mix scholars, practitioners, policy influencers, and nongovernmental and grassroots leaders working with the United Nations, national governments, and international humanitarian agencies. This cross-sectional working conference would synthesize and focus practitioner needs and policy efforts and build on new reports on progress and challenges facing 1325. There could be multiple-user explorations of the new "toolkit" of techniques to help operationalize 1325 that was being launched by International Alert and Women Waging Peace in November. Delegates would be encouraged to relate conference ideas to the Beijing+10 and Forty-ninth Commission on the Status of Women and think how these ideas might inform the UN Millennium Development Goals+5 Summit in September 2005.

Experts were identified for plenary sessions and presentations. Plenary sessions would give all delegates updated information from the field or research that was underway. Working sessions would allow delegates to work on their primary interests. The IPJ and its partners identified topics for the first day of working sessions: early warning and conflict prevention; gender issues in peace support operations (PSOs); child soldiers; reconciliation, reintegration, and rehabilitation; protection of IDPs, including displaced women heads of households and widowed and divorced women; post-conflict elections; and engendered transitional justice mechanisms. As this was a responsive program, delegates chose the focus of second-day working sessions: building a gender and security research agenda; creating a rapid response unit; developing national and regional strategies to implement 1325; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; utilizing the media to advance women's rights; and women in peace negotiations.

Delegates were selected from applicants who demonstrated that they were bringing personal or organizational experience and research that could inform a working session. Delegates with special expertise or research were selected to facilitate topical working sessions or serve as rapporteurs. They met with conveners and Noeleen Heyzer for orientation and planning before the conference commenced on November 18. Carol Cohn, director of the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, facilitated this preparatory session. Notetakers were chosen from student and researcher delegates; they received their briefings from Joyce Neu, executive director of the IPJ. Commitments were requested from all delegates to share information they gathered upon return to their homes and organizations. The IPJ agreed to publish and share a report summarizing this rich and informative conference.

Speakers, Rapporteurs, and Facilitators ✨



Lesley Abdela is a senior partner in consultancy at Shevolution and CEO for the NGO Project Parity. Abdela has worked in the Middle East, Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Balkans including in the postconflict recovery regions of Iraq, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, and Afghanistan. Abdela has twenty years experience as a consultant to international organizations, local and national governments, NGOs, political parties, and media. She has stood for parliament as a political candidate and run civil society advocacy campaigns. Abdela is founder of the all-party three hundred GROUP campaign in the UK to get more women elected to local government and parliament. Since 1986 she has worked as a freelance journalist and broadcaster and is a member of the Chartered Institute of Journalists. From 1993 through 1996, Abdela was appointed the first political editor of the *UK Cosmopolitan* magazine. She also served on the global board of the British Council from 1995 to 2000. Abdela helped to bring the topics of women and politics and postconflict reconstruction onto the main agenda of British Council activities around the world.



Ancil Adrian-Paul is a specialist in refugee studies and gender issues and currently works as program manager for the Gender and Peacebuilding Programme at International Alert (IA) where she has been employed since 1996. Adrian-Paul, together with other colleagues at IA, was instrumental in conceptualizing and overseeing the campaign “Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiation Table,” that was launched by IA and partners in 1999 to lobby for 1325. Before joining IA, she worked for seven years in Southern Africa. During this time she worked in Mozambique for Save the Children, USA, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the United Nations Mission to Mozambique. Adrian-Paul was the head of the National Commission on Racism in Children’s Books and a consultant for the Commonwealth Institute. Adrian-Paul is a trainer on gender, peace, and security issues. She was born in Guyana, South America, and has a B.Ed., B.A., and M.Sc.



Mahnaz Afkhami is founder and president of Women’s Learning Partnership, executive director of the Foundation for Iranian Studies, and former Minister of State for Women’s Affairs in Iran. She serves on the boards of a number of organizations, including the International League for Human Rights, Women’s Rights Division of Human Rights Watch, and World Movement for Democracy. Afkhami’s numerous publications include *Women in Exile*, *Women and the Law in Iran*, *Faith and Freedom: Women’s Human Rights in the Muslim World*, *In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-revolutionary Iran*, and manuals on culture-specific human rights education for Muslim women (*Claiming Our Rights*), eliminating violence against women (*Safe and Secure*), and participatory leadership (*Leading to Choices: A Leadership Training Handbook for Women*). These manuals have been translated into twelve languages and are being used throughout Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.



Dee Aker, Ph.D., is the deputy director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) and director of three international IPJ projects: Nepal Project, Women PeaceMakers Program, and WorldLink. Aker is a conflict resolution professional, human rights advocate, educator, journalist, and psychological anthropologist focusing on cultural and political issues and priorities for groups in transitioning democracies, particularly women and children. Her academic posts have included the presidency of the University for Humanistic Studies and campus director of United States International University-Africa. Aker was an international columnist for the *Women’s Times* in San Diego and producer/host for the KUSI-TV San Diego television program “WOMEN” for six years, where she documented the oral histories of two hundred and fifty women working in politics, peacemaking, and grassroots projects. Aker holds a combined doctoral degree in anthropology and psychology, and a Masters in international affairs. She served in the Peace Corps in Colombia and has since lived, studied, and worked in Central America, East Africa, Europe, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Middle East, and Nepal.





Ambassador Harriet Babbitt, senior vice president of Hunt Alternatives, directs the Washington, DC office of Women Waging Peace and the broader Hunt Alternatives Fund. Ambassador Babbitt previously served as deputy administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). As the second most senior official overseeing the U.S. foreign assistance program, she oversaw programs in the fields of democratization, humanitarian relief, women's empowerment, economic growth, education, health, and the environment. Her responsibilities included oversight of USAID efforts to assist postconflict reconstruction in the Balkans and East Timor. Prior to joining USAID, Ambassador Babbitt served as U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States from 1993 to 1997, where she led the U.S. negotiating effort to complete the world's first anti-corruption convention and helped strengthen the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. She also served as a senior public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and was a practicing attorney for twenty years.



Barbara Bamberger, an applied social scientist with the San Diego EDAW office, has worked extensively on gender issues in field-based practice, research methodology, and in analyzing reconciliation models for postconflict situations. Specifically, she conducted gender-based analysis for USAID-sponsored energy programs in Brazil and incorporated gender-based participatory research, including semi-structured interviews and focus groups to study the effects of oil and energy policy in East Africa and Southeast Asia for UNDP. Recently, Bamberger served as a representative to the Women's Caucus on Energy at the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. Bamberger also coordinated the Coexistence Program at the International Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life at Brandeis University, a program that analyzed postconflict and post-genocide reconciliation models and coexistence strategies, and she participated in an intensive UN leadership forum that focused on conflict and negotiations in the Middle East.



Klara Banaszak is an information associate with the Governance, Peace and Security section of UNIFEM. Her work has focused on increasing the available information on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peacebuilding, particularly through UNIFEM's portal on women, peace, and security. Prior to joining UNIFEM, Banaszak was the education projects coordinator for *World Press Review*, a magazine devoted to translating and reprinting articles from the international press for an English-speaking audience. While at the magazine she created a map of armed conflict around the world to provide an overview of ongoing conflicts and the issues surrounding them to secondary and post-secondary students, as well as an anthology collecting international press coverage of Iraq from 1981-2003. Banaszak has also worked as an international news editor in Cairo, Egypt, and studied English Literature at McGill University and the University of Toronto in Canada.



Ian Bannon is an economist with an extensive career in the World Bank, having worked in South Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as in the Bank's policy research group. Since October 2001, Bannon has been the manager of the World Bank's Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit in the Social Development Department of the Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network. His policy and research interests include poverty, private sector development, youth, gender, education, and mental health—especially as these themes relate to conflict and development. In his last assignment he was lead economist for Central America, where he worked on macroeconomic and poverty issues throughout the subregion, as well as postconflict reconstruction in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Bannon studied economics at the University of Chile and completed a Masters in Economics at the University of Sydney, Australia.





Tsjard Boua is a research fellow at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, Conflict Research Unit. He is a development sociologist who specializes in conflict studies, with a special research interests in gender and conflict; gender and disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; and democratic governance of the security sector. Boua was recently involved in studies on these issues for the Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit of the World Bank, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, and Dutch development organizations. His recent publications include: *Gender, Conflict and Development*, co-authored with Georg Frerks and Ian Bannon (World Bank, 2004); *Enhancing Democratic Governance of the Security Sector: An Institutional Assessment Framework*, co-authored with Nicolle Ball and Luc van de Goor (Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003); and *Women's Roles in Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution, and Postconflict Reconstruction: Literature Review and Institutional Analysis*, co-authored and co-edited with Georg Frerks (Reed Elsevier, 2002).



Selmin Caliskan was born and raised in Germany, the daughter of Turkish working-class immigrants. She holds a diploma in English/Spanish translation, and has broad working experience in cross-cultural projects on the issues of education and health for women and girls. She also advises on legal and social issues. Caliskan has a strong commitment to the feminist Women-of-Color Movement in Germany and abroad. She held workshops with women on triple-oppression issues, where she demonstrated various techniques of psycho-drama. Caliskan also manages a project with elder migrants to help them understand and gain access to the German health care system. Caliskan has been working with Medica Mondiale in Cologne, Germany as a lobbyist for war-traumatized women and girls in war and postconflict regions.



Meenakshi Chakraverti, Ph.D., is an associate of the Public Conversations Project (PCP) through which she offers dialogue training, facilitation, and consultation to U.S. and international groups that are embroiled in polarized conflict on public issues. Her work with PCP has included designing and facilitating conversations between Israelis and Palestinians, and Pakistanis, Indians, and Kashmiris. As visiting faculty, she teaches International Negotiation at the Graduate School for International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California, San Diego. Chakraverti has a Masters of Public Affairs from Princeton University and a doctorate in social anthropology from Cornell University. Before entering the fields of dialogue and negotiation, she worked in Washington, DC and India as a development economist; in India as a grassroots development worker; in Pasadena in scholarly publishing; and in Ithaca, New York, as Director of Industry Relations for Akademos.Com.



Carol Cohn, Ph.D., is the director of the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, and a senior research scholar at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Cohn is the author of numerous articles in the field of gender and security. Her most recent work includes a piece on feminist ethical perspectives on weapons of mass destruction, co-authored with Sara Ruddick, and articles about the passage and implementation of 1325. Her current research project, supported by the Ford Foundation, is "Mainstreaming gender into peace and security organizations: What works well? What are the roadblocks? How can they be overcome?"



Ambassador Nancy Ely-Raphael is currently vice president and managing director of Save the Children, USA. Prior to that appointment she was the counselor on international law in the Office of Legal Adviser in the U.S. Department of State. She has also served as senior adviser to the Secretary of State and director of the newly created Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. She established the office and led the State Department's efforts to develop and implement policy to combat trafficking in persons until January 2003. From 1998 until 2001 she served as the U.S. Ambassador to Slovenia. Prior to her service in Slovenia, she served as the coordinator for Bosnia, the principal deputy assistant secretary of state for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, and assistant legal adviser for African



Affairs and Nuclear Affairs. She is a graduate of Syracuse University and the University of San Diego School of Law, and has worked as deputy city attorney in San Diego, associate dean of Boston University School of Law, and senior trial attorney with the Organized Crime Strike Force of the Department of Justice. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, she is the recipient of various awards including the Presidential Rank Award of Distinguished Executive in 1991 and 1999, and the University of San Diego's Author E. Hughes Award for lifetime career achievement in 2001.



Alda Facio is a jurist, writer, and an international expert on women's human rights, gender violence, and gender analysis. In September 1996, she was awarded the first Women's Human Rights Award from International Women, Law and Development in Washington, DC. As one of the founders of the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice in the International Criminal Court, she was its first director from 1997 to 1998. Since 1990, she has been the director of the Women, Gender and Justice Program at the United Nations Latin American Institute for Crime Prevention (ILANUD) based in Costa Rica. The program centers its work on the elimination of gender inequality and violence against women from a criminal and human rights perspective through research, legal analysis, and gender-sensitive training of judges, police, lawyers, and women's groups in several Latin American countries. While at ILANUD she designed and published a methodology for analyzing the law and legal traditions from a gender-sensitive perspective. This methodology, based on the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), has been republished in several Latin American countries and has been used by parliamentarians, judges, lawyers, and women's centers. Facio also designed several training manuals for administration of justice staff and the judiciary, including one on CEDAW and its Optional Protocol, which are currently being used throughout Latin America.



Patricia Guerrero is a founder and legal advisor to the Displaced Women's League, an organization that advocates for the rights of Afro-Colombian indigenous women and girls who have been displaced by internal armed conflict. She is also a member of the Permanent Committee for Defense of Human Rights in Cartagena, Colombia, where she was instrumental in organizing a visit to Cartagena by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. Guerrero also testified before the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland, and is responsible for the judicial strategy's design, development, and coordination of psychosocial projects with the members of the Displaced Women's League. Additionally, she is in charge of the organization's representation and the management of contacts and agreements. Guerrero is committed to making the organization stronger, and places a special interest in improving the quality of life for the displaced women of her country.



Noleen Heyzer, Ph.D., is the first executive director from the southern hemisphere to head the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Under her leadership, UNIFEM has almost tripled its resources and successfully advocated for putting issues affecting women high on the agenda of the UN system. She played a critical role in the Security Council's adoption of 1325 and in ensuring its implementation throughout the UN system. Before joining UNIFEM, Heyzer was a policy adviser on gender issues to several Asian governments, playing a key role in the formulation of national development policies, strategies, and programs. From 1994 to 1995 she played an important role in the preparatory process for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, including organizing over one thousand NGOs in the Asia Pacific region to develop the first ever NGO Action Plan. Heyzer has been a founding member of numerous regional and international women's networks and has published extensively on gender and development issues, especially economic globalization, international migration and trafficking, gender and trade, and peace and security. She chaired UN ministerial roundtables including on gender and HIV/AIDS and on poverty, HIV/AIDS and conflict and has received several awards, including the UNA-Harvard Leadership Award and the Woman of Distinction Award from the UN-NGO Committee on the Status of Women. Heyzer was born in Singapore and received a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Singapore and a doctorate in social sciences from Cambridge University in the UK.





Anne Hoiberg is director of the Women's Equity Council of the UNA-San Diego, president and CEO of the International Museum of Human Rights at San Diego, president of the La Jolla Chapter of the National League of American Pen Women, and host and associate producer of a public access television show on the UN and world peace. Hoiberg served as president of the National Women's Political Caucus of San Diego for three years and president of the UNA-San Diego for four years. Hoiberg led a delegation of San Diegans to the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995; the UN's General Assembly's Special Session on Beijing Plus Five in 2000; the UN's World Conference against Racism held in Durban, South Africa in 2001; the UN's General Assembly Special Session on Children in 2002; and annual sessions of the UN's Commission on the Status of Women from 1997 to 2004. She has served as an international observer for seven elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Belarus. Previously, Hoiberg had a twenty-five year career as a research psychologist and department head for the U.S. Navy.



Joanna Kerr is the executive director of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) in Toronto, Canada. Previously she was a senior researcher at The North-South Institute in Ottawa where she managed the gender program for almost seven years. She created the Gender and Economic Reforms in Africa Program—an African action research initiative to influence economic policies from a gender perspective, now hosted by Third World Network Africa. She has experience in policy and participatory research, advocacy, gender training on issues related to women's human rights, the gender dimensions of economic reform, trade and investment, organizational development and leadership, and women's employment issues. She has also produced several publications in these areas. She is on the Oxfam Gender and Development editorial board, the chair of the board of Gender at Work Collaborative, and on the governing council of the Society for International Development. Kerr holds an M.A. in Gender and Development from the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK.



Béatrice Maillé is the economic and social affairs human rights agent at the Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN, promoting women's rights and gender equality. She is the vice-chairperson of the Commission on the Status of Women. She also founded and coordinated the informal coalition of states called the Friends of Women, Peace and Security, promoting the implementation of 1325. Before coming to New York, Maillé worked in the Human Rights, Humanitarian Affairs and Women International Equality Division, and the UN Criminal and Treaty Law Division of Foreign Affairs Canada. She was a commercial litigation and family law attorney at Robinson, Sheppard, Shapiro prior to joining the Canadian Foreign Service in 1999. Originally from Montreal, Canada, Maillé graduated from McGill Law School and has a Masters in International Law from the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, Aix-en-Provence, France.



Sarah Martin joined Refugees International in October 2003. She focuses on gender issues in displacement and peacekeeping and has recently traveled to West Africa, Southern Africa, Haiti, and Sudan. Martin worked with the Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium's Gender-Based Violence Global Technical Support Project in Sierra Leone and Nepal. She has also researched the impact of reproductive health programs on social norms in Bangladesh and Vietnam with the Empowerment of Women Research Project, and examined incidences of gender-based violence for clandestine users of contraceptives in Mali at Family Health International. Martin received her B.A. at the University of South Carolina and her M.A. in International Development with a concentration on gender and anthropology from George Washington University.





Elena McCollim is a program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Prior to this she worked for eight years in Washington, DC with NGOs engaged in advocacy on international development and social justice issues. She worked most recently at InterAction with its member organizations such as Oxfam, World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, and Save the Children to lobby the World Bank to make its policies and practices more transparent, participatory, and accountable. McCollim worked for three years in Mexico and Central America in a study abroad program for U.S. undergraduates and taught courses including Gender and Development in Latin America. She has an M.A. in International Relations, with concentrations in International Economics and Social Change and Development from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, and a B.A. in development studies from the University of California, Berkeley.



Jodie McGrath worked as a special assistant for communications and events for a Member of Parliament, after having worked on the 2000 federal election in Canada. She then worked for South Asia Partnership–Canada and organized the international conference, “Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development” in the fall of 2002. In September 2003, McGrath became the coordinator for the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security (CCWPS), chaired by Senator Mobbina Jaffer. This unique group brings together government, parliamentarians, and civil society groups to discuss and promote cooperation on issues of women’s security internationally. The CCWPS worked nationally and internationally to seek the implementation of 1325. McGrath was born in Kingston, Canada and has a B.A. in political science from Queen’s University.



Regine Mehl, Ph.D., was born in 1957 in Bonn, Germany. She studies political science, sociology and international law at the Universities of Freiburg and Münster, in Germany. She earned her M.A. in 1984 and her Ph.D. in 1988. She has been the deputy director of the Peace Research Information Unit Bonn (PRIUB) since April 1989 and director of PRUIB since January 1995. Mehl is a pacifist and feminist devoted to nonviolent conflict resolution and to gender-sensitive studies. She has also worked with indigenous communities in Australia through the Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.



Luz Méndez is president of the advisory board of the National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG), a women’s association working for women’s human rights, gender equality, and social justice. She led the reconstruction of UNAMG, one of the oldest Guatemalan women’s organizations, which was forced into exile due to political repression during the 1980s. As the former general coordinator of UNAMG, Méndez worked to strengthen the women’s movement and was a leader of the Political Equity Instance, a coalition seeking electoral law gender quotas. In the 1990s, she was involved in the Guatemalan peace processes, and actively participated in the negotiations as part of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity’s delegation. Being the only woman at the peace table for several years, she dedicated special attention to the incorporation of gender equality commitments into the peace accords. Since the signing of the accords in 1996, Méndez has continued peacebuilding efforts as a member of the Follow-up Commission for the implementation of the peace accords. She has worked to assist and strengthen women advocating peace processes in Burundi, Colombia, Israel, and Palestine. Méndez was a speaker at the first meeting that the UN Security Council held with women’s organizations leading up to 1325. She was vice-chairperson of the UN Expert Group Meeting on Enhancing Women’s Participation in Electoral Processes in Postconflict Countries.



Geetanjali Misra is the executive director of Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA). Based in New Delhi, India, CREA empowers women to articulate, demand, and access their rights by enhancing women’s leadership and focusing on issues of sexuality, reproductive health, violence against women, women’s rights, and social justice. Before this, for six years Misra was a program officer at the Ford Foundation, New Delhi where her work focused on reproductive health policy advocacy and women’s empowerment, sexuality and HIV/AIDS prevention, and the



recognition of violence against women as a health and human rights issue. Misra has worked as program director at the Environmental Defense Fund and has worked at Engender Health, the World Bank, and Family Care International. She is also a co-founder of Sakhi for South Asian Women, a New York-based organization committed to ending violence against women of South Asian origin. She has collaborated with NGOs internationally, including those in Brazil, Egypt, Malaysia, Nigeria, the Philippines, Tajikistan, Thailand, Turkey, and Vietnam. Misra holds a M.A. in Economics and International Affairs.



Maha Muna is program manager and officer in charge at the Governance, Peace and Security unit of UNIFEM. Prior to her current post at UNIFEM, Muna served as deputy director of the UN Women's Commission for four years. She has also worked at the International Rescue Committee (IRC) where she held several positions including regional director for the Great Lakes region, acting country director for Azerbaijan and program officer in headquarters geographic sections. Muna worked for Save the Children, USA before joining the IRC. Muna holds a M.A. in International Affairs from Columbia University, School of Public and International Affairs. Muna also studied at Birzeit University in Ramallah in the Occupied Palestinian Territories after earning a B.A. at the University of California, Santa Barbara.



Joyce Neu, Ph.D., executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is a conflict resolution specialist with a background in scholarship and practice in international mediation and negotiation. From 1992 to 2004, Neu has conducted conflict assessments in Albania, Georgia, Latvia, Macedonia, Madagascar, and Moldova and has helped facilitate discussions between parties in conflict in Bosnia, Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Mali, Sudan, and Uganda. In Côte d'Ivoire in 2003 at the invitation of the U.S. State Department, she was part of a four-person team that facilitated talks with the signatories to the recently-signed peace accord. During her years at The Carter Center, Neu accompanied former President Carter in December 1994 to Bosnia where they obtained a four-month cease-fire. She led a Carter Center team working to restore Sudan-Uganda bilateral relations. Their efforts culminated in a summit between the two heads of state, with President Carter serving as mediator, and the Nairobi Peace Agreement of December 8, 1999. In 2000, she was recognized for her work in Africa by the National Peace Foundation with the Peacemaker/Peacebuilder Award. She is a faculty member in the Communication Studies Department at the University of San Diego and teaches peace and justice studies. Neu has a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Southern California and completed undergraduate majors in English and French at the University of Colorado.



Alma Viviana Pérez, consultant to the Colombian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Women and Gender Equality, and the Colombian Agency for International Cooperation, works to raise awareness of gender perspectives and to implement 1325. She was the first secretary of the Colombian Mission to the UN from 2001 to 2003 and has held positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a special adviser to the minister, general director of the Americas, deputy director of regional integration groups, and deputy director for Latin America and the Caribbean, among others. Pérez has worked on foreign policy as a consultant to build bridges between government, civil society, and women's organizations that are working on 1325 in Colombia. Pérez has participated in numerous conferences, published articles on Colombia's political situation, and is a member of the faculty of finance, government, and international relations at Universidad Externado de Colombia.

Inge Relph has a commercial background in strategic management and organizational dynamics. She founded the London Chamber of Commerce Women in Business network and has been consultant to a number of multinational businesses. Relph is a board member and former chair of WOMANKIND Worldwide, a UK-based international human rights and development agency. She is a founding trustee of the Arab International Women's Forum, which fosters relationships between the Arab Region and the West. She has chaired a publishing company specializing in dialogue among religions and authored two books. Relph is actively involved in the Way of Peace dialogues, including a session with the Dalai Lama in Belfast. She served as a consultant to the Oxford Process to improve the process of negotiations.



Most recently as interim executive director of the Suzanne Mubarak Women's International Peace Movement, Relph has played a key role in developing the strategic direction and operational support for this organization, which is the Middle East's first peace initiative specifically aimed at engaging more women in peacebuilding.



Shreen Abdul Saroor is one of the founders of Mannar Women's Development Federation (MWDF), which addresses the needs of women victims of war in the north of Sri Lanka. Saroor's interest and work grew out of her experience of being made an internally displaced person, along with all of her family, in 1990 by the militant group fighting for a separate Tamil state. MWDF developed from her idea that Muslim and Tamil women share common ground that could heal and resurrect the past peace common in these northern communities. Forty-three village women's groups, of Tamil and Muslim women, now work with micro-credit and education programs. MWDF gained national and international visibility after a peace campaign secured fifty thousand women's signatures calling on the militant leader and the President to immediately end hostilities in 2000. There were also mass protests against the rape of women by police, including one of seven thousand women with black bands around their mouths which received tremendous support from Amnesty International. Saroor assisted in the implementation of the Shakti gender equality program sponsored by CIDA, which assisted in engaging both the government and non-profit organizations to develop and influence gender-sensitive policies and legislation. She also works to promote the political rights of female migrant domestic workers.



Anita Sharma directs the Conflict Prevention Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center. Last year she worked in Iraq and Jordan as the information and reporting officer for the Iraq Transition Initiative of the International Organization for Migration. She has also been an elections observer and supervisor for the Kosovo elections in 2001 and 2002, and served on the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Sharma's experience also includes posts as a foreign policy advisor to the 2004 John Kerry/John Edwards and 2000 Al Gore/Joseph Lieberman presidential campaigns; research associate at The Role of American Military Power, Association of the U.S. Army; and program associate and research coordinator at the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict.



Shobha Shrestha works under the Peace and Governance Foundation of SAP–Nepal as a peace and security officer and is currently the member-secretary of the South Asia Small Arms Network–Nepal. She has made appreciable contributions in the areas of gender, advocacy, peace, and governance. Shrestha is a trainer of conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and network management at grassroots and national levels, and is carrying out research at the Small Arms Monitor–Nepal. Shrestha employs her expertise to focus on human security and is committed to the control of small arms and peacebuilding.



Vivi Stavrou is currently the national program manager of the Christian Children's Fund, Angola. Part of her work has involved being the project manager and principal researcher for the "Breaking the Silence: Girls Abducted during Armed Conflict in Angola" research project. Stavrou is a clinical psychologist and social scientist who has practical, advocacy, and policymaking experience in the area of child protection, mental health and human rights, and the development of community-based psychosocial interventions and services. Stavrou has worked and published in the areas of criminal and political violence; the impact of humanitarian emergencies, war, and violence on individual and community life; and postconflict rehabilitation and development. She has worked in the above areas in Angola, Bangladesh, Mozambique, and South Africa. Stavrou served for three years as a staff de-briefer for the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She was short-listed for the 1998 Nelson Mandela Award for Health and Human Rights and was awarded the 1999 South African Chamber of Commerce and Industries Social Involvement Award.





Stella Tamang, founder of Nepal Tamang Women's Organization, is a teacher and indigenous women's leader. She founded two schools: the Bhrikuti School, a private school for ethnic minority children, and the Bikalpa Gyan Kendra, for girls from various ethnic groups in Nepal. Tamang is active in the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and works with the UNEP Global Women's Assembly on Environment and worked recently in Kenya. She is an Ashoka Fellow and co-created South Asia gender training programs in Bangkok and New Delhi and nonviolent conflict resolution training programs in Germany.



Christiana Thorpe is the founding chair and CEO of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE–Sierra Leone) and a facilitator and trainer of the West African Peace Institute (WAPI) in Accra, Ghana. As the former Under Secretary and then Secretary of State for Education in Sierra Leone in 1994, she was the only woman in the nineteen-member cabinet. FAWE's work began with the establishment of emergency camp schools in Freetown for the many displaced school children from rebel-held areas. The schools taught peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and human rights activities that received national and international acclaim. FAWE runs peace education programs in schools and communities in fourteen chiefdoms in southern Sierra Leone, and peace clubs in schools in northern Sierra Leone. Thorpe encouraged the UNDP to help in creating educational safe havens for thousands of school children during the military rule of 1997–1998. When the rebels entered Freetown in January 1999, they sexually assaulted, raped, killed, and abducted many women and girls. FAWE immediately contacted Médecins Sans Frontières–Holland and together they started counseling and treating over one thousand girls. In collaboration with the UNHCR, FAWE counseled and provided skills training for many returnees and displaced girls and women.



Kristin Valasek joined the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) in order to initiate their work on gender, peace, and security issues. Valasek has previously worked as a consultant with the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs, focusing on projects addressing women and gender. She received her M.A. in Conflict Resolution from the University of Bradford after writing her thesis on the topic of gender and small arms and light weapons. Her prior academic background is in women's studies and peace studies. Valasek is Swedish and American. She is a certified mediator and has worked with issues of domestic violence, sexual assault, and refugee support at the grassroots level.



Lilia Velasquez, an attorney in private practice has been a certified specialist in immigration and nationality law since 1991. For the last three years, her practice focused on defending women's rights, particularly victims of domestic violence, refugees, and trafficking. She is the consulting attorney in immigration law for the Mexican Consulate in San Diego and faculty member at California Western School of Law. With Proyecto ACCESO, a program that promotes the rule of law and access to justice, Velasquez teaches oral advocacy, media advocacy, and cross-cultural negotiations throughout Latin America. She also directs the Indigenous Project of ACCESO. Velasquez is also an internationally known speaker and lectures on immigration, human rights, refugee, and human trafficking issues. She has presented at The Hague, the UN Human Rights Commission, and the UN Women's Conference in China. Velasquez received a LL.M. in International Law from the University of San Diego, a J.D. from California Western School of Law, and a B.S. in Social Work from San Diego State University.



Eva Zillén co-founded the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation in 1993. At that time, she was working at the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society and had been a peace activist for twenty years. During her time at Kvinna till Kvinna, Zillén worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia between 1995 and 1999. She played a pivotal role in the writing and producing of Kvinna till Kvinna's publications. Zillén also took part in the UN Expert Group Meeting on Women in Peacebuilding in November 2003 and the Swedish delegation to CSW in 2004. Zillén has conducted evaluations for the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) for projects that combat trafficking in human beings.



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Behind the scenes at the IPJ



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 Anne Birkel



Louis Cappella
 Louis Cappella



Rosalyn Hansrisuk
 Rosalyn Hansrisuk



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Shelley Lyford
 Shelley Lyford



Laura Taylor
 Laura Taylor



United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

On Women, Peace and Security ❀

October 31, 2000

Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed unanimously on 31 October 2000. Resolution (S/RES/1325) is the first resolution ever passed by the Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women, and women's contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President and recalling also the statement of its President, to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,



Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. **Urges** Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
2. **Encourages** the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. **Urges** the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. **Further** urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights & humanitarian personnel;
5. **Expresses** its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;
7. **Urges** Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;
8. **Calls** on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and postconflict reconstruction; (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements; (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
9. **Calls** upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention Security Council - 5 - Press Release SC/6942 4213th Meeting (PM) 31 October 2000 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
10. **Calls** on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;
11. **Emphasizes** the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;



12. **Calls** upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;
13. **Encourages** all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;
14. **Reaffirms** its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;
15. **Expresses** its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;
16. **Invites** the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;
17. **Requests** the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;
18. **Decides** to remain actively seized of the matter.



Summary Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security¹ ✨

October 13, 2004

In October 2002, the Security Council adopted Presidential Statement 2002/32 which requested the preparation of a follow-up report on the full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security to be presented to the Security Council in October 2004.

The Secretary-General's report (S/2004/814) provides illustrative examples of progress made and identifies gaps and challenges in the implementation of resolution 1325 as well as recommendations for further action which the Security Council and other actors may wish to consider. It is based on contributions from Member States and entities of the United Nations system. It draws on the assessment of progress and recommendations made in the report on women, peace and security (S/2002/1154), the in-depth study by the Secretary-General mandated in resolution 1325 and other studies and reports, including an independent experts' assessment commissioned by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

Initiatives have been taken by a broad range of actors to implement resolution 1325, inter alia by developing policies, action plans, guidelines and indicators; increasing access to gender expertise; providing training; promoting consultation with and participation of women; increasing attention to human rights; and supporting the initiative of women's groups. Resolution 1325 has been effectively utilized by civil society organizations as an advocacy and monitoring tool. Despite significant achievements, major gaps and challenges remain in all areas including in particular in relation to women's participation in conflict prevention and peace processes; integration of gender perspectives in peace agreements; attention to the contributions and needs of women in humanitarian and reconstruction processes; and representation of women in decision-making positions. Increased incidence of sexual and gender-based violence in recent years and the failure to provide adequate protection are critical issues and will be treated in the report.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 2004 REPORT INCLUDE:

In relationship to increasing women's participation and incorporating gender perspectives in all aspects of peace and security

The Secretary-General intends to:

1. Develop a comprehensive system-wide **strategy and action plan** for increasing attention to **gender perspectives in conflict prevention** with particular emphasis on monitoring and reporting mechanisms;
2. To develop a comprehensive strategy and **action plan for mainstreaming gender perspectives into peacekeeping activities** at Headquarters and in peacekeeping operations, in particular in the planning of new operations, with specific monitoring and reporting mechanisms;
3. The Secretary-General intends to **routinely incorporate gender perspectives** in all thematic and country reports to the Security Council and continue to **monitor the progress** made.

The Secretary-General urges Member States, entities of the United Nations and civil society to:

1. Ensure the full participation of women and incorporation of gender perspectives in all **conflict prevention** work and to strengthen interaction with women's organizations to ensure that their contributions as well as their needs and priorities are included in the collection and analysis of information to guide conflict prevention strategies and early warning efforts;



2. Develop comprehensive guidelines and training initiatives based on the framework of model provisions on promoting gender equality in **peace agreements**;
3. Review recent **peace processes** and analyse the obstacles to and missed opportunities for women's full participation in peace negotiations and develop strategies accordingly;
4. Strengthen the incorporation of gender perspectives in the **Consolidated Appeal Process** and ensure routine monitoring of the CAP from a gender perspective, including the financial resources provided;
5. Establish a coordinated **humanitarian response** monitoring system with specific indicators to determine attention to gender perspectives at field level;
6. Develop approaches and guidelines for ensuring that all programmes and policies in support of the **rule of law**, including constitutional, judicial and legislative reform, promote gender equality and women's human rights;
7. Systematically **use the Convention** on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women as a guiding framework in programmes and other support in postconflict countries;
8. Review the extent to which women have participated and their concerns have been met in **truth and reconciliation processes** and make recommendations to guide the development of future reconciliation processes;
9. Set indicators and benchmarks for women's equal participation in all aspects of **elections** process, based on a review of good practice;
10. Plan and implement, in consultation with women, specific initiatives for women and girls, and systematically incorporate gender perspectives in the planning, implementation and monitoring of all **reconstruction programmes** and budgets, to ensure that women and girls benefit directly from resources mobilized through multilateral and bilateral sources;
11. Develop guidelines, based on a review of good practice, on increasing attention to the needs and contributions of women and girls in **disarmament, demobilization and reintegration** programmes and monitor and report regularly on their implementation;
12. Further analyse the obstacles to increasing women's representation in peace operations and humanitarian response and develop and **implement recruitment strategies** aimed at increasing the number of women, particularly in decision making positions, including in military and civilian police services;
13. **Create a pool** of pre-certified female candidates for senior level positions to ensure rapid deployment;
14. **Enhance coordination** to facilitate implementation of resolution 1325 at all levels, in developing partnerships with key actors at regional level and with women's groups and networks at local level;
15. **Strengthen gender theme groups** in countries emerging from conflict by ensuring clear mandates and authority, staff with sufficient levels of seniority and expertise, adequate resources and access to senior managers.



In relationship to preventing and responding to gender-based violence in armed conflict

The Secretary-General submits the following actions for the attention of the Security Council, Member States, United Nations entities and other relevant bodies:

1. **Apply increased pressure** on parties to armed conflict, including during missions and peace negotiations, to cease all violations of the human rights of women and girls, including sexual and gender-based violence;
2. **End impunity for genocide**, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including sexual and gender-based violence, and ensure that international and national courts have adequate resources, access to gender expertise, gender training for all staff and gender-sensitive programmes for victim and witness protection in order to more effectively **prosecute those responsible**;
3. Ensure that human rights and other monitors have gender expertise, conduct gender-responsive investigations and report findings systematically to the Council;
4. Ensure adequate **human and financial support** to programmes that provide care and support through legal, economic, psychosocial and reproductive health services to survivors of gender-based violence;
5. Apply the same standards of special measures for protection from **sexual exploitation and sexual abuse** as set forth in the Secretary-General's bulletin to peacekeeping personnel, including military and civilian police;
6. The Secretary-General reaffirms his conviction that sexual exploitation and sexual abuse are totally unacceptable forms of behavior and reiterate his commitment to the full implementation of the special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse as set forth in his bulletin. He further urges Member States, intergovernmental and regional organizations, international and national aid and civil society organizations, to apply the same standards to peacekeeping personnel, including military and civilian police.

CONCLUSION AND THE WAY FORWARD ☞

In the four years since the adoption of resolution 1325, there has been *a positive shift in international understanding* of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and the importance of women's participation as equal partners in all areas related to peace and security. Member States, United Nations entities and civil society actors have made significant strides in implementing the resolution, including by incorporating gender perspectives in policies, programmatic tools and capacity building activities. The real test of the adequacy of these efforts is, however, in their impact on the ground. In no area of peace and security work are gender perspectives systematically incorporated in planning, implementation, monitoring and reporting. *The peacekeeping and humanitarian arenas have seen the most dramatic improvement in terms of new policies, gender expertise and training initiatives.* An outstanding challenge is increasing the numbers of women in high-level decision making positions in peacekeeping operations. In the areas of conflict prevention, peace negotiations and postconflict reconstruction, women do not participate fully and more needs to be done to ensure promotion of gender equality is an explicit goal in the pursuit of sustainable peace.

A pressing challenge is the protection and promotion of the human rights of women and girls in armed conflict. The reality on the ground is that humanitarian and human rights law are blatantly disregarded by parties to conflicts and women and girls continue to be subject to sexual and gender-based violence and other human rights violations. Much more sustained commitment and effort, including partnerships with men and boys, is required to stop the violence, end impunity and bring perpetrators to justice.



Much of the work on increasing attention to gender perspectives, protecting the human rights of women and promoting women's participation has been done on an ad hoc basis through voluntary contributions. *Inadequate specific resource allocations have contributed to slow progress* in the implementation of the resolution in practice. We must ensure that regular budgetary resources are specifically allocated for both gender mainstreaming and initiatives targeted at women and girls. Resolution 1325 holds a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. We must uphold this promise. To achieve the goals set out in the resolution, political will, concerted action and accountability on the part of the entire international community, are required. He urges the Security Council, Member States, United Nations entities and civil society organizations *to reaffirm their commitment and strengthen efforts to implement fully resolution 1325, and calls for regular monitoring of implementation through the Security Council.*

¹ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/sg2004.htm>



Statement by the President of the Security Council United Nations Security Council

October 28, 2004

At the 5066th (resumed) meeting of the Security Council, held on 28 October 2004, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "Women and peace and security", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the continuing and full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), and welcomes the increasing focus on the situation of women and girls in armed conflict since the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000) in October 2000. The Council recalls the Statement by its President of 31 October 2002 (S/PRST/2002/32) and the meeting held on 29 October 2003 as valuable demonstrations of that commitment.

"The Security Council also recalls the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) and the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular the commitments concerning women and armed conflict.

"The Security Council welcomes the Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security (S/2004/814) and expresses its intention to study its recommendations. The Council welcomes the efforts of the United Nations system, Member States, civil society and other relevant actors, to promote the equal participation of women in efforts to build sustainable peace and security. The Security Council strongly condemns the continued acts of gender-based violence in situations of armed conflict. The Council also condemns all violations of the human rights of women and girls in situations of armed conflict and the use of sexual exploitation, violence and abuse. The Council urges the complete cessation by all parties of such acts with immediate effect. The Council stresses the need to end impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking peace, justice, truth and national reconciliation. The Council welcomes the efforts of the United Nations system to establish and implement strategies and programmes to prevent and report on gender-based violence, and urges the Secretary-General to further his efforts in this regard. The Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that human rights monitors and members of commissions of inquiry have the necessary expertise and training in gender-based crimes and in the conduct of investigations, including in a culturally sensitive manner favourable to the needs, dignity and rights of the victims. The Council urges all international and national courts specifically established to prosecute war-related crimes to provide gender expertise, gender training for all staff and gender-sensitive programmes for victims and witness protection. The Council emphasizes the urgent need for programmes that provide support to survivors of gender-based violence. The Council further requests that appropriate attention is given to the issue of gender-based violence in all future reports to the Council.

"The Security Council reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention of conflict and supports the Secretary-General's intention to develop a comprehensive system-wide strategy and action plan for increasing attention to gender perspectives in conflict prevention. The Council urges all relevant actors to work collaboratively, including through strengthened interaction with women's organizations, to ensure the full participation of women and the incorporation of a gender perspective in all conflict prevention work.

"The Security Council also welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to develop a comprehensive strategy and action plan for mainstreaming a gender perspective into all peacekeeping activities and operations and to incorporate gender perspectives in each thematic and country report to the Council. In support of this process, the Council reaffirms its commitment to integrate fully gender perspectives into the mandates of all peacekeeping missions. The Council recognizes the contribution of the gender adviser within the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to advancing the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), and requests the Secretary-General to consider an equivalent arrangement within the Department of Political Affairs to further support such implementation.



“The Security Council considers that an increase in the representation of women in all aspects of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building operations and humanitarian response is urgently needed. To that end, the Council urges the Secretary-General to strengthen his efforts to identify suitable female candidates, including, as appropriate, from troop-contributing countries, in conformity with Article 101 of the Charter of the United Nations and taking into account the principle of equitable geographical balance. Such efforts should include the implementation of targeted recruitment strategies and also seek to identify candidates for senior level positions, including in the military and civilian police services.

“The Security Council recognizes the vital contribution of women in promoting peace and their role in reconstruction processes. The Council welcomes the Secretary-General’s intention to develop strategies to encourage women’s full participation in all stages of the peace process. The Council also requests the Secretary-General to encourage gender mainstreaming in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes by developing guidelines to increase attention to the needs of women and girls in such programmes. The Council further requests the Secretary-General to mainstream a gender perspective in all aspects of postconflict reconstruction programmes, including through the strengthening of gender theme groups in countries emerging from conflict, and to ensure that all policies and programmes in support of postconflict constitutional, judicial and legislative reform, including truth and reconciliation and electoral processes, promote the full participation of women, gender equality and women’s human rights.

“The Security Council recognizes the important contribution of civil society to the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) and encourages Member States to continue to collaborate with civil society, in particular with local women’s networks and organizations, in order to strengthen implementation. To that end, the Council welcomes the efforts of Member States in implementing resolution 1325 (2000) at the national level, including the development of national action plans, and encourages Member States to continue to pursue such implementation.

“The Security Council recognizes that significant progress has been made in the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in certain areas of the United Nations peace and security work. The Council expresses its readiness to further promote the implementation of this resolution, and in particular through active cooperation with the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. In order to further consolidate this progress, the Council requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council in October 2005 an action plan, with time lines, for implementing resolution 1325 (2000) across the United Nations system, with a view to strengthening commitment and accountability at the highest levels, as well as to allow for improved accountability, monitoring and reporting on progress on implementation within the United Nations system.”



The United Nations Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

September 15, 1995

Poverty

- Review, adopt and maintain macroeconomic policies and development strategies that address the needs and efforts of women in poverty.
- Revise laws and administrative practices to ensure women's equal rights and access to economic resources.
- Provide women with access to savings and credit mechanisms and institutions.
- Develop gender-based methodologies and conduct research to address the feminization of poverty.

Education and Training

- Ensure equal access to education.
- Eradicate illiteracy among women.
- Improve women's access to vocational training, science and technology, and continuing education.
- Develop non-discriminatory education and training.
- Allocate sufficient resources for and monitor the implementation of educational reforms.
- Promote lifelong education and training for girls and women.

Health

- Increase women's access throughout the life cycle to appropriate, affordable and quality health care, information and related services.
- Strengthen preventive programmes that promote women's health.
- Undertake gender-sensitive initiatives that address sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, and sexual and reproductive health issues.
- Promote research and disseminate information on women's health.
- Increase resources and monitor follow-up for women's health.

Violence

- Take integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women.
- Study the causes and consequences of violence against women and the effectiveness of preventive measures.
- Eliminate trafficking in women and assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking.

Armed Conflict

- Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation.
- Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments.
- Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations.
- Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace.
- Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women.
- Provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories.

Economy

- Promote women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources.
- Facilitate women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade.
- Provide business services, training and access to markets, information and technology, particularly to low-income women.
- Strengthen women's economic capacity and commercial networks.



- Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination.
- Promote harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men.

Decision-making

- Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.
- Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

Institutional Mechanisms

- Create or strengthen national machineries and other governmental bodies.
- Integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programmes and projects.
- Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation.

Human Rights

- Promote and protect the human rights of women, through the full implementation of all human rights instruments, especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
- Ensure equality and non-discrimination under the law and in practice.
- Achieve legal literacy.

Media

- Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication.
- Promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media.

Environment

- Involve women actively in environmental decision-making at all levels.
- Integrate gender concerns and perspectives in policies and programmes for sustainable development.
- Strengthen or establish mechanisms at the national, regional, and international levels to assess the impact of development and environmental policies on women.

The Girl-Child

- Eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl-child.
- Eliminate negative cultural attitudes and practices against girls.
- Promote and protect the rights of the girl-child and increase awareness of her needs and potential.
- Eliminate discrimination against girls in education, skills development and training.
- Eliminate discrimination against girls in health and nutrition.
- Eliminate the economic exploitation of child labour and protect young girls at work.
- Eradicate violence against the girl-child.
- Promote the girl-child's awareness of and participation in social, economic and political life.
- Strengthen the role of the family in improving the status of the girl-child.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/index.html>



Template For Implementing 1325: *How To Develop a National Strategy* ❀

By: Alma Viviana Pérez, viviperez@yahoo.com
Women Waging Peace Colloquium 2004

- I. The proposal
- II. The framework for action
- III. Developing a database
- IV. Developing instruments - Leaflet design
- V. Documenting the proposal

I. THE PROPOSAL

1. Dissemination campaign:

- Contextualizing the Resolution and its contents to assimilate it into the culture and reality of your country
- Promoting the text at the national, regional and local levels looking towards its implementation
 - Inside the government
 - Inside civil society organizations, especially women groups
 - Among international community representatives in the country
(Particular attention should be given to member countries of the Group of 'Friends of 1325 Governmental Group')
- Socializing national efforts and experiences at the international level

2. Coordinating with government organizations that have specific responsibilities under the resolution's mandates

- Identifying legal frameworks and mechanisms
- Working simultaneously at the local and national level
- Who should be involved?
 - Government's departments & agencies
 - Legislative bodies
 - Judicial branches

3. Articulating the efforts of civil society, especially women's organizations

- Identifying persons and organizations working with 1325 or dealing with 1325 related issues
- Making a follow up of 1325 ongoing events and activities both inside the country and at the international level
- Creating a three-part discussion group with participation of government, international community and civil society especially women's organizations and academic people
- Developing communication mechanisms among people and organizations interested in 1325.
 - Web sites
 - Email groups
 - Bulletins
 (Circulating information periodically is crucial)

The process can be supported from universities and research centers by:

- Promoting academic discussion on women issues as well as exchange experiences conferences and workshops
- Supporting and promoting research, as well as the elaboration of written documents and any other documentary material on issues related to 1325
(Priority should be given to successful experiences, failures on the implementation and analysis of data)

4. Implementing, monitoring and evaluating results

- Setting priorities for the implementation
- Developing benchmarks, timelines and short-, medium-, and long-term goals
- Creating indicators to monitor the process
- Evaluating periodically



Suggested areas of involvement:

- Participation of women in peace processes, including formal and informal negotiations
- Including women's interests and special needs into the negotiation agenda and ensuring that they are addressed in any result and implementation mechanism
- Increasing women's participation in decision-making processes and promoting their equal participation in electoral processes
- Strengthening women's groups at the local and national level
- Addressing women's human rights, especially regarding protection against violence
- Taking into account the special needs of women in cases of demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration
- Incorporating a gender perspective in humanitarian programs carried out in the country
- Giving particular attention to the needs of displaced or refugee women and girls, keeping in mind their special needs of sexual and reproductive health

II. THE FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

Resolution 1325 has eighteen mandates in its operative part.

The implementation and follow-up process of all mandates can be addressed by:

- Organizing the mandates around four main areas
- Taking in to consideration the responsible person or agency
- **Women's participation in decision-making, peacemaking, and peacebuilding processes**

OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH	RESPONSIBLE PERSON/AGENCY
1	UN Member States
2,3 & 4	UN Secretary-General
15	UN Security Council
8	Actors involved in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements

- **Protection of women and gender justice**

OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH	RESPONSIBLE PERSON/AGENCY
8	Actors involved in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements
13	Persons/agencies involved in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities
9, 10 & 12	All parties in armed conflicts
11	UN Member States
14	UN Security Council

- **Mainstreaming a gender perspective in to peacekeeping operations**

OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH	RESPONSIBLE PERSON/AGENCY
5, 6 & 7	UN Security Council
	UN Secretary-General
	UN Member States



- Including a gender perspective on reports and implementation mechanisms

OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH	RESPONSIBLE PERSON/AGENCY
16, 17 & 18	UN Secretary-General
	UN Security Council

A table can be developed in each one of the four main areas, breaking 1325 into sections and specific actions. A possible framework could be:

For government:

Main area (Women's participation in decision-making processes)				
Operative Paragraph	Responsible person/ organization	Mandate	Possible Actions for Implementation	
			National Government	Specific Agencies

For civil society organizations:

Main area (Women's participation in decision-making processes)				
Operative Paragraph	Responsible person/ organization	Mandate	Possible Actions for Implementation	
			Civil Society	Women's Organizations

III. DEVELOPING A DATABASE

Database should include international organizations and agencies currently working towards implementation of 1325

- United Nations
 - United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
 - Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI)
 - Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW)
- Organization of American States (OAS)
 - Inter-American Commission on Women (ICW)
- National agencies and organizations
- International and Regional NGOs and research centers such as the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security



Database table can contain:

Organization	Contact information	Notes

IV. DEVELOPING INSTRUMENTS

Leaflet design

Promoting 1325 at different levels might necessitate presenting the information in a format that is easy to carry, disseminate, and read.

The following is a template for a leaflet:

5	6	1
Who must carry out these mandates?	Where can I find more information? www.unifem.org	UN Security Council Resolution 1325
What has [country's] role been in adopting and promoting 1325?		<i>graphic or inspirational quote</i>

2	3	4
What is 1325?	What does 1325 say? (Key points from the main four areas)	1325 (explanation continued)
When was it adopted?	Area 1	Area 3
	Area 2	Area 4

V. DOCUMENTING THE PROPOSAL

There should be a bibliography of the documents used to prepare the strategy. This supports the proposal and reflects that it was elaborated as a balanced, appropriate plan.

Bibliography should include national and international documents such as:

- Resolution 1325
- Report and recommendations from the secretary-general
- Reports from relevant conferences at the international and regional levels
- Reports from international organizations, civil society organizations, research centers, and think tanks



Abbreviations and Acronyms

1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
AFASDA	Association Women Sun Haiti
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Sierra Leone)
AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
CAP	Consolidated Appeals Process
CCWPS	Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CREA	Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ELN	National Liberation Army (Colombia)
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
G-8	An informal group of eight countries: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States
GBV	Gender-based Violence
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IA	International Alert
ICW	Inter-American Commission of Women
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILANUD	Women, Gender and Justice Program at the United Nations Latin American Institute for Crime Prevention
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organization
INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IPJ	Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IRC	International Rescue Committee
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka)
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front (the Philippines)
MINUGUA	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
MWDF	Mannar Women's Development Federation
NATO	North American Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
PCP	Public Conversations Project
PFA	The Beijing Platform for Action
PRIUB	Peace Research Information Unit Bonn
PSO	Peace Support Operation
OAS	Organization of American States
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSAGI	Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
RRR	Reconciliation, Reintegration, and Rehabilitation



UNSC 1325

RRU	Rapid Response Unit
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP-Nepal	South Asia Partnerships-Nepal
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SWEDINT	Swedish Armed Forces International Center
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNAMG	National Union of Guatemalan Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Force
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAPI	West African Peace Institute
WHO	World Health Organization
WIIS	Women in International Security
WPM	Women PeaceMakers Program
WWICS	Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
WWP	Women Waging Peace



Conference delegates
Conference delegates





We gratefully acknowledge the support
of the following organizations and individuals

Fred J. Hansen Foundation

For their continued support of the Women PeaceMakers Program and primary sponsorship of this conference

Ford Foundation
Angelica Foundation
Heinrich Böll Foundation
Reebok Human Rights Award Program
Sun and Moon Vision Productions
William and Christina Stockton

International Alert
Nona Cannon
Peace Wine and Arrowhead Mountain Spring Water
United Nations Association, San Diego– Women's Equity Council
Voices of Women
Women in International Security
Women Waging Peace

Special thanks to Linda Markarian, Conference Coordinator, conference co-conveners and delegates, and the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice staff and volunteers.

Thank You



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