

CRAFTING HUMAN SECURITY



in an Insecure World

An international working conference to probe and address global acquiescence to impunity, gender violence and exclusion that continues to obstruct peacebuilding and deny human security.

September 24-26 | 2008

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies
University of San Diego



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WOMEN PEACEMAKERS PROGRAM
Funded by the Fred J. Hansen Foundation

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A report from the working conference co-convened by:

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Foreword

Dee Aker, Ph.D., Interim Executive Director, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Crafting human security is far more than ending conflict and returning to a pre-war state of existence.

Peacebuilding for true security that breaks the cycle of violence requires ensuring that the frameworks created for inclusion and justice are actually honored and enforced. If post-conflict states fail to grapple with the structural conditions that underpin aggression and violence, and do not come to see greater participation and gender equity as part of the solution, we are doomed to endless cycles of violence and conflict.

“Crafting Human Security in an Insecure World” was an international working conference convened by the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice and the United Nations Development Fund for Women, with the Global Justice Center, the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women from Sept. 24 to 26, 2008.

The conference asked academics; practitioners in various sectors charged with peacekeeping and peacebuilding; survivors of acts that dehumanize women and children; and students intent on expanding their knowledge of how to create secure human spaces, to join together to identify and press forward with the strategies to transform the mindsets that have allowed gender discrimination and what U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon calls the “abominable practice of sexual violence” during and after conflict.

The primary principles of gender equality and nondiscrimination, which must underpin the work of agents responsible for protecting civilians, was kept front and center in discussions. The quest was to activate these tenets in training, education, policy and practice in order to deal with the proliferation of systematic abuse of women as a tactic to destabilize human societies. Representatives from civil society joined military and academia in four panels that examined prominent topics and concerns in the field of human security.

Former U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Louise Arbour set the stage for delegates, opening the conference with the affirmation that human security is very much about fundamental human rights, and that from the responsibility to protect doctrine to the ending of impunity, the tasks are clear but daunting.

Agreeing that human security is more than a right, that it is a basic requirement for development, dignity and peace, the delegates examined the theme for two full days, taking different entry points to review and craft approaches they personally could take away to address the complex dimensions of the lack of human security and denial of justice. Caucuses for Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and South and Southeast Asia – convened by IPJ Women PeaceMakers in residence – connected delegates for support in expanding regional education and action. A series of focus sessions presented state-of-the-art perspectives and specific new tools and techniques being developed, and provided spaces for delegates to discuss responses and initiatives to challenge those who deny human security. In addition to the overview of panel presentations and focus sessions, for the readers’ convenience we have included the prime documents to which speakers and delegates refer.

Crafting human security is not only about acknowledging the global prevalence of conflict-related violence against women. It is understanding we have opportunities and are linked to many different influential sectors. We have a responsibility to change debilitating systems and end the impunity that exacerbates or ignores how gender inequality and sexual violence prolongs and aggravates human insecurity.

On behalf of all the conveners, we thank the delegates for their engagement and thoughtful exchanges. Our profound thanks go to our donors and partners who made this conference possible. And we invite all readers of this report to use this document to open further discussions on how to craft true human security.

Section I:

Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series



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INTEGRATING SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS
The Honorable Louise Arbour
Former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

The following is an excerpt from the Distinguished Lecture¹ delivered on Sept. 24, 2008:

“The responsibility to protect opens a truly new era in the pursuit of human security.”

I find that there is often a lot of confusion that takes place when we talk about human rights and security. Fundamental rights and freedoms are often described as opposed or contrary to the pursuit of security interests. For instance, it is argued that the prohibition against the use of torture stands in the way of the effective pursuit of security interests.

Security is a fundamental human right. The obligation of states to offer basic security to people arises from their obligation to promote and protect the right to life and security of the person. When we’re talking about human security, not state security, our conversation is very much about human rights.



Arbour discussing human rights and security
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In 2005 then Secretary-General Kofi Annan published his report entitled “In Larger Freedom,” which served as the blueprint for the outcome document of the 2005 World Summit. The report asserted that the U.N. architecture rested on three pillars – security, development and human rights – and that the three pillars were interlinked. He said, “There can be no security without development. There can be no development without security. And there can be neither security nor development without human rights.”²

As time went by I became somewhat skeptical of this architectural metaphor of the three pillars. As presently constructed, if the United Nations rests on three pillars, in my view they are of unequal structural strength. The security pillar is made of concrete: it’s rough, it’s strong, suitable for military operations. The development pillar is made of steel: durable, sustainable. The human rights pillar in contrast is made of glass: fragile, invisible most of the time, decorative at best, supporting nothing and therefore requiring only the occasional buffing to make sure that if seen it would look good.



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[However,] the glass pillar of the U.N. architecture is very much in the process of trying to reassert itself as a truly indispensable feature of the legitimate quest for human security. And it has much to offer, but only if its champions are prepared to acknowledge the necessary linkages between security and development, and embrace a human rights vision that is truly universal, encompassing all rights equally for all people.

In my view the most significant advance in terms of real prospect for real protection is in the transformation of the right to intervene into the responsibility to do so. There is no longer a right, a discretion, to intervene, but a responsibility, an obligation to do so in certain defined circumstances. This is a monumental conceptual shift ... and I

believe that the responsibility to protect opens a truly new era in the pursuit of human security.

On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration [of Human Rights], the fundamental concepts of universality and indivisibility of rights may be coming closer in a world in which security issues are no longer to be associated principally with the Cold War or the threat of nuclear warfare. The combination of catastrophic natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina or Cyclone Nargis and the negligence, ineptitude or worse of governments, has highlighted the dramatic impact of poverty, discrimination and social exclusion within countries and between countries. The profound insecurity created by deprivation is at the heart of the unfulfilled promise of globalization. Even in sophisticated democratic societies, political play alone is unlikely to offer adequate redress. The law, and human rights law in particular, offers the blueprint for an integrated view of human security, guaranteed by individual rights and collective responsibility, and state as well as individual accountability.



Arbour and IPJ Interim Executive Director Dee Aker
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I hope that every effort would be made both by international and domestic prosecutors to fully explore the scope of the law defining crimes against humanity, so as to give the fullest possible effect of the right to life, which is the cornerstone of both major international human rights covenants, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. I suggest that this will require a holistic approach to security, first and foremost emphasizing human security over a nebulous and convenient claim of national security, and a genuine commitment to the imperatives of equality and universal entitlement to the protection of the law.

This is where enforceable laws must supplement and support democratic ideals, and this is indeed the genius – in my view – of human rights law. The rights of every individual are enhanced, not reduced, by the enhancement of the rights of others, and conversely, every one of our fundamental rights and freedoms is diminished by the curtailment of the rights of others. Ultimately both our freedom and our security are best ensured by the enhancement of the freedom and security of everyone else. In that sense, the imperatives of indivisibility and universality of rights have real practical implications, the most important one being that rights must be enforceable, and that they must be promoted and enforced by law.

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The rights of every individual are enhanced, not reduced, by the enhancement of the rights of others, and conversely, every one of our fundamental rights and freedoms is diminished by the curtailment of the rights of others.”

I suggest then in conclusion that a legal landscape is emerging on which peace and security will be enhanced by the ascendance of an international legal order that will not supersede the political, but that will further constrain political action that imperils human security. From the articulation of the doctrine to the advocacy necessary for a broad-based political endorsement and the setting up of institutional and operational support, there is a considerable distance to go – but frankly, the biggest steps have already been taken. They were taken at least 60 years ago by the framers of the United Nations and by the framers of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our task is merely to give it an air of reality.

Section II:

Directions in Human Security



A. ENDING CYCLES OF CONFLICT THROUGH GENDER-INCLUSIVE PEACEBUILDING

Introduction

If peace is more than merely an absence of war, then the building of peace must go beyond the cessation of warfare; it must aim to address the root causes of human insecurity in times of conflict. Societal inequalities, poverty, hunger, gender-based violence, corruption, crime and associated human rights violations hinder the path to security and justice. Only when all individuals are freed from these oppressive forces may true peace emerge.

Women experience conflict as surely as do men, but are seldom fully represented during the peacebuilding process. As mothers, heads of households, community leaders and survivors of wartime violence, women help sustain the foundation upon which peace can be built. The historic adoption of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000 recognized women's vital role in creating peace and security and called for increased representation of women in all phases of the peacebuilding process, from conflict prevention to negotiation to resolution to post-conflict processes. The inclusion of both women's and men's needs and abilities is key to building a sustainable peace.

While gender mainstreaming, a 1325-supported strategy to integrate both women's and men's experiences into the peacebuilding process, is an important step toward greater inclusion, women will inevitably continue to face barriers to full participation. Specific monitoring and implementation mechanisms need to be collected and shared. Because women experience conflict differently from men, as well as differently from each other, the most effective peacebuilding processes will make full use of local knowledge and experience.

Gender-inclusive peacebuilding is still in its early stages. While 1325 provides an unprecedented international framework from which to promote women's participation, much remains to be done between recognition and implementation. Thanks to the efforts of persevering peacemakers – both women and men – around the world, women's voices are being heard at national and international levels.

After reading the text of 1325, you will find a discussion of how panelists, session facilitators and conference delegates use gender-inclusive strategies to end cycles of violence.

“
While 1325 provides an unprecedented international framework from which to promote women's participation, much remains to be done between recognition and implementation.”

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY³

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000

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 and 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 post-conflict 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."

PANEL SUMMARY

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

Rapporteur: Stelet Kim, Consultant

Realities in Mainstreaming Women's Perspectives into Peace and Security

Speaker: Hodan Addou, United Nations Development Programme

"Cycles of violence perpetuate themselves over generations."

Before addressing women's perspectives on security, we need to first understand the types of conflicts that are taking place around the world. Every conflict is unique and complex in terms of a country's historic legacies, power dynamics, social structures and conflict causes and actors. However, there are several common features that fuel violent conflicts, including extreme poverty, gross inequalities and various forms of exclusion, rampant human rights violations, structural insecurities, weak state capacities, proliferation of small arms, corruption and external support to oppressive and illegitimate regimes.

A significant feature of contemporary conflicts is the impact of conflict on intergenerational relations. Cycles of violence perpetuate themselves over generations, and the impact of long, drawn-out violent conflict on future generations is a massive challenge and detriment to peace. In many parts of the world today, children are growing up knowing nothing other than violence, and we see hints of a future with permanently militarized societies. The young, the poor and other marginalized communities experience much more drastically than others the social consequences of warfare. Conflict degrades a society's economic resource base and social networks and devastates a nation's prospects of ending poverty.

The evident link between human rights, security and development is becoming more widely recognized, and people-centered approaches to ensure security more utilized. However, women in conflict coping with a lack of education, healthcare and sanitation also deal with the compounded effects of rape and sexual violence. To ensure security, a comprehensive approach is needed that also addresses health, justice and governance.

We have known for decades the importance of understanding the gender dimensions of the displaced, but we have not learned enough from past conflicts in terms of protection and intervention. We need to underscore mechanisms to prevent rape and sexual violence, which are increasingly and horrifyingly more common weapons of war. An integrated approach to conflict recovery and resolution is immediately needed, including access to medical care, housing, training and education.

The need for this integrated approach, particularly in the negotiation phase of a peace process when women's perspectives are essential, is evident in the case of northern Uganda, detailed in the discussion which follows.



Hodan Addou

Integrating Gender Issues into Peace Negotiations: The Northern Uganda Experience

Speaker: Jebbeh Forster, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Uganda is generally considered to have good gender inclusion policies. The country's constitution recognizes gender equality, gender balance and affirmative action. A process is underway to create an Equal Opportunities Commission to ensure balanced gender representation in Ugandan society. Uganda has also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Conventions and resolutions notwithstanding, women were largely missing from negotiating tables during the peace talks over the past two years in Juba, Sudan, between the rebel group the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the government of Uganda. The LRA had two women in their delegation, the government only one. The 2006 Cessation of Hostilities Agreement in Uganda established a monitoring team to track breaches of the agreement. The all-male team, however, did not receive any gender and human rights training and did not track sexual and gender-based violence.



Jebbeh Forster

Having raged for 20 years before the international community took notice, the conflict in Uganda is considered by many as one of the worst "forgotten conflicts" in the world. Mass awareness building is needed in addition to an inclusive peacebuilding processes. The formation of Ugandan women peace coalitions and recent appointments of a woman mediator and gender adviser to the U.N. Special

Envoy are helping this cause by showing that high-level advocacy can draw greater attention to the mandate of 1325.

UNIFEM recommends more support to women's movements, earlier participation by women in the peace process and high-level negotiations and careful consideration of regional effects of any decision making. Gender training for all delegation teams will help pave the way for gender inclusion in future peace agreements.

CONFLICT BACKGROUND: Uganda

The LRA, led by Joseph Kony – who claims to be a spirit medium and wants to lead the country according to the Ten Commandments – has been fighting the government of Yoweri Museveni since 1987. The LRA abducts children into its ranks to fight as soldiers or serve as porters and sexual slaves; the estimates for the number of children abducted over the years are between 20,000 and 80,000.⁴ The fighting has led at times to the displacement of over 80 percent of the population of northern Uganda, many of whom remain in internally displaced peoples' (IDP) camps. After many failed peace attempts over the 20 years of war, talks began again in July 2006 in Juba, Sudan, where the parties agreed on a five-point agenda and to the cessation of hostilities. Around 300,000 IDPs have returned to their homes during this period of relative security, but Kony has failed to sign a final peace deal. In February 2006, in the first multiparty presidential elections in 25 years, Museveni was again elected president, defeating opposition leader Kizza Besigye, who had been imprisoned from the previous November until January 2006.

"During the Juba peace talks, the LRA had two women in their delegation, the government only one."

Another example of the need for an integrated approach to human security is in Liberia, examined next.

The Liberian Case: Criminality, Peacekeeping and the Rule of Law

Speaker: Modibo Goita, Peacekeeping School Alioune Blondin Beye of Bamako, Mali



Modibo Goita

Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations are essential tools for the United Nations to maintain peace and security, but do these operations actually maintain peace and security in Africa, where the highest concentration of peacekeeping operations are in place? In Sudan, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, peacekeeping operations have failed. We need to continue to study these situations to understand why and prevent failures in the future.

Civil war ravaged Liberia for 14 years, during which rape was used as a method of warfare. There has been a breakdown of traditions and religious beliefs, worsened by inadequate

disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes. Corruption and lack of motivation among police have contributed to increased violence, armed robberies and other brutality during conflict.

There has been some progress in the rebuilding of the country, especially as it pertains to women: A ministry of gender has been put in place, and there is more gender representation among new police recruits. Human rights coalitions and civil society movements formed a task force to combat sexual violence, and the inspector general of the Liberian National Police is a woman.

Solutions to the problem of better security for women will necessarily be multi-faceted and should include:

- An increase in the number of trained Liberian police.
- Selection of police recruits representing different ethnic groups.
- Increased salaries of the Liberian national police.
- Rehabilitation of the traditional courts system.
- Authorization of foreign lawyers to practice in Liberia.

Together with these largely structural reforms, to overcome violence and conflict Liberians need to stop placing personal and tribal interests above national interests, and commit to living together in harmony. In the end, "no peacekeeping effort can succeed if the people of Liberia don't want peace."

CONFLICT BACKGROUND: Liberia

Liberia, Africa's oldest republic, enjoyed many years of relative stability after its founding by freed American slaves in 1822. In 1989, however, poor economic conditions and rampant corruption sparked a civil war that would ultimately claim the lives of 250,000 people, result in the internal displacement of 464,000 civilians and force hundreds of thousands more across Liberia's borders to find refugee status in neighboring countries such as Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire.⁵ In the course of the civil war, rebel groups routinely committed atrocities against the civilian population including recruitment of child soldiers, widespread sexual violence and murder.

Liberia's war did not come to a definitive end until President Charles Taylor, former rebel leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), was forced into exile in August 2003. In November 2005, former finance minister Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected president, becoming Africa's first woman head of state.

In September 2003, U.N. Security Council Resolution 1509 authorized the creation of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), which as of August 2008 had over 12,700 uniformed personnel in Liberia.⁶ UNMIL is one of the most expensive U.N. peacekeeping operations in history. Despite its presence, rates of violent crime remain alarmingly high and the number of reported rapes of women nearly doubled from 2006 to 2007.⁷

Yet another post-conflict situation demonstrating the need for an integrated, gender-inclusive approach during all phases of a peacebuilding process is that of Guatemala, described in the next presentation.

Beyond the Peace Table: Post-Conflict Gender Influence for Finding Security and Justice

Speaker: Luz Méndez, National Union of Guatemalan Women

With the signing of the peace accords on Dec. 29, 1996, Guatemala saw the official end of a 36-year conflict in which at least 100,000 people died. The Guatemala Truth Commission Report released three years later stated that the armed conflict sprang from a situation of socioeconomic inequity, ethnic discrimination and an undemocratic political system. In addition to formally ending the bloodiest civil war in Latin America's recent history, the Guatemalan Peace Accords were notable in their inclusion of women in the peace process, which ensured that specific commitments to gender equality were included in the accords. One such example was the creation of a national office for the defense of indigenous women.

"Sexual violence is the only human rights violation in which women are seen as the guilty party."



Luz Méndez

Despite opportunities for women's participation and the disarmament and reintegration of insurgent forces (who became a legal political party after the accords), the peace accords did not automatically bring peace or gender equality. High levels of violence against women have continued in Guatemala, particularly femicide. In 2007, more than 700 women were murdered. The accords that addressed enduring political and social inequalities or examined fiscal and rural development reforms have not been implemented. Furthermore, rather than defend national sovereignty, the military continues to protect the interests of the economic elite. The army, whose size and budget had been reduced by half after the signing of the peace accords, has recently increased its numbers and reopened an elite military base in the northern part of the country once notorious for its brutality.

Women's organizations, however, are beginning to speak out about rape, and those few women who survived violent attacks are forming small groups to provide psychosocial support and women's rights trainings. They are also traveling the country to present theater pieces and broadcast soap operas to help curb the stigmatization and isolation women experience in their communities after these attacks. Women's groups are advocating for national reparations programs and proposing very specific measures of implementation.

"As you know, sexual violence is the only human rights violation in which women are seen as the guilty party. We can do nothing but continue working in order to have a real process of peacebuilding that includes justice, reparations, security and real peace for women," concluded Méndez.

CONFLICT BACKGROUND: Guatemala

The beginnings of the conflict in Guatemala – a battle between the leftist, mostly Mayan insurgent groups and the national army, which received backing from the United States – can be traced to the early 1960s. The ensuing 36-year internal armed conflict left over 200,000 dead or disappeared and over 1 million refugees and internally displaced people. Government forces were responsible for over 85 percent of these human rights violations.⁸ The violence during the armed conflict disproportionately affected indigenous Mayans, who suffered 83 percent of the violations while comprising only 60 percent of the total population. The scorched-earth policy reflected in over 650 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 percent of the murders were carried out with sadism and extreme force often involving rape, torture and mutilation.⁹

During the transition from conflict to peace, such as those in Guatemala, Liberia and in time Uganda, there are international legal tools – introduced in the following discussion and enumerated in Section II.D of this report – available to mainstream women's perspectives and gender equality.

From Policy to Power: Enforcing International Law for Gender Equality in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations

Speaker: Andrea Friedman, Global Justice Center

"Law can change attitudes and can be used to push the culture forward."

The law can and needs to be used to grant women power in decision making. Law can play a critical role toward gender equality because "it is enforceable, it can change attitudes and it can be used to push the culture forward." Women can use the law strategically because the law is malleable: It depends how it is interpreted and defined, and by whom.

At a time of new constitutions, new presidents, new courts and new legislators across the world, there is still no significant increase in the number of women in positions of power. Instead of maintaining a paradigm of patriarchy, it is time



Andrea Friedman

to create a new paradigm wherein women are equal players, and more women judges, lawyers and parliamentarians ensure that the rule of law is upheld.

Progress toward gender equality can be made by using international legal tools and access points such as international criminal tribunals, domestic courts, parliaments, ministries, regional mechanisms, human rights bodies, security cooperatives and the Security Council. We are living in a global transnational world and thus need to enforce laws globally. "It is time to make 'soft' law for women into 'hard' enforceable rights, ensure that access to justice is about more than ending impunity and demand power not pity for real equality."



Modibo Goita and Dustin Sharp engage in discussion after the panel

FOCUS SESSIONS

Women Ending Cycles of Violent Conflict: Strategies and Best Practices

Facilitator: Laura Taylor, Doctoral Student, University of Notre Dame

Practitioners and scholars of peacebuilding and conflict transformation must learn to draw insight from the interplay between the collective and unique experiences of those in the field and the world of theory and ideas. The goal of this session was "to use the IPJ's Women PeaceMakers Program to look at the contributions women make to conflict transformation, and how we as a community of scholars and practitioners can document those so that those lessons can be transformed and translated to other situations where they may apply."

The following discussion, therefore, presents some theoretical peacebuilding tools and applies them to select cases of Women PeaceMakers.

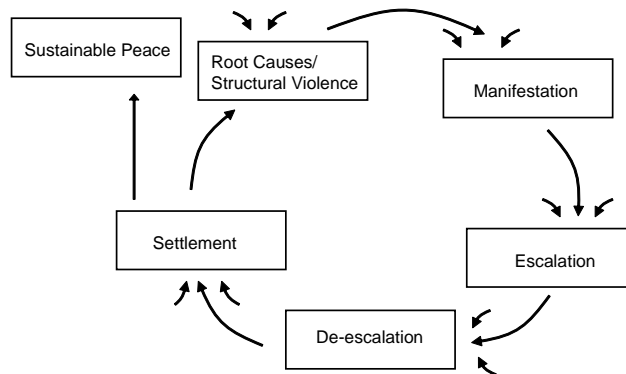
- A pyramid theory of actor analysis, developed by John Paul Lederach,¹⁰ is based on a hierarchical power structure with political and religious leaders, the elite and the military as the actors on the top; ethnic and religious leaders, academics and intellectuals and humanitarian workers at the mid-level; and leaders of local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), health workers and community developers at the grassroots level. The ability to crosscut the three levels both vertically and horizontally increases the level of communication among actors and is essential in peacebuilding processes.
- The Life Cycle of International Conflict Management, developed by Michael Lund,¹¹ addresses the possible roles of the international community in conflict situations. The bottom of the



Taylor takes note of delegates' ideas during her session on women breaking cycles of violence

cycle, diagrammed as an arch, represents stable peace, moving upward to unstable peace, on to crisis and then to war at the top of the arch. After the period of war, the diagram flows downward to form a bell curve, representing the de-escalation of violence, including activities toward rapprochement and reconciliation.

- The Cycle of Violent Conflict, adapted from the work of Louis Kriesberg,¹² features arrows feeding into each phase of the cycle, the arrows representing both domestic and external factors contributing to those stages. The adapted cycle centers on the root causes of violence. This structural violence often leads to the manifestation and then escalation of violence. Turning points ideally move the conflict around the cycle to de-escalation and settlement. According to the cycle, the point of settlement is the opportunity to move out of the cycle and into sustainable peace.



The weakness of the Life Cycle of International Conflict Management is that it does not explain how root causes are leveraged by an external source. If we cannot indicate how or when someone can enter a conflict situation and take power, we cannot effectively prevent violent conflict. The adapted Cycle of Violent Conflict helps us realize that conflict can be a constructive force, when used or responded to nonviolently.

In the IPJ's Women PeaceMakers Program, the stories documented of women in the field can be analyzed using these very tools, highlighting how women have responded to conflict in constructive ways.

At the moment of escalation, Palwasha Kakar of Afghanistan drew on her local knowledge to create a safe environment for women – despite the patriarchal culture of her country and the increased influence of the Taliban. While working with the United Nations Children's Fund, Kakar met with local religious leaders to gain their trust and approval to mobilize women around issues of health and nutrition. While teaching the women about breastfeeding and other health topics during meetings of what became known as a "women's union," she was also able to introduce issues of human rights and community organizing.¹³

Mary Ann Arnado's work in Mindanao, the Philippines demonstrates a non-violent strategy during the

phase of de-escalation. She saw an opening for civil society during the signing of a framework peace agreement, wherein local ceasefire monitoring teams were to be established. She stated, “Who better to be a ceasefire monitor than someone who is going to be directly affected by it?” Arnado established Bantay Ceasefire, an independent civilian monitoring team, parallel to the official monitoring teams made up of primarily military leaders, who initially dismissed the idea. The group is now a respected organization, often called upon for their impartiality in investigations.¹⁴



Arnado, on a mission with Bantay Ceasefire, talks with a child in an evacuation center

In the settlement phase, the work of Luz Méndez of Guatemala is instructive. Méndez was one of the only women at the peace table during the negotiations that eventually became the Guatemalan Peace Accords, and as such, spoke to the specific needs of women and of another marginalized group, indigenous women. Their needs and concerns were included in specific agreements of the accords.¹⁵

Christiana Thorpe’s work in Sierra Leone highlights an important practice in moving from the settlement stage and off the cycle to sustainable peace. As chief electoral commissioner during the latest elections in the country, among other important moves to ensure a fair election, she involved all stakeholders including civil society and security forces in the election planning process.¹⁶ The International Crisis Group cited her work and integrity as a significant factor in the success and fairness of the elections.¹⁷

And finally, in an effort to bring sustainable peace and reconciliation to the post-conflict former Yugoslavia, Svetlana Kijevčanin of Serbia uses theatre-in-education, a participatory model of drama, with youth divided in their communities by ethnicity. Through exploring difficult situations through theater, communication is opened and relationships changed as “the other” is humanized.¹⁸

After analyzing these stories of Women PeaceMakers in relation to the cycle of violent conflict, session participants listed the following best practices:

- Truly listen. Then ask and ask again.
- Learn from things that don’t work, as much as from things that do.
- Cross boundaries, both horizontally and vertically along the pyramid diagram.
- Address structural and episodic violence.
- Inform action based on knowledge of cultural and religious practices, and heed local knowledge.
- Create parallel structures for communication, or be a spokesperson.



“Different is Beautiful” was a play performed by mixed ethnic groups Kijevčanin worked with in the former Yugoslavia

- Establish concrete accountability mechanisms.
- Learn from international efforts.
- Focus messages based on target audiences.
- Involve youth.
- Use media, art, storytelling to bridge sides and voice trauma.
- Deconstruct the notion of the “other.”
- Bring together civilians and soldiers; facilitate dialogue.
- Train trainers to become social catalysts.
- Acknowledge economic factors and basic needs.
- Speak out within the system about sexual exploitation.
- Publish books, tell people’s stories, document visually.

Women in U.N. Peace Operations: Increasing Leadership Opportunities

Facilitator: Jolynn Shoemaker, Women in International Security (WIIS)

“Women comprise only 10 percent of senior positions in U.N. peacekeeping operations.”

Of the 17 ongoing U.N. peacekeeping operations around the world, only one of these missions, Liberia, is headed by a woman. There are four women deputy heads of mission. Women comprise approximately 10 percent of senior positions and 28 percent of all personnel. In police missions, 7 percent of personnel are women, and in military missions, women make up less than 2 percent.

The title of the working session is also the title of a July 2008 WIIS publication. WIIS, an independent organization based in Washington, D.C., functions as a global network for women and men and seeks to promote women in the peace and security field through networking, professional development and leadership training. The publication is based on interviews of 60 U.N. officials, who were asked questions regarding recruitment, work culture and field experiences.



Jolynn Shoemaker (© Rodney Nakamoto)

Some of the main findings in the report are:

- **The recruitment of personnel for U.N. peace operations is not a transparent process.** Most senior positions are filled by ambassadors or others already in permanent U.N. positions. It is very difficult to advocate for oneself from outside the system, and even more difficult for women. Because the job interview utilizes U.N. jargon not commonly known to outsiders, women from the global South seem to be generally overlooked for senior positions.

- **Although the operations are currently multi-dimensional, the recruitment criteria seem to be militarily biased.** The United Nations expresses a need for military experience in conflict-affected countries, not just human rights expertise, thus eliminating many women candidates. Still, half of the men in the current positions were found to lack military experience.
- **Women eliminate themselves from higher positions due to low perceptions of experience or expertise.** The United Nations claims that women are offered senior positions, but that many turn them down. Only those who have strong advocates from within the U.N. system eventually manage to end up in senior functions.
- **The incorrect assumption prevails that missions present exceedingly challenging conditions.** Women who have served in these positions are generally very positive about their experiences. Some express the view that their placement was not a good match. Other women have concerns about work and family. In most U.N. peace operations, you cannot bring your family with you. The United Nations is currently working on the harmonization of services regarding rights for personnel on missions, but as it is very costly, it may not happen in the foreseeable future.
- **Women are entering the United Nations at lower professional levels.** At the higher levels, the number of women drops dramatically. Many claim this is due to a lack of career support and lack of mentorship, which figures greatly in moving into more senior positions within the United Nations. At the time of the report, there was only one woman in a senior position who did not obtain her position by knowing someone inside the United Nations. Women who do work at senior levels can generally be characterized as single, widowed or Western women without children.

To improve recruitment efforts, the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations recently created a senior leadership section, which focuses on hiring the best talent for senior positions. The section is simply a point of entry for candidates, headed by a woman who receives resumes and creates the short-list of interviewees. The United Nations has also created a new section for recruitment and outreach, also headed by a woman.

While these are positive developments, WIIS calls for:

- More communication and networking between organizations that seek to promote women in senior U.N. positions.
- A harmonization of codes of conduct.
- More commitment from the United Nations to support families with respect to housing, school and healthcare after missions, if not during.

DOCUMENTARY SCREENING: “Pray the Devil Back to Hell”

Though excluded from the official peace negotiations to resolve the conflict in their country (despite U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325), the women of Liberia would not allow their voices to be silenced. While Modibo Goita in his presentation spoke of the current challenges facing post-conflict Liberia, “Pray the Devil Back to Hell” shows how the country was even able to move to a post-conflict situation, and ensures that women’s voices are not forgotten in favor of the official history of how the war ended.

The film – introduced at the conference on Sept. 25, 2008 by Deborah Lindholm, founder of the Foundation for Women – is the extraordinary story of a small band of Liberian women who came together in the midst of a bloody civil war, took on the violent warlords and corrupt Charles Taylor regime and won a long-awaited peace for their shattered country in 2003.

As the rebel noose tightened upon Monrovia and peace talks faced collapse, the women of Liberia – Christians and Muslims united – formed a thin but unshakable white line between the opposing forces and successfully demanded an end to the fighting – armed only with white T-shirts and the courage of their convictions.



Leymah Gbowee is featured in the film and answered audience questions following the screening.
(© Michael Angelo for Wonderland)

In one remarkable scene, the women barricaded the site of stalled peace talks in Ghana, and announced they would not move until a deal was done. Faced with eviction, they invoked the most powerful weapon in their arsenal – threatening to remove their clothes. It worked.

Their demonstrations culminated in the exile of Charles Taylor and the election of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Africa’s first female head of state, and marked the vanguard of a new wave of women taking control of their political destiny around the world.

“Pray the Devil Back to Hell” reconstructs the movement through interviews, archival footage and striking images of contemporary Liberia. It is compelling testimony to the potential of women worldwide to alter the history of nations.

B. ADDRESSING THE SCALE AND SCOPE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT

Introduction

In recent years, there has been increased attention regarding the need to protect women from sexual violence and other abuse during armed conflict and its aftermath. This attention has been reflected at thematic conferences, such as the Wilton Park Conference in May 2008, which brought together senior military personnel, U.N. officials, policymakers and other experts to reflect upon what more could be done by international peacekeepers to address the problem of sexual violence.¹⁹ It has also been reflected in new normative and legal instruments, such as U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820.

Despite the increased attention, the scale and scope of the problem of sexual violence has not always been matched by national and institutional resources, nor have commitments been marshaled to combat it. Day after day, women continue to be subject to horrific violence in conflict and post-conflict situations throughout the world.

Realizing the promises and commitments of resolutions 1325 and 1820 must begin with a change in thinking, including a recognition by policymakers and military officials that sexual violence must be treated as a matter of international peace and security. But from that essential paradigm shift, we must move to concrete implementation. Effective implementation will require a holistic response that draws upon the practices and strengths of a number of actors, ranging from traditional security personnel to human rights and humanitarian aid groups, and greater coordination between the United Nations, civil society and national governments.

Implementation of resolutions 1325 and 1820 within peacekeeping missions, which often have a presence in those areas where sexual violence is most prevalent, will be key. Peacekeeping missions are, of course, confronted with enormous challenges when it comes to protecting civilians. Increased training, inclusion of stronger and more specific language regarding the protection of women and girls against sexual violence in peacekeeping mission mandates and deployment of additional women police and military personnel to both prevent and respond to sexual violence, could go a long way toward filling in the existing protection gaps. But protection must start with prevention, and to this end, recognition of women as stakeholders and their inclusion at all levels and stages of peacebuilding is critical.

After reading the text of 1820, you will find panelists, session facilitators and conference delegates examining how resolutions 1325 and 1820 can be implemented to counter increasing violence against women and girls during and following conflict.

“
Women from Zimbabwe, women from Uganda, from Sudan, all over Africa, are saying, ‘Our bodies are under attack.’
 ”

- Leymah Gbowee

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1820 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Adopted on 19 June 2008

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005) and 1674 (2006) and recalling the Statements of its president of 31 October 2001 (Security Council/PRST/2001/31), 31 October 2002 (Security Council/PRST/2002/32), 28 October 2004 (Security Council/PRST/2004/40), 27 October 2005 (Security Council/PRST/2005/52), 8 November 2006 (Security Council/PRST/2006/42), 7 March 2007 (Security Council/PRST/2007/5), and 24 October 2007 (Security Council/PRST/2007/40);

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming also the resolve expressed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, including by ending impunity and by ensuring the protection of civilians, in particular women and girls, during and after armed conflicts, in accordance with the obligations States have undertaken under international humanitarian law and international human rights law;

Recalling 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 sexual violence and women in situations of armed conflict;

Reaffirming also the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, and **urging** states that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

Noting that civilians account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict; that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instill fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group; and that sexual violence perpetrated in this manner may in some instances persist after the cessation of hostilities;

Recalling its condemnation in the strongest terms of all sexual and other forms of violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children;

Reiterating deep concern that, despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict, including sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality,

Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, 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,

Deeply concerned also about the persistent obstacles and challenges to women's participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination, which erode women's capacity and legitimacy to participate in post-conflict public life, and acknowledging the negative impact this has on durable peace, security and reconciliation, including post-conflict peacebuilding,

Recognizing that States bear primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as all individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law,

Reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of affected civilians,

Welcoming the ongoing coordination of efforts within the United Nations system, marked by the inter-agency initiative “United Nations Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict,” to create awareness about sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations and, ultimately, to put an end to it,

1. **Stresses** that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security, **affirms** in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and **expresses its readiness**, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to, where necessary, adopt appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence;

2. **Demands** the immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians with immediate effect;

3. **Demands** that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence, which could include, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians, debunking myths that fuel sexual violence, vetting armed and security forces to take into account past actions of rape and other forms of sexual violence, and evacuation of women and children under imminent threat of sexual violence to safety; and **requests** the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to encourage dialogue to address this issue in the context of broader discussions of conflict resolution between appropriate UN officials and the parties to the conflict, taking into account, inter alia, the views expressed by women of affected local communities;

4. **Notes** that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, **stresses the need for** the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes, and **calls upon** Member States to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, and **stresses** the importance of ending impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking sustainable peace, justice, truth, and national reconciliation;

5. **Affirms its intention**, when establishing and renewing state-specific sanctions regimes, to take into consideration the appropriateness of targeted and graduated measures against parties to situations of armed conflict who commit rape and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls in situations of armed conflict;

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group and relevant States, as appropriate, to develop and implement appropriate training programs for all peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed by the United Nations in the context of missions as mandated by the Council to help them better prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence and other forms of violence against civilians;

7. **Requests** the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and **urges** troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including pre-deployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel;

8. **Encourages** troop and police contributing countries, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to consider steps they could take to heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel participating

in UN peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, including women and children, and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, including wherever possible the deployment of a higher percentage of women peacekeepers or police;

9. **Requests** the Secretary-General to develop effective guidelines and strategies to enhance the ability of relevant UN peacekeeping operations, consistent with their mandates, to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence and to systematically include in his written reports to the Council on conflict situations his observations concerning the protection of women and girls and recommendations in this regard;

10. **Requests** the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations agencies, inter alia, through consultation with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence, including in particular sexual violence, to women and girls in and around UN managed refugee and internally displaced persons camps, as well as in all disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes, and in justice and security sector reform efforts assisted by the United Nations;

11. **Stresses** the important role the Peacebuilding Commission can play by including in its advice and recommendations for post-conflict peacebuilding strategies, where appropriate, ways to address sexual violence committed during and in the aftermath of armed conflict, and in ensuring consultation and effective representation of women's civil society in its country-specific configurations, as part of its wider approach to gender issues;

12. **Urges** the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;

13. **Urges** all parties concerned, including Member States, United Nations entities and financial institutions, to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions, in particular of judicial and health systems, and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to victims of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations;

14. **Urges** appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict;

15. **Also requests** the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council by 30 June 2009 on the implementation of this resolution in the context of situations which are on the agenda of the Council, utilizing information from available United Nations sources, including country teams, peacekeeping operations, and other United Nations personnel, which would include, inter alia, information on situations of armed conflict in which sexual violence has been widely or systematically employed against civilians; analysis of the prevalence and trends of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict; proposals for strategies to minimize the susceptibility of women and girls to such violence; benchmarks for measuring progress in preventing and addressing sexual violence; appropriate input from United Nations implementing partners in the field; information on his plans for facilitating the collection of timely, objective, accurate, and reliable information on the use of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, including through improved coordination of UN activities on the ground and at Headquarters; and information on actions taken by parties to armed conflict to implement their responsibilities as described in this resolution, in particular by immediately and completely ceasing all acts of sexual violence and in taking appropriate measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual violence;

16. **Decides** to remain actively seized of the matter.

PANEL SUMMARY

Moderator: Leymah Gbowee, Women, Peace and Security Network

Rapporteur: Diana Kutlow, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Shifting the Discourse: Sexual Violence as a Matter of International Peace and Security

Speaker: Stephanie Ziebell, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

As the brutality and horror of sexual violence during and after conflict are revealed, we are learning more and more about “the war within the war” in which women and girls are deliberately targeted by perpetrators of sexual violence, a situation exacerbated by an historical absence of formal accountability.

Despite the scale of the problem, sexual violence often flies under the radar of most national, regional or international security institutions’ early warning or response mechanisms. This points to a need to shift traditional security discourse to recognize that sexual violence is a matter of international peace and security, and serves to underscore the challenges of implementing 1820.

While 1820 was passed with unprecedented speed, the task remains to build the institutional infrastructure with which to implement it. To this end, additional resources, training, political leadership

and, most importantly, the engagement of the Security Council will be needed. UNIFEM is currently engaging in capacity building, advocacy, strategic partnerships and programming to support and monitor implementation. At the same time, there is a need to build an analytical inventory of existing effective tactics for protecting women and girls in conflict areas.

Truly effective implementation of 1820 will require a holistic response. Private security firms, companies working in conflict zones and humanitarian aid groups, together with police, military and governments, need to be brought together to amplify and better coordinate responses to sexual violence.



Stephanie Ziebell

“While 1820 was passed with unprecedented speed, the task remains to build the institutional infrastructure with which to implement it.”

Peacekeepers in particular will be essential in identifying and coordinating those responses to sexual violence in armed conflict. Some challenges they face are detailed in the following two presentations.

Peacekeeping, Protection and Prevention: The Role of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)

Speaker: Clare Hutchinson, DPKO

“It is more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier in armed combat.”

It has been said that in many conflict and post-conflict situations throughout the world, it is more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier in armed combat. The phenomenon of gender-based violence therefore needs to be included in the wider analysis of security. The United Nations has a critical role to play when it comes to protection; the prevention of sexual violence, by virtue of resolutions 1325 and 1820, is within the mandate of DPKO, which now has 12 gender advisers spread across missions around the world.

There are a variety of challenges to ensuring greater security and protection, including problems with traditional justice, customs and practices; weak institutional mechanisms; lack of trained officials; lack of ownership; a culture of impunity; limited awareness; and a lack of data. Furthermore, “sexual violence comes out of a lack of empowerment of women, politically, economically and socially,” states Hutchinson. While the primary responsibility for protecting civilians lies firmly with the national authorities, the job of peacekeepers is to assist the state in providing this protection.



Clare Hutchinson

In order to move forward, Hutchinson articulated a number of concrete policy recommendations:

- Inclusion of stronger and more specific language regarding the protection of women and girls from sexual violence in peacekeeping mission mandates.
- Participation of women and inclusion of gender issues at an early stage of any peace process.
- Deployment of additional women police and military personnel to both prevent and respond to sexual violence.
- Revision of existing standardized materials for pre-deployment peacekeeping training to include training on gender issues and human rights.

Protection of Civilians: Peacekeeping Challenges and Responses

Speaker: Lt. Gen. Jasbir Singh Lidder, formerly United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)

There are a number of challenges peacekeepers face in trying to protect civilians, including absence of the rule of law; incomplete DDR of former combatants; hostile armed militias; banditry spawned by unemployment and scarcity; and sexual trafficking and the trading of sex for basic needs.

“
While resource and personnel limitations do not currently allow for the protection of all, greater focus on ‘environmental security’ – wherein civilians feel safe within their environment – could do more to allow civilians to operate safely.”
 ”

While the passage of 1820 has recognized that widespread systematic sexual violence is a threat to international peace and security, at a practical level there are many challenges to implementation, including existing ambiguities in mission mandates.

In the past, humanitarian organizations have tended to view protection from a human rights perspective, while the military has taken a traditional security approach. To move forward in implementation, a more holistic approach to protection, which would draw upon a convergence of humanitarian and military perspectives and practice, is needed.

While resource and personnel limitations do not currently allow for the protection of all, greater focus on “environmental security” – wherein civilians feel safe within their environment – could do more to allow civilians to operate safely. In addition, there is a need to strengthen community-based structures so that improvements in security conditions can be maintained when military forces are withdrawn.

The final presentation on the panel echoes Lt. Gen. Lidder’s call for working with community and civil society to ensure security, and Hutchinson’s – and others’ throughout the conference – demand for full participation of women at early stages in any peace process.

Combating Sexual Violence: The Challenge of Participation and Protection

Speaker: Safaa Elagib Adam, Community Development Association, Sudan



Safaa Elagib Adam



Lt. Gen. Jasbir Singh Lidder

The continued prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence has devastating ripple effects throughout society. To move forward, women must be recognized as stakeholders, not just victims, and need to be included at all stages of peacebuilding. As Adam affirms, “Unless you include women at all levels we cannot have peace, justice and the rule of law.”

Greater inclusion will in turn positively affect peacebuilding outcomes. For example, greater inclusion of women in peacekeeping forces could help combat cultural barriers and the stigma that discourages reporting rape and other forms of sexual violence.

Combating sexual violence will require a more holistic and inclusive approach. Adam called for greater coordination between civil society, which has better knowledge of issues of sexual violence on the ground, and international peacekeeping forces, which have the resources to address the problems.

“
Greater inclusion of women in peacekeeping forces could help combat cultural barriers and the stigma that discourages reporting rape and other forms of sexual violence.”

FOCUS SESSIONS

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820: Legal and Advocacy Dimensions

Facilitators: Andrea Friedman, Global Justice Center

Stephanie Ziebell, United Nations Development Fund for Women

While resolutions 1325 and 1820 are important tools, it will take a series of combined and complementary legal and policy advocacy initiatives for the commitments and possibilities of those resolutions to be realized. Going forward, efforts at both the high diplomatic and grassroots levels will be required, and the law will be an important advocacy tool at both levels.

One of the big advocacy challenges will be to take the “soft” law norms articulated in resolutions 1325 and 1820 and develop them into “hard” law used in courts and legal proceedings. This will require carefully chosen strategic litigation, such as that found in the history of civil rights litigation in the United States when strategic litigation coalesced into larger social change.



(© Rodney Nakamoto)

Session participants discussed potential advocacy strategies for overcoming some of the hurdles to implementation of 1820, including:

- Choosing strategic points of entry among different government actors to gain leverage.
- The use of naming and shaming.
- The use of non-traditional advocacy partners, such as religious and tribal leaders.
- Rigorously documenting abuses against women that are taking place on the ground.
- Articulating the problem of gender-based violence in different vocabularies for different policy audiences. One example of this approach would be to calculate the net economic loss resulting from violence against women, and use the information to draw the attention of policymakers who might not otherwise take a strong interest in the issue.

Other participants noted that while development of legal norms is important, ignorance as to the existence of both resolution 1325 and 1820 is extremely high even among top-level government and military leaders, and despite the resolutions' unanimous passage. Therefore, additional awareness-raising needs to be a component of any successful advocacy initiative. The need to translate both resolutions into more varied local languages was emphasized, together with the need to translate the content of the resolutions into "plain language" comprehensible to those without legal training.

“
One of the big advocacy challenges will be to take the 'soft' law norms articulated in resolutions 1325 and 1820 and develop them into 'hard' law used in courts and legal proceedings.
 ”

Proactive Engagement with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820

Facilitator: Ximena Jimenez, consultant to the United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women

Resolutions 1325 and 1820 are critical instruments for both government and civil society to strengthen respect for women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations and to address gender issues in peace and security more broadly. Despite this potential, surveys conducted in Latin America with respect to resolution 1325 have shown that the vast majority of people, even government officials, are not aware of the existence of the resolution.

To further the aims of 1325, the United Nations Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women has organized two high-level policy dialogues on the national implementation of



Ximena Jimenez discusses building awareness of resolutions 1325 and 1820 (© Rodney Nakamoto)



Members of the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps participate in conference sessions (© Rodney Nakamoto)

1325 in both Latin America and Africa, with a view to raising awareness among government officials in the regions and mobilizing governments, civil society and U.N. entities for effective implementation of 1325. Ultimately, it is hoped that dialogue will lead to elaboration of concrete recommendations toward effective implementation of 1325 and development of national action plans.

Session participants emphasized the difficulty local NGOs have in gaining access to high-level government officials regarding the need for national implementation of 1325, and called on the international community to support such efforts.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Implementing 1820 in Peacekeeping Missions

Training and Awareness-Building

- Require pre-deployment and in-theatre human rights and gender training for all peacekeeping forces, both civilian and military.
- Enforce a strict code of conduct for peacekeepers.
- Educate governments, rebel forces and peacekeeping troop-contributing countries about their responsibilities under resolution 1820.
- “De-stigmatize” victims of sexual violence through public education campaigns to prevent sexual violence and to encourage reporting and accountability.

Mission Mandates

- Utilize specific language in peacekeeping mandates regarding the protection of civilians from gender-based violence.
- Include “environmental security” and protection of economic activities by women, including acceleration of de-mining and nighttime patrols.
- Include a strong focus on rule of law and human rights during recovery and development in the post-conflict stage.

Monitoring and Reporting

- Create an inventory of successful strategies and tactics for reducing gender-based crimes.
- Establish accurate reporting mechanisms in conflict zones for gender-disaggregated data on crime, human rights violations, etc.

Participation

- Encourage recruitment of more women peacekeepers including military police, medical personnel and local staff.
- Establish community liaisons to collect information and advocate for women.
- Include women in all security sector discussions including reporting on resolution 1820.
- Create a holistic response by coordinating actions of government, military, peacekeepers, private security firms, businesses, NGOs, community leaders and women’s groups.

C. ADVANCING INCLUSIVE SECURITY IN MULTIPLE SETTINGS

Introduction

Gender-based violence is one of many dark realities of conflict settings and, until fairly recently, has been accepted as an inevitable byproduct of war. Rape, sexual slavery, exploitation and trafficking and domestic violence are all forms of gender-based violence that increase in times of armed conflict.

An estimated 500,000 women were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Fifty percent of all women in Sierra Leone and 40 percent of women and girls in Liberia were subjected to rape, torture or sexual slavery during armed conflicts that ravaged both countries.²⁰ In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, there are an estimated 25,000 cases of sexual violence against women and girls each year. And in the 1990s, between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped in Bosnia-Herzegovina.²¹ On the U.S.-Mexico border, sexual violence and femicide is increasing at a frightening rate. The staggering numbers tell only the reported stories. Stigmatization, shame and cultural taboos prevent us from knowing the full extent of gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict situations.

The prevention of and response to these crimes must be made a priority in seeking human security. The security sector inevitably sits at the forefront of these efforts, and questions about its role and the possibilities of its reform draw us into discussions about the strategies to be employed, the resources to be marshaled and the practices to be used to comprehensively and inclusively work to combat sexual violence. In this regard, civilians need advocates who raise awareness of the prevalence and horrific nature of gender-based violence; organizations need partners to enhance regional and local strategies; and schools, communities, peacekeeping bodies and security sector actors need to strengthen their ability to protect through better education and training. Legal instruments must also be put in place to enforce laws and ensure basic human rights.

Here, panelists, session facilitators and conference delegates use their experiences and knowledge to offer concrete tools to better prevent and respond to sexual violence in a variety of settings. Some of those settings are then examined in case explorations.

“
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PANEL SUMMARY

Moderator: Dustin Sharp, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Rapporteur: Paula Garb, University of California, Irvine

Global Need for Gender Justice in Security Sector Reform (SSR)

Speaker: Karin Grimm, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

An inclusive approach to security addresses the needs of women, men, boys and girls, involves all possible actors and must consider implementation in a variety of settings, including countries in relative peace.

“Only a locally or nationally owned reform process will adequately address the particular needs of a region.”

Security sector actors can be categorized into five main groups:

- Security actors entitled to use force (armed forces, police, border guards, coast guards, intelligence, security services, etc.).
- Security management and oversight bodies (parliament, relevant committees of security, ministries of defense and justice).
- Justice and rule of law institutions (justice ministries, prisons, judiciaries, courts, tribunals, human rights commissions).
- Non-state security forces (guerilla and liberation forces, non-state actors, private military and security companies).
- Non-state civil society groups (media, advocacy, women civil society organizations).



Karin Grimm

These groups comprise an interlinked system and must be considered as such when engaging in SSR.

Reform processes should take into account factors such as ethnicity, language, religion and gender, since these often affect a person’s access to and interaction with security and justice systems. Only a locally or nationally owned reform process will adequately address the particular needs of a region, and thus, the inclusion of women strengthens local ownership. Furthermore, only operational security sectors that include women in security detail will shift traditional interactions between security staff and local communities, and more appropriately represent the sectors they serve.

Before SSR processes are elaborated further, the following presentation describes the recent rise of private security personnel in armed conflict.

What Does Privatization Mean for Security?

Speaker: Deborah Avant, University of California, Irvine



Deborah Avant

As we look at human security in general and how to protect vulnerable groups, we not only have to think about states and rebel forces, but also increasingly about private security. Privatization of security refers to the delegation of state power to private actors. Private security actors are working under contract through private companies doing things soldiers normally do, including security detail, site security, building and reconstructing, rescuing – and sometimes also shooting and harming.

“Private security actors are working under contract through private companies doing things soldiers normally do.”

In addition to roughly 190,000 private security personnel the United States has deployed to Iraq, there are countless other personnel sent to work for news and oil companies. In other contexts, it has now become routine for international organizations to be responsible for maintaining their own security in unstable parts of the world.

Avant’s book, *The Market for Force: The Consequence of Privatizing Security*, looks at three primary relationships:

- **Governments and violent forces:** Private security delivery and the financing thereof have grown immensely in the last 20 years. That the government contracts private forces rather than operating through military channels means there are great shifts in governmental control and oversight.
- **Governments and violent actions of their citizens abroad:** Since the mid-19th century, states have recruited forces from their own territories and deployed them abroad, thus restricting the ability of their citizens to conduct violence outside of that state structure. This was a global norm. But dramatic violations of this norm have undermined it. The U.S. deploys citizens from other countries as part of its private guards in Iraq, a prime example of a phenomenon that leads states to have less control over their citizens and/or contractors abroad.
- **Private corporations, NGOs and other private actors:** These organizations develop their own security plans and policies, and they increasingly play a political role in conflicts. With guns and barbed wire fences, these organizations have political effects, as is evident in the cases of Shell’s role in the Niger delta, and CARE and other NGOs in refugee camps in Goma during and after the Rwandan genocide.

Given the rise of private security actors, their operations and policies must be carefully considered when advocating for and analyzing policies for human security.

With security actors, including private security companies, now identified, the following presentation outlines both specific recommendations for ensuring gender equality in SSR, and tools for assessing security sector policies and practices.

Reforming Toward Equality: Integrating a Gender Perspective into Security Sector Institutions and Policies

Speaker: Nicola Popovic, United Nations International Research & Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW)

UN-INSTRAW is a U.N. institute devoted to research, training and knowledge management to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. The institute has developed practical tools and documented specific ways to conduct gender mainstreaming in program design, as well as in measurement and evaluation, to ensure promotion of more gender-sensitive security sectors and policies.

Recruitment and participation of women can be improved by:

- Ensuring equal access to education and capacity-building activities.
- Creating non-discriminatory job descriptions and requirements.
- Adapting physical training based on differences in sex.
- Setting up gender-balanced recruitment teams.
- Adopting appropriate reproductive health and family-friendly policies.



Nicola Popovic

Gender focal points, working groups, observatories, ombudspersons and external experts can serve in key advisory roles to achieve these ends.

There are also gender-sensitive security assessment tools available for use:

- The Gender Audit measures the level of gender-sensitivity of an organization, such as the number of men and women, the identification of who has access to justice and whether there is gender-sensitive capacity building and expertise.
- The Security Sector Reform Assessment provides a survey of questions to assess prior reform efforts. It seeks to identify principal actors involved, most vulnerable populations, types of gender-based violence in context and mechanisms utilized to respond to violence and human rights violations.

Apart from security sector institutions, parliamentarians, international monitoring mechanisms, donors, independent bodies and civil society organizations should also be involved in monitoring and evaluation. A variety of methods can be used, including action plans, result-based management and gender-sensitive indicators, reviews and impact evaluations.

The gender-sensitive training and capacity-building phases of preparation, implementation, evaluation,

feedback and follow-up must each inform the other in a continuous loop in order to ensure balanced integration of gender perspectives in security sector institutions and policies. This cycle will maximize learning and involvement, ensure long-term impact and help design and deliver more effective and sustainable training in the security sector.

In addition to these recommendations, reform for human security must also include halting the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, a monumental task that will only be successful with the inclusion of women – discussed next.

Being Part of the Security Process – Controlling Arms

Speaker: Sarah Masters, International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)



Sarah Masters

While a lot of work is being done to combat violence against women, the weapons used to perpetrate that violence are often overlooked. One reason for this is that weapons are often seen as merely an instrument, rather than a cause, of gender-based violence.

Worldwide, there are currently 875 million guns in circulation, with a global annual trade totaling \$4 billion in legal trade and \$1 billion in illicit trade. “Half of the countries in the world produce small arms, and the rest of the world buys them,” Masters affirms. Most small arms are in civilian hands. Every day, about 1,000 people are killed by homicide, war, suicide or accidental death. And

although about 90 percent of those killed or wounded by gunshot are men, women – who are rarely the owners or users of small arms – are disproportionately affected. Disability, injury, intimidation, trauma, psychological and economic burden, the undermining of development and the legitimization of the use of force are all direct and indirect impacts of gun violence on women.

Women need to be involved in security sector reform processes, including that of private security. Governments will not be committed to banning small arms due to the lucrative nature of the trade, so women must learn to work within a patriarchal culture that generally supports the use of guns and regards men as traditional protectors.

Furthermore, women need to be involved in DDR processes during and post-conflict; their knowledge of trading groups and weapons storage is often vast, and thus, should be taken into account. Women should also be actively involved in the disarmament, collection and monitoring of the destruction of weapons, which will, in turn, improve their perception of security.

The need for reform of the security sector – indeed to shift the paradigm of national security to human security – is exposed when examining U.S. policies along its border with Mexico, the topic of the final panel presentation.

“Weapons are often seen as merely an instrument, rather than a cause, of gender-based violence.”

Using Democratic Spaces to Confront U.S. Border Security and Immigration Policies

Speaker: Kathleen Staudt, University of Texas, El Paso

While the United States is not engaged in a war with Mexico, its second largest trading partner, it has built walls and installed high-tech surveillance equipment to detect and capture individuals crossing the border into the U.S. – means that might be described as “militarized.”

The U.S. is a *national security* state, meaning that its approach to security is essentially state-centered. This makes it a highly militarized country that tends to criminalize people, including the undocumented, in order to gain control. In contrast, countries employing a *human security* approach operate largely at the community level and develop strategies for opportunity and to redistribute resources between women and men.

In addition to sharing a 2,000-mile border, the United States and Mexico share a host of human security problems. Five hundred of the 2,000 miles are fenced or walled-off, and there are currently 18,000 U.S. border patrol agents along the entire stretch. There has been murder, rape, torture and mutilation of persons trying to cross the border from Mexico into the U.S., and many people have died due to lack of water in the desert. Humanitarian agencies have been sued for leaving water in the desert for the immigrants trying to cross the border.

For security policy to change along the border, as well as around the world where migration issues and violence affect civilians, there needs to be action on the national level for comprehensive reforms.

“
Countries employing a human security approach operate largely at the community level and develop strategies for opportunity and to redistribute resources between women and men.”

FOCUS SESSIONS

The Gender and SSR Toolkit

Facilitators: Karin Grimm, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)
Nicola Popovic, United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW)

Human security, in a very broad sense, encompasses both freedom from fear and freedom from want. In terms of SSR, human security focuses on the former: physical security of oneself and security of one's property, both during and after times of conflict. The security sector can play an active and vital role in protecting and promoting sustainable peace and human security. Thus, SSR is an important cornerstone of all peacebuilding endeavours.

After the 1990s, the nature of conflict changed from inter-state to intra-state, and today, victims of conflict are mostly civilians, not military personnel. Of these, between 75 and 80 percent are women and children. At the same time, between 80 and 100 percent of security sector actors are men, and even in the most advanced countries, no more than 10 to 15 percent of police forces are made up of women officers.



Popovic facilitates a session on the Gender and SSR Toolkit

SSR must address these gender issues, and processes must be locally owned and attentive to both state and non-state actors. A more representative security sector will improve security delivery, oversight and accountability. To move toward this goal, DCAF, UN-INSTRAW and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) jointly created the Gender and SSR Toolkit.

Designed for policymakers, program officers and consultants working on SSR within national governments, security sector institutions, international and regional organizations, donor governments and civil society organizations, the toolkit aims to:

- Set out why gender is important to security sector reform processes.
- Present practical strategies for integrating gender into security sector reform assessment, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, drawing upon experiences from different security sector reform contexts and different security sector institutions.
- Provide material to guide the development of gender-responsive security sector reform policy, at both international and national levels.
- Provide material from which training on gender issues for security sector personnel and security sector reform practitioners can be developed.
- Be a reference guide on international laws and standards governing women's rights and gender equality, pertinent to security sector reform and security sector institutions.²²

The toolkit offers 12 tools and practice notes addressing different security actors. The topics are:

1. Security Sector Reform and Gender
2. Police Reform and Gender
3. Defence Reform and Gender
4. Justice Reform and Gender
5. Penal Reform and Gender
6. Border Management and Gender
7. Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender
8. National Security Policy-Making and Gender
9. Civil Society Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender
10. Private Military and Security Companies and Gender
11. SSR Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation and Gender
12. Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel

It is now available in printed format, on CD-ROM and for download on the Web sites of DCAF and UN-INSTRAW.



Security Strategies of NGOs

Facilitator: Deborah Avant, University of California, Irvine



Avant details different security strategies utilized by NGOs and corporations (© Rodney Nakamoto)

While many of the functions once thought of as inherently governmental are now often carried out by non-state actors, the frameworks for thinking about this new form of security are still lacking. Today there are three main, somewhat overlapping, security strategies of non-state actors:

- **Fortress-based strategies:** These strategies involve deciding who is “us” and who is “them,” and how to keep “them” from hurting “us.” Barbed wires and armed or unarmed security guards characterize the fortress-based style.
- **Avoidance strategies:** This was the most common strategy from the 1850s to the 1990s,

“Despite some theories, corporations can and do engage with local populations, and there are NGOs who have developed quite fortress-like strategies.”

and is based on the idea that instability causes the private sector to withdraw because the government is perceived as not fulfilling its role.

- **Engagement strategies:** These strategies involve creating a more secure situation by engaging all actors, especially the local population. Information gathering and exchanging and memoranda of understanding usually demonstrate a strategy of engagement.

Despite theories suggesting that corporations, focused as they are on profit, are more likely to pursue fortress-based strategies to narrowly protect their own plants and personnel, and that NGOs pursue engagement strategies because they are interested in acceptance from the local population, emerging research shows that such a hard line does not exist. Corporations can and do engage with local populations, and there are NGOs who have developed quite fortress-like strategies.

It is useful to study how the dominant security actors identify themselves and their strategies, especially with regard to their perceived constituents and competitors. A firm grasp on the domestic politics of NGOs and corporations will help us to understand how they behave with respect to security.



Delegate Wilco Otte follows up on a point during the focus session (© Rodney Nakamoto)

CASE EXPLORATIONS IN ADVANCING INCLUSIVE SECURITY

Protecting Civilians: The Darfur Experience

Facilitator: Lt. Gen. Jasbir Singh Lidder, formerly United Nations Mission in Sudan

Prospects for peace in Sudan's Darfur region continue to be constrained by a number of challenges, including a flawed and non-inclusive peace agreement signed in 2006; a woefully under-resourced United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID); and a lack of accountability for armed groups, including the Janjaweed militia. The consequences of protracted conflict for civilians in the war-torn desert region, particularly women and internally displaced persons, have been devastating.

Though civilians initially placed great hope in UNAMID, confidence in its ability to improve the security situation has steadily eroded; there is now a great need for the mission to improve its credibility. Vast areas of Darfur are completely dominated by rebel forces, which has led to a siege mentality on the part of peacekeepers and, in turn, hindered more effective civilian protection strategies such as proactive engagement in the community. At present, Lt. Gen. Lidder reported, there is no formal philosophy laid out with respect to the protection of women even though they are the primary targets of violence in the region.



Lt. Gen. Lidder shares his experiences as commander of UNMIS and the challenges facing UNAMID (© Rodney Nakamoto)



Safaa Elagib Adam raises an issue concerning the safety of women in Darfur (© Rodney Nakamoto)

A major reorientation is needed in UNAMID, embracing a more holistic strategy that encompasses the political, economic and social activities of the population. In addition, there is a need for greater coordination between the government of Sudan, UNAMID and the humanitarian and NGO community in order to meet the protection needs of the population, and more accountability on the part of all armed forces and militias.

CONFLICT BACKGROUND: Darfur

The conflict in Darfur, an impoverished desert region located in western Sudan, began in early 2003 when rebel groups began attacking government targets, accusing the state of social and economic neglect and oppression of black Africans in favor of Arabs. Since the conflict began, rebel groups active in the region have splintered and proliferated. Arab militias loyal to the government in Khartoum, the largest and most active of which is known as the Janjaweed, have been accused of carrying out a five-year ethnic cleansing campaign against non-Arab groups residing in the region, including systematic killing of men, raping of women and looting of villages in the region. There have been many reports of the Janjaweed abducting women and holding them captive as sex slaves. The government of Sudan has admitted to mobilizing “self-defense militias,” but it has continuously denied any links to the Janjaweed. Efforts to reach a comprehensive peace agreement between the government and myriad rebel factions have made little progress.

According to U.N. estimates, the fighting has resulted in the displacement of over half of the population of Darfur – approximately 2 million people – and the killing of between 200,000 and 300,000.²³ The conflict has also created uncertainty about the potential for a wider, regional war as the governments of Chad and Sudan have accused each other of cross-border incursions and sponsoring proxy rebel groups.

In 2007, U.N. Security Council Resolution 1769 authorized the creation of a hybrid African Union-U.N. peacekeeping operation in Darfur, known as UNAMID. As of July 2008, UNAMID had over 10,000 personnel in Darfur, and an increase to 26,000 total personnel has been approved. In addition, there are an estimated 12,000 humanitarian workers in the region.²⁴

In July 2008, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the chief prosecutor at the International Criminal Court (ICC), requested an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir on 10 counts of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes for the human rights abuses that have taken place in Darfur.

Criminality and Peacekeeping: Challenges in the (Re-) Establishment of the Rule of Law and Human Rights Protection in Post-Conflict Societies – Liberian Case Study²⁵

Facilitator: Modibo Goita, Peacekeeping School Alioune Blondin Beye of Bamako, Mali

Despite their best peacekeeping efforts, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) has been alarmed by a sharp increase of violent crime. Experts at the Peacekeeping School Alioune Blondin Beye of Bamako, Mali, suggest the following recommendations to improve the post-conflict situation in Liberia:

- Create a new racially and ethnically inclusive security sector.
- Address problems of poor infrastructure, especially roads and electricity, and lack of resources, which are key impediments to restoring rule of law and protecting human rights.



Goita offers recommendations on providing better security in Liberia

- Mobilize and connect the various NGOs working in Liberia.
- Increase motivation among police personnel, including by increasing salaries and enhancing training opportunities.
- Review the mandate of UNMIL and make necessary revisions to empower national police and emphasize peacebuilding over peacekeeping.
- Reform the judiciary system, train more lawyers and allow foreign lawyers to practice in Liberia.
- Work toward security sector reform in the neighboring countries of Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, which would simultaneously improve security in Liberia.
- Support former combatants, especially youth, in reintegrating into society.
- Conduct a large-scale sensitization campaign on rape and sexual violence.
- Involve all international and especially national stakeholders in a synergized approach to security, acknowledging that protection means different things to different people. (For example, for humanitarian agencies, it means healthcare, economic security and security against crime; for the military, it can mean something very different.)
- Do not employ or impose one solution on various countries or regions. Each African country is distinct. Understand cultural nuances and tribal dynamics to ensure sustainable measures.

Violations Committed by the Military: The Case of Mexico

Facilitator: Soledad Jarquín, Women's Communication and Information

"The military justice system in Mexico typically holds soldiers responsible for violations of the military code, such as insubordination, but not specifically for rape."

Though there is an acute need to address gender-based violence in situations classified as "conflict" and "post-conflict," it is also important to understand that perpetration of sexual violence by members of the military can occur in a variety of other contexts as well. In Mexico, the situation for many women is becoming increasingly insecure in areas where there is a military presence, as has been the case for mostly poor and indigenous women in the southern states of Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Veracruz and Michoacán, who have been brutally raped and sexually abused by military men.



Delegates Luz Méndez and Jill Covert listen during Jarquín's session on violence in Mexico

As in many other contexts, impunity for abuses committed by the military is at the root of the problem and is often a reflection of a strongly male-dominated culture. Historically, relatively few cases of sexual abuse by members of the military have been tried in civilian court in Mexico. Exacerbating the problem, the military justice system typically holds soldiers responsible for violations of the military code, such as insubordination, but not specifically for rape, and sentences are often very light.

Session participants compared and contrasted sexual violence in Mexico with abuses that have taken place in Liberia and Guatemala, and emphasized both the need for social and medical support for victims, together with systemic political and legal reform to ensure that perpetrators are brought to justice.

Violence and Activism at the U.S.-Mexico Border

Facilitator: Kathleen Staudt, University of Texas at El Paso

The brutal nature of the crimes committed along the border of the U.S. and Mexico has galvanized communities to speak out against the apparent growing hatred of women. Activists today debate whether to frame their causes as issues of femicide or as the consequences of domestic violence. Ultimately, activism needs to focus on the comprehensive panorama of all the violence, because, as Staudt stated, “a death is a death is a death.”



Staudt displays photos of democratic actions along the U.S.-Mexico border

In an effort to change societal norms and ways of thinking about violence against women, solidarity marches of survivors, mothers, human rights organizations and feminist groups became highly visible between 2001 and 2003. The marches, rallies and demonstrations spread to New York, Los Angeles, Phoenix and Mexico City, and at the peak of activism, thousands of people, including Hollywood and Mexican movie stars and clergy from both countries, crowded Mexican embassies denouncing violence against women. After 2004, however, activism waned, and the Mexican government fought blame and accusations by, in Staudt’s words, “sowing seeds of distrust” among NGOs and other community advocacy groups. In 2005, international attention quickly shifted from Mexico to Guatemala, where femicide was occurring in much higher numbers. Representatives from international agencies left Juárez, following the shift in international mood.



Delegat Rosemary Straley joins in the discussion
(© Rodney Nakamoto)

Local border activists have learned to apply sustained pressure on the governments, since international communities and advocacy groups may find cause to move on. Civil society organizations, family hospitals, local micro-enterprise institutions and shelters aim to offer social services and create opportunities for survivors on both sides of the border. Intervention and prevention programs have been introduced to give abusers the option to take a 26-week course in lieu of going to jail. A Domestic Violence Fatality Review Team set up by the District Attorney’s office in Texas brings

together sheriffs, child and adult protective services and other stakeholders to discuss prior cases and ascertain what can be done differently to prevent similar murders from reoccurring. None of these efforts, however, have proven a cure for a fragmented U.S. criminal system, or eliminated the need for a reformed judicial administration in Mexico.

CONFLICT BACKGROUND: U.S.-Mexico Border²⁶

The border between El Paso, Texas and Juárez, Mexico has been called a “scar” or a “wall of hate” that divides the largest metropolitan region that spans a state line in the world. Juárez is home to about 300 factories with a workforce of around 250,000, over half of whom are women earning less than \$5 per day. The frightening rise of femicide on both sides of the border in the past two decades – coupled with the source of existing conflict, drug trafficking – has brought infamy to the already impoverished region.

Between 1993 and 2001, 370 women and girls were killed. Approximately 30 have been killed every year thereafter, and the figure is even higher if you include those women and girls who have simply disappeared. Women migrants begin taking birth control pills before departing to cross the border, aware that they may be sexual assaulted. From an attitude of “disposable labor” has grown the disturbing notion that women’s bodies are disposable as well.

Women and Micro-Disarmament: The Case of Manipur²⁷

Facilitator: Binalakshmi Nepram, Manipur Women Gun Survivors Network

“Women cannot learn about 1325 or arms disarmament on empty stomachs.”

After the British left India in 1947, the inhabitants of the modern-day state of Manipur, near Burma, were expecting independence, not having been a part of India prior to British rule. The Indian government’s demand that Manipur be an Indian state and Manipur’s subsequent refusal sparked the armed conflict situation that continues to this day.

More than 30 armed groups operate in Manipur, often invading homes for food and shelter. Sandwiched between an area rich in opium-producing poppies and one rich in the chemical needed to change opium to heroin, Manipur’s combination of drugs and arms has had disastrous effects on youth. Violence enters homes through drug abuse and changes the nature of daily life. Young children work the rice fields with M-16s slung over their shoulders, and brag about buying rifles and getting landmines for free.



Map of Manipur

Although India’s arms situation has not approached the extremes of Afghanistan or Iraq, the country’s desire to be a military and economic superpower, and a lack of an arms-tracking system, has facilitated arms trafficking and led to a clear “weaponization” of the nation. Last year, India’s defense budget increased by 27 percent, while education and healthcare spending decreased. The ready availability of arms has heightened ethnic tensions and violence to such a degree that a process of what Nepram calls “household disarmament” is needed.

The Manipur Women Gun Survivors Network was founded to involve those most affected by arms policies and to help women become economically self-sufficient. The organization helps women open bank accounts and receive small loans to start small businesses. “Women cannot learn about 1325 or arms disarmament on empty stomachs.” The Control Arms Foundation of India works on the policymaking end by monitoring government actions, working with Delhi police on an anti-gun violence campaign since a recent increase in school shootings and pressuring Parliament to enact gun control. The fight for micro-disarmament must be made a public one, as Nepram asserted: “Arms are scary, but they don’t scare me enough not to do something. ... Getting scared is not a way out.”

The Role of Religion in Areas of Conflict: The Case of the U.S. Military in Afghanistan

Facilitator: Capt. Margaret Kibben, U.S. Navy

As was noted in Andrea Friedman’s discussions of resolution 1820, the role of religious and traditional leaders may be a point at which different actors may encourage or influence more sensitive dialogue or cooperation for human security. In her session, Capt. Kibben of the U.S. Navy shared some of her experience in this arena.

As chief theater chaplain and senior chaplain for U.S. and coalition forces in Afghanistan in 2006, Capt. Kibben had the responsibility of making sure that senior military officials were aware of the impact of religion regionally, socially and globally in military missions. Members of the Chaplain Corps in the U.S. military come from over 90 religious denominations and faith groups. They do not carry guns and are considered non-combatants. Members are called to serve members of other faiths as well as their own. They look to the common beliefs and moral tenets underlying very different practices to find a way to be of assistance. All of this gives them capacities to assume unique roles in complex conflict situations.

Capt. Kibben, for example, was given the special assignment in Afghanistan after a tragic incident in which a runaway military vehicle caused loss of life in the civilian population. Violent protests and misunderstandings about the accident made collaboration impossible with the community. After several days of intense standoffs, Capt. Kibben was called upon to go out, alone, as a non-combatant and respected religious person, to speak with a highly venerated imam who could use his religious space to explain what had happened in this case and de-escalate the situation. It was that underlying respect for religion that opened a small door out from further confrontation and misunderstanding.



Capt. Kibben describes her role as military chaplain in Afghanistan

Capt. Kibben observed not only that the cultural attitudes in Afghanistan add to challenges for women, but also that there are layers of complexity which can serve as a starting point for broader discussions. Gender is seen in terms of male, Afghan female and Western female. Capt. Kibben’s role as a military official and a member of the clergy allowed her to be well-received in Afghanistan, where both rank and religion are highly honored. Her gender was not limiting. Her status also empowered her to facilitate discussions in the U.S. military about Islam and how religion plays a role in the rebuilding of Afghan infrastructure.

“[T]here is enough commonality in the ethics of religions that it becomes a starting point.”

In her work Capt. Kibben was also engaged with the Directorate of Religion and Cultural Affairs, whose role it is to help soldiers become better Muslims. Taking care of family and country – strong tenets of Islam – are also core functions of the Afghan National Army. To this end, the directorate is involved in improving literacy, building libraries, museums and exchanges (places to buy goods in Afghanistan), encouraging cultural activities and teaching English and family care. It also engaged in activities such as working with the pay system in Afghanistan to make sure that corrupt practices do not interfere with families receiving their pay.

Capt. Kibben believes that understanding and calling on the true tenets of religion should play a role in foreign policy, because the religious dimensions to conflict are apparent in numerous cases. “We must approach conflicts from the essence of who people are in the intent of their religion; there is enough commonality in the ethics of religions that it becomes a starting point, taking mutual beliefs and allowing mutuality to bring peace.”

D. ENFORCING GENDER EQUALITY MANDATES AS CENTRAL TO PEACE AND SECURITY

Introduction

The effectiveness of the reforms advocated in the preceding chapters inevitably rests, at least in part, on the role of the law. U.N. Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 contribute to a normative vision in which both the United Nations and member states work to ensure that the precepts of gender equality are integrated into all phases of conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

While these resolutions are important foundations, human rights advocates strive to set the bar ever higher when it comes to gender equality laws, working to set norms that will be enforceable at both the national and international levels. Precedents established by different international tribunals may in turn pave the way for higher standards that will translate to the national level.

Pushing for the evolution of legal norms through strategic advocacy and litigation is important, yet advocates can also make use of existing mechanisms to hold governments accountable to their human rights commitments. The Universal Periodic Review process of the new U.N. Human Rights Council, together with regional human rights mechanisms, are but two examples. Even under existing frameworks and in contexts where the rule of law is not robust, the combined efforts of human rights advocates, courageous judges and responsible outside actors such as journalists can result in justice – even if only partially and belatedly.

But hierarchical enforcement mechanisms are not the only means for promoting gender equality, and it is necessary to encourage and support innovation and diversity in implementation and enforcement efforts. For example, the promotion of greater participation in the design of post-conflict reconstruction programs and of more just customary laws can ultimately serve to create a context in which gender justice and equity are increasingly realizable.

Here, panelists, workshop facilitators and conference delegates use their experiences and knowledge to offer a glimpse of the many ways in which the law is central to ongoing attempts to better promote and enforce gender justice and equity. A briefing paper published by the Global Justice Center then provides an overview of the essential international legal tools available to those trying to enforce gender equality mandates.

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Pushing for the evolution of legal norms through strategic advocacy and litigation is important, yet advocates can also make use of existing mechanisms to hold governments accountable to their human rights commitments.”

PANEL SUMMARY

Moderator: William Aceves, California Western School of Law

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

Women's Ownership of International Law

Speaker: Andrea Friedman, Global Justice Center

Advances in gender equality through transitional justice and international criminal processes can and should be connected with the realities affecting people's daily lives. There are several examples of international tribunals taking decisions that have helped women all over the world.

- By developing international jurisprudence, international tribunals help to make the law more real and accessible to women. The recognition of sexual violence as a violation of international law and discussions of what consent means in a situation of conflict are two examples.
- The presence of women judges can serve to reshape the legal landscape in more gender-sensitive ways. A famous example of this took place at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, when Judge Navanethem Pillay (now the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights) was hearing testimony about rape and sexual violence. She turned to the prosecutors and said: "Why aren't these crimes in the indictment? Go back and put them in. Do the research and bring this case back to me." New ground was broken.



William Aceves (© Rodney Nakamoto)



Andrea Friedman (© Rodney Nakamoto)

One very interesting future opportunity in this regard is taking place in Colombia, where the ICC is carefully examining the situation as a potential next case. Naturally this makes the Colombian government extremely uncomfortable, but the founding principle of the ICC is that of complementarity, which means that the court can only take a case if the country in question is unable or unwilling to prosecute the case itself. The question is whether complementarity will be used to set a low standard or whether it will set the bar high, requiring, for example, that

for the case to stay in Colombia there have to be women judges and special protections for victims and witnesses because these are features of the ICC. As advocates, we need to use this window of opportunity now to make sure that complementarity is used to increase protections for women.

Thus, the challenge that faces all of us today is: How do we take developments on the international plane and translate them into something that will make a difference to women on the ground all over the world? This is the challenge for international justice.

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[A]t the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda ... Judge Navanethem Pillay ... was hearing testimony about rape and sexual violence. She turned to the prosecutors and said: ‘Why aren’t these crimes in the indictment? Go back and put them in. Do the research and bring this case back to me.’ New ground was broken.”

And this challenge is evident in Central Africa and the Great Lakes region, the focus of the following presentation, which also discusses the interplay between both customary and national, and national and international systems of justice.

Justice and the Rule of Law in Central Africa

Speaker: Peter Sampson, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

In Africa it is estimated that 50 percent of post-conflict countries return to conflict within five years, so there is always a worry about recreating the same pre-conflict situation. There is a saying in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC): “Better to have a bad agreement than a good trial.” This is the case throughout much of the country, as despite improvements, the general court system still does not function for the majority of people:

- Less than 2 percent of personnel in the judicial system are women, from clerks to judges.
- For existing courts 1,250 positions for judges are unfilled.
- Even if there were enough judges to fill the 1,250 empty positions, about 80 percent of people lack access to any kind of legal system.
- There is a general lack of trust. If you file a court case you have to pay at every step of the way (for paper, pens, transportation for judges, electricity to run generators, etc.).
- There is no expertise in gender-based violence in any of the 500 national courts.

“Less than 2 percent of personnel in the judicial system in the DRC are women, from clerks to judges.”



Peter Sampson (© Rodney Nakamoto)

Because of this state of affairs, there is often an interesting overlap between customary and national justice systems. The law in the DRC is that if a population does not have access to national courts within 100 kilometers, then customary, informal law can apply. This is often not to women’s benefit, as is evident in looking at inheritance law. After a woman’s husband dies, she often gets kicked out of her house and her husband’s brother will take all the children and the family goods. And the women know no legal recourse.

When looking at rule of law issues in this context, we need to ask ourselves to what extent we should be critical of some of the advances that have been made, and we need to be attentive to the interplay

between national and international justice systems. The “Do No Harm” mantra bears repeating. Building more effective justice programs must start with an obvious, but often-overlooked point: It is crucial to ask people what they want. All too often, failure to do so has characterized international approaches to re-establishing the rule of law, specifically in the Great Lakes region.

The interplay of national and international systems of justice is also brought to the fore in the following case of an activist in a different region of the world, Latin America.

Women’s Encounter with Justice: The Story of a Judicial Case in Guatemala

Speaker: Helen Mack, Myrna Mack Foundation

“Impunity is one of the worst threats for countries in transition.”

In this session, Helen Mack, a Guatemalan human rights activist, explained how she has gone from victim to activist as part of her attempts to seek justice for her sister’s murder. Over the years, these efforts have resulted in attacks on her and the Myrna Mack Foundation, which she founded and has presided over for 13 years.

In 1990 Helen Mack’s sister, Myrna Elisabeth, was extra-judicially executed. She bled to death from 27 of more than 50 stab wounds in the vital parts of her body. At the time of her murder, Myrna was living through one of the best moments in her academic life, after she and some colleagues had founded an association dedicated to empowering the social sciences as a means for understanding national problems and seeking solutions. They were convinced that the political opening after the end of military rule in 1987 and the establishment of a civilian and democratic regime was propitious for the development of the social sciences. She was passionate, and that dedication contributed to the value of her work – and was one of the reasons military intelligence ordered her killing. One of her greatest passions was related to the more than 1 million internally displaced people who fled their communities due to the violence unleashed by the army.



Helen Mack (© Rodney Nakamoto)

Using judicial processes, the Myrna Mack Foundation discovered and punished those responsible for the crime against Myrna. They managed also to establish judicially the massive human rights violations committed by the State of Guatemala against the internally displaced. Mack believes that those judicial processes created conditions for studying impunity as a political, social and legal phenomenon. The emblematic Mack case led for the first time in Guatemalan legal history to the following results:

- A human rights violation was studied judicially and became the subject of a criminal investigation, prosecution, trial and sentencing.
- Members of the army were investigated, prosecuted, tried and sentenced.
- A court convicted those responsible for the intellectual authorship of a crime. Up until then, trials had only been carried out against material authors.

- The case revealed the role of state secrecy, corruption, violence and malicious litigation in generating impunity.

All of this was presented before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights whose judges condemned the State of Guatemala for its role in the murder and its cover-up. Thanks to that sentence, there is now a list of Guatemalan lawyers individually named in the condemnation and censure of the Inter-American Court for having manipulated the system in order to deny justice to the Mack family. With this sentence in hand it is now possible to veto the candidacy of those lawyers who are seeking important positions in the justice system.

There is also a long list of women who risked their lives for the rule of law, from women judges who advanced the application of the criminal code during a period when others were hampering its course, to pioneering women journalists.

When impunity prevails, Mack argues, it starts with human rights violations but then spreads to the political parties, and impunity is one of the worst threats for countries in transition. Mack also argued that the battle against impunity in Guatemala has been led by women: from justice administration to social organizations, and even within the academic world, the media and the arts, women are developing discourses and concrete activities to challenge the mechanisms of impunity and their agents.

JUSTICE IN GUATEMALA²⁸

Though peace accords were signed in Guatemala in 1996 and two truth commissions investigated and reported on the human rights violations during the war, of the 626 massacres documented, only two have been successfully persecuted.²⁹ It is estimated that convictions are obtained in only 6 percent of all criminal cases, and that number drops to below 3 percent when the case involves the murder of women and children.

Prosecutors and investigators receive very little training and resources, and death threats are common among not only prosecutors and investigators, but also among witnesses, forensic experts, journalists and labor activists. Judges, prosecutors and witnesses are not adequately protected by the police. State institutions, including the army, rarely provide full cooperation for investigations regarding past abuses. However, in July 2005 over 75 million documents from the former national police were discovered by accident during a government raid.³⁰ Although reviewing the documents has proven to be a monumental task, many believe that the detailed information in the archives may ultimately play a key role in prosecuting those who committed human rights violations during the war.

The following and final presentation turns to best practices in using and implementing international agreements and mandates to influence policy on gender equity at the national level.

Practical Policy Processes to Mainstream Gender-Inclusive Policies

Speaker: Alma Pérez, Colombian Mission to the United Nations in Geneva

There are five strategies that are useful in translating international commitments and mandates into policy instruments at the national level. These can be used whether advocating inside the government or trying to shape the government from outside.

“We need to be open to other issues that have not yet been associated with 1325, for example, reproductive rights and the right to health and water.”

- **Mapping the situation:** Most countries have already signed and ratified treaties. Advocates need to be aware of which ones and of the level of fulfillment of those commitments. Part of this is finding out if there are applicable regional human rights instruments. In Latin America, there are the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, spaces where we can press forward the rights of people and cases that have not been solved at the national level. Also in existence is the Convention of Belem do Pará (Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women).
- **Identifying entry points with a two-fold approach at the international and national level:** First, there are the treaty organs and optional protocols, which can be used to file complaints and right situations. And secondly, there is the newly established Universal Periodic Review process, one of the results of the conversion of the Human Rights Commission to the Human Rights Council. Under this procedure, every single U.N. member will be subject to review every four years and be evaluated in terms of its human rights commitments. Advocates should take a look at the time schedule of the periodic review process and make use of it in their advocacy efforts.
- **Addressing economic, social and cultural rights:** We cannot keep talking about the security of women without empowering them economically. We need to be open to other issues that have not yet been associated with 1325, for example, reproductive rights and the right to health and water.
- **Using the available accountability resources:** We need to strengthen national systems. An example is the Colombian Constitutional Court, which could be used as a vehicle to advance human rights protections at the national level.
- **Understanding the role of the international community:** It is a tremendous source of strength, as Pérez reiterated, “We are all the international community. I am your international community and you are mine.” We need to work for responsible behavior in our governments in all international forums. Every country has interests and every government has constituencies.



Alma Pérez (© Rodney Nakamoto)

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL TOOLS³¹



Global Justice Center

Global Justice Now: Investing in Women Leaders as Key Players in Transitional Democracies

Below is a brief introduction to the different legal tools, international instruments and strategic contexts through which the advancement of women worldwide can be facilitated, and how the Global Justice Center is helping to achieve this goal.

Introduction

This is a time of great transformation and opportunity in the realm of women's rights. The development of international law over the past 30 years has laid the groundwork for a sea change for women, while the simultaneous growth of transnational feminism and grassroots women's groups has given new momentum to the global women's movement. The Global Justice Center's mission is to utilize human rights treaties, as well as the energy and knowledge of women's groups on the ground, so that the laws that exist on paper are translated into concrete change for women that can be felt in their everyday lives.

To that end, the Global Justice Center seeks to bridge the gap between high-level law reform and grassroots women leaders. We do this by acting as in-house, pro-bono legal counsel to women's groups worldwide, focusing primarily on groups living in post-conflict countries and democracies in transition. The development of new democracies in such contexts provides small but significant windows of opportunity for women to lobby for representational quotas, law reform and other lasting protections.

While other NGOs may focus on reporting human rights abuses, or using a single strategy toward law reform, our model integrates the disparate fields of transitional justice, human rights law and gender equality by using a unique toolbox of treaties, U.N. resolutions and tribunal case law.

CEDAW

The founding document of the international women's human rights movement is the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, or CEDAW. CEDAW came into force in 1979 and has been signed and ratified by 185 countries. CEDAW is a binding legal document that addresses such rights as access to healthcare and family planning services, education and freedom from discrimination in employment and political representation (among many other rights). This treaty also demands that signatory governments remove barriers to gender equality, and actively monitor the situation of women and girls in their respective countries.

Since 1979, CEDAW has experienced almost universal ratification, and has become a vehicle for change in many countries around the world. In South Africa, CEDAW was used to give women and extra-marital children the right to inherit property, a right previously reserved for male relatives of the deceased. In May 2006, CEDAW was used in Colombia to decriminalize abortion in cases of rape, incest or risk to the life or health of the mother, finding that the criminalization of all abortion discriminated against women's right to equality and reproductive health.

The Global Justice Center uses CEDAW in its training of women leaders as a tool for advocating for certain equality rights. For example, the Global Justice Center has worked with the Women's League of Burma to argue for quotas for women in a draft pro-democracy constitution and on the constitution drafting committee itself. In November 2006, the Global Justice Center also used CEDAW along with other international legal documents for a conference with the Iraqi High Tribunal. Iraq, a country which has signed CEDAW, has international obligations to protect the rights of women, and to ensure that their constitution and transitional justice processes reflect these obligations.

War Crimes Tribunals

War Crimes Tribunals have offered a new opportunity to examine sexual violence in the context of the rapidly developing area of international humanitarian law. Tribunals allow issues such as rape, which can be culturally difficult to talk about for individual complainants, to be brought into a public space where they can be examined in the larger context of conflict, rather than as acts which may bring shame on an individual or family. The Global Justice Center emphasizes this unique space for gender advancement in its work and seeks to ensure that gender jurisprudence continues to move forward in this important forum.

During the 1990s, the concept of violence against women in war became a focus of the United Nations and the international community, largely as a result of the horrific genocides in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. In each of these wars, rape was widespread, and used as an integral part of military strategy. In 1993, during the Fourth World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, these issues became the focal point of international attention and concern, and when the International War Crimes Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) the women's rights community was determined to ensure that the victims of sexual violence in these conflicts were given access to redress and justice.

The *Akayesu* decision (ICTR) the defendant Jean-Paul Akayesu was convicted of crimes against humanity based on the evidence that he witnessed and encouraged the rapes of Tutsi women. The redefinition of rape as a war crime, a crime against humanity and a form of torture in this decision reflected a new understanding of widespread rape as a strategy of war, rather than merely a consequence of militarization, and also led to multiple convictions of rape, outrages upon personal dignity and torture by means of rape at the ICTY. Furthermore, the definition of rape used in this decision was all-encompassing – “a physical invasion of a sexual nature, committed on a person under circumstances which are coercive” – and includes many more forms of sexual violence than what has historically been considered rape.

The definitions and precedents that have emerged from these tribunals have since been adopted by the International Criminal Court (ICC, 2000), the Iraqi High Tribunal (IHT, 2005), and the special court for Sierra Leone (2002), and continue to be powerful lobbying tools in international and domestic courts worldwide. During the Global Justice Center's 2006 conference with the Iraqi High Tribunal, the GJC emphasized these precedential decisions to the Tribunal Judges and argued that the Tribunal had international obligations to convict for rape and sexual violence using the ICTR and ICTY convictions as a model for interpreting the IHT's own statute.

The Rome Treaty of the International Criminal Court and its Domestic Implications

The Rome Statute is the treaty that created the first permanent International Criminal Court in 2002, which is charged with trying individuals for War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, Genocide, and Crimes of Aggression. The Rome Statute not only uses the most progressive definitions of rape

as both a war crime and a crime against humanity, but also includes forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, sexual slavery, trafficking, forced prostitution and other forms of sexual violence.

In addition to establishing a framework for holding perpetrators of war crimes responsible for their actions, the Rome Treaty of the ICC has other strategic uses in transitional contexts. It has been ratified by 104 countries. By signing the ICC, a nation pledges not only to abide by strict international standards when trying war criminals, but also agrees to the principle of complementarity, meaning that their domestic laws must not contradict the provisions of the ICC and that they must be brought up to the highest international standards. Nations emerging from conflict have an interest in signing the ICC in order that war criminals can be tried in an international court. However, by signing this document, the new states and new governments that emerge from conflict must also adopt domestic laws that reflect strict human rights standards. The Global Justice Center used this principle in Iraq, arguing that the Iraqi penal code, which includes archaic mitigated sentences for “honor crimes” was not in accordance with international standards, and should therefore be updated and amended. Similarly, the global women’s rights community sees ICC ratification, especially for transitional and emerging nations, as a key strategy for the advancement of domestic legal reform worldwide in favor of women.

There are also many ways in which the ICC can be a catalyst for reforming not only legal structures, but also public opinion around rape and sexual violence across the world. In the Darfur conflict in Sudan, for example, the international community is very aware of the ways in which rape has been used to terrorize and torture women. Any war-crimes proceedings that come out of this conflict must include charges of rape, and the Global Justice Center is involved in efforts on the ground to ensure that women victims of this conflict have access to redress for rapes committed against them and that cultural obstacles do not keep women from accessing justice.

Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1325, which addresses the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women, and recognizes the undervalued and underutilized contributions that women make toward both conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction. As a Security Council Resolution, 1325 is international law and all U.N. member states have an obligation to implement it. 1325 mandates that there be a gender perspective in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and all peacemaking and peacebuilding processes, and that whenever there are men making decisions about transitional governments, women are present as well. 1325 also emphasizes the need to push for women representatives in new and emerging governments, including the possibility of quotas for women in the parliament and the judiciary. In this way, it can be a critical instrument for injecting women in governing processes from the very beginning of post-conflict situations.

SCR 1325 and the provisions it lays out has the potential to dramatically change the government structures of countries in transition in favor of women, provided that there are people in the international community who ensure it is utilized and implemented to its fullest degree. Resolution 1325 and CEDAW together have been used to lobby for quotas of women in the judiciary in Rwanda and in the parliaments of Rwanda and Iraq. Similarly, the Central Asia region is still in the process of emerging from decades of Soviet rule, and is poised to implement a number of positive reforms for women through the use of international instruments. Currently, the Global Justice Center is partnering with the U.N. NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security to conduct a series of trainings in the Central Asia region (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan) on Resolution 1325 and its implications for those states. It is also working to advocate for the IHT to cite 1325 as a

legal authority in its war crimes proceedings, which would be the first time 1325 has been cited to in this way and would set a precedent for its use as a legal authority in other countries and in future legal contexts.

Conclusion

The time is now to advance a concrete vision of gender justice. In the last 15 years, over 30 new countries were formed. In many regions of the world, new forms of government have replaced military dictatorships or repressive regimes, such as in Iraq and South Africa. As we speak, new constitutions are being drafted, new governments are being shaped and new laws being passed. We have the tools to ensure that these important windows of opportunity are not lost. But in order to do this, we must reach out to the key players in transitional and emerging democracies, specifically women, and make sure that they are well equipped to advocate for progressive reform.

International Women's Human Rights Timeline:

Below is a survey of significant achievements in women's rights over the past 30 years. It does not intend to be comprehensive, but demonstrates a significant trend toward the codification and enforcement of women's human rights law.

1979- CEDAW ratified, marking the beginning of the international women's human rights movement. This landmark international legal document has since been ratified by 185 nations, and has led to positive legal reform in domestic courts worldwide.

1993- Fourth world conference on Human Rights in Vienna, where violence against women, specifically in armed conflict, was a major focal point of the discussions, and laid the groundwork for a dramatic shift in the way we consider sexual violence in war.

1995- Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action signed by 189 nations, marking great international consensus on a global vision for women's equality, empowerment and justice. The Platform for Action is the practical, specific and comprehensive directive for bringing about this vision, and covers such issues as poverty, education, economics, human rights and armed conflict.

1998- Akayesu case before the ICTR. In 1998, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) made history when the war crimes charges in this case moved far beyond the familiar definitions of genocide in international law. The scope and elements of genocide were broadened to include rape as an instrument of genocide. It was also one of the important cases to solidifying rape as torture. Thanks to this case, for the very first time, rape was removed from the private realm to the public domain and recognized as torture.

2000- Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed unanimously on 31 October 2000. Resolution 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.

2002- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court comes into force, establishing the landmark judicial body of the International Criminal Court, a forum which can be used to defend and uphold human rights in general and women's human rights, specifically. Darfur, Sudan is the first situation referred to this court by the Security Council, opening a strategic opportunity to uphold women's human rights in Darfur, where rape is employed systematically as a tool of war and an instrument of torture.

2003- CEDAW Optional Protocol ratified which enables the CEDAW committee to hear specific cases brought by individuals against their states, as well as to independently investigate grave and widespread violations of women's rights.

2003- Rwandan Constitution Ratified, including 30% Quotas for Women in Decision-Making Posts. Judith Kanakuze, the only civil society representative and one of three women on the Constitutional Commission, plays a key role in advocating for women's rights in the new Constitution. By October, women had won 48.8 percent of the seats in Rwanda's lower house of Parliament, making it the world leader in the percentage of women in the legislature.

2004- Afghanistan Ratifies Constitution with Quotas for Women in each of the two main chambers of Parliament, 27 and 17 percent. According to this law, if enough women are not elected, then the remaining seats shall remain vacant until the next election fills them.

2005- African Court of Human and People's Rights Established with "Adequate Consideration for Gender." Articles 12 and 14 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights stipulate "adequate gender representation" and "consideration" in the composition of the Court.

2006- CEDAW used in Columbia to decriminalize abortion, marking the first time that CEDAW had been used in the context of abortion rights. The court struck down a law banning abortion in all cases, including rape, incest and when the health of a pregnant woman was at risk. The court used CEDAW to explicate how such a total ban violated women's fundamental equality rights.

Section III:

Conclusion



Conference delegates saying “No” to violence against women” (© Rodney Nakamoto)

MOVING FORWARD

From the diverse presentations and discussions of this conference, several themes and trends emerge:

First, despite progress in passage of new normative instruments and greater awareness of the problem, the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence continues to have devastating ripple effects throughout society, and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. To move forward with respect to both prevention and response, women must be recognized as stakeholders, not just victims, and need to be included at all levels and stages of peacebuilding. Greater inclusion in high-level leadership positions and at the negotiating table, as well as systemic representation throughout the military, security and judicial sectors will be key. Together with increased training on gender and human rights issues, greater inclusion must be the polestar of security sector reform and future peacekeeping operations.

Second, combating sexual violence and promoting greater inclusion will require a more holistic approach. Inherent in the human security paradigm is recognition that human rights, security and development are inextricably intertwined. Freedom from fear and freedom from want are too intimately bound up in one another to be addressed singly. Like a rope consisting of interwoven strands, all combine to support peace as human development. Advocates and policymakers therefore need to reach across discursive and disciplinary lines, borrowing strategies and techniques from one another. At the same time, a much greater degree of coordination between national authorities, peacekeepers, military and security officials, and local and international civil society organizations is needed.

Third, United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 are critical instruments for both governments and civil society to strengthen respect for women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations and to address gender issues in peace and security more broadly. The challenge will be to take developments on the international plane and translate them into something that will make a difference to women on the ground all over the world. Advocates and normative entrepreneurs need to take these important milestones and find ways to seek their enforcement and development in different legal systems and institutional frameworks. This will be key to combating the impunity that is so often associated with gender-based violence.

Finally, impunity, gender violence and exclusion are not women's issues that affect only a portion of the population, but human rights issues that affect the whole of society. Inclusive strategies to combat these problems therefore need to include men committed to gender-sensitive and inclusive peace and security. Moving forward, all stakeholders, men and women, must work together to better craft human security in an insecure world.

Section IV:

Appendices



A. WILTON PARK CONFERENCE SUMMARY³²

Women Targeted or Affected by Armed Conflict: What Role for Military Peacekeepers? May 27-29, 2008

It is more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier right now in Eastern DRC.

— Major General Patrick Cammaert, former Deputy Force Commander.

May 2008 participants from military establishments (former force commanders, army personnel, staff of defense ministries), members of parliament, government representatives, U.N. staff, peace activists and academics came together to **review current peacekeeping practice in the prevention of widespread and systematic sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict contexts.**³³

Widespread and systematic sexual violence ranks among the grave breaches of international humanitarian law, as reflected in the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. **The radically changed nature of conflict, characterized by an increased civilian-combatant interface, has made the protection of women more difficult and sexual violence more severe.** Even if sexual violence is not the outcome of an explicit order, command responsibility covers violations committed by armed forces where the commander has failed to prevent, suppress or punish crimes.

Though recorded data was generally viewed as inadequate, available trend analysis suggests **a marked increase in the scale and brutality of war-related sexual violence over the past two decades.** The existing data may reflect higher reporting rates facilitated through increased humanitarian access; it may also reflect two other phenomena: 1) the committing of sexual violence on a widespread scale by civilian men, including demobilized combatants; and 2) the continuation of inter-group conflict by other means. The legacy of impunity for war-time rape is “peace-time rape” – a perception that women can be violated without consequence. Dismissing sexual violence as a “cultural” phenomenon gives perpetrators “license to rape”. **Sexual violence by armed groups requires a response commensurate with its scale and magnitude.**

Peacekeeping missions are increasingly mandated to protect civilian populations under imminent threat of physical violence. This may not consistently be interpreted to encompass sexual violence due to the unconventional spaces and times at which it occurs. The protection of civilians mandate of peacekeeping operations has yet to be matched with political resolve and resources, doctrine and guidance. However, in some contexts in which the security environment is particularly grave for women, U.N./A.U./E.U./NATO **force commanders have innovated response tactics to intercept/deter attacks by belligerents on women and children.** There was broad convergence that the human, economic and opportunity costs of responding to sexual violence far exceed those of effective prevention. Responses must be congruent with international humanitarian and human rights law and mindful of the need to preserve neutral, independent “**humanitarian space**” for unarmed actors. Nonetheless, where the military component of missions has the materiel and logistical assets to help strengthen civilian infrastructure they will be used to assist communities through limited, appropriate civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) projects.

There are currently eight U.N. peacekeeping missions authorized by the Security Council to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.³⁴ **But not enough is being done to protect women and children** from widespread and systematic sexual violence in these contexts. In response to the **need to address sexual violence holistically**, it was recognized as a sub-set of the broader protection-of-civilians challenge, but one that requires a tailored response. This is primarily because survivors tend not to report sexual violence for fear of social stigma, re-victimization, or due to “built-in bias” in the legal system, and the spaces in which this violence happens often lack a security presence. There is hence a paucity of intelligence on attack patterns and the profile of perpetrators.³⁵ A **paradigm shift** is therefore needed because “business as usual” has not equipped peacekeepers to detect, predict, prevent and respond effectively to attacks. It is useful to distinguish between three sexual violence environments:

Widespread & Systematic	Widespread & Opportunistic	Isolated & Random
Deployed as method of warfare by armed groups.	Armed groups and ordinary civilians exploit conflict and chaos to attack women.	Domestic criminal matter, unrelated to political strategy or to international peace and security.
Peacekeeping efforts to prevent, deter and respond to attacks attuned to "hidden" violence in non-conventional physical space and time.	Integrated mission response. Encourage domestic judicial system to prioritize efforts to prevent, protect and prosecute.	National law-and-order response; public information campaigns.

Focusing on the first two categories, a range of **operational challenges** were identified, including:

- The contours of the military-police relationship in peace operations are still being negotiated.
- Variation in the ways political and military leadership interpret mandates and ROE.
- Variation in the training of troops and their capacity to internalize the paradigm shift.
- Incomplete DDR processes.

Effective responses to sexual violence were deemed to require:

- Political will and leadership.
- Gender-sensitive conflict assessments.
- Clear guidance and training to peacekeeping missions on how to operationalize the PoC.
- Empowerment of local women's groups and women leaders to represent women's views and engage in public decision making.
- Coordination within the international community and NGOs to maximize peacekeeping efforts.

Guidance and Coordination:

- Gender analysis must be integrated into mission planning.
- Operational protection practices must be identified, systematized and disseminated.
- Efforts to prevent and respond to sexual violence must be better coordinated and more comprehensive.

Resources:

- Deployments must routinely include greater numbers of female personnel as well as personnel with expertise and experience in addressing sexual violence.
- Increased recruitment of women in the mission area can facilitate interactions with local women as a confidence-building measure.

Training and Incentives:

- Pre-deployment training modules should include key messages and guidance on preventing and responding to sexual violence, and can be complemented with mission-specific training and community orientation, including on local gender dynamics.
- Support at the highest levels should be given to effective, path-breaking responses to women's protection needs. Medals regimes could be adapted to this effect as a non-material incentive.

Political Leadership:

- SRSGs must provide exemplary leadership and guidance on actions to be taken at the strategic level; prioritize resources required to carry out these actions; and politically support the force commander.
- The Security Council needs to explicitly recognize that in some situations the widespread use of targeted, systematic sexual violence may constitute a threat to international peace and security.
- International commitment to engaging women in peace talks should be renewed decisively.

Ending Impunity:

Impunity serves as incentive for continued violence, whereas justice shows would-be perpetrators that women's lives matter. The ICC and other war crimes courts can be encouraged to include sexual violence in indictments, investigations and prosecutions, and to provide full protection for witnesses and victims. The absolute prohibition on amnesty for perpetrators of sexual violence should be universally respected and promoted through consistent, highly visible trials.

B. BIOGRAPHIES OF SPEAKERS, MODERATORS, FACILITATORS AND RAPORTEURS

William J. Aceves is professor of Law and associate dean for Academic Affairs at California Western School of Law. Aceves frequently works with Amnesty International, the Center for Justice & Accountability (CJA), the Center for Constitutional Rights and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on projects involving the domestic application of international law. He has also represented several human rights and civil liberties organizations as *amicus curiae* counsel in cases before the federal courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court. Aceves is the author of *The Anatomy of Torture: A Documentary History of Filartiga v. Pena-Irala* and the influential Amnesty International USA (AIUSA) *Safe Haven* report. He has served on the Board of Directors of AIUSA and is presently the ombudsperson. He is a member of the National Board of the ACLU and serves on the board of the CJA. He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the American Branch of the International Law Association. In 2007 he served as co-chair for the 101st Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law. Aceves has appeared before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Migrants and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Saafa Elagib Adam is the secretary-general and gender adviser of the Community Development Association (CDA), which she joined in 1992. The CDA is a nongovernmental organization based in Khartoum, Sudan, which works on sustainable development and peace, with a special focus on the western states of Sudan. Adam has worked extensively in the area of gender and peacebuilding, including as a national expert for German Development Services and a deputy relief coordinator with Oxfam Great Britain. Her professional training and experience includes participation at many peacebuilding consultations and dialogues including the Civil Society Forum of the Donors Conference and Gender Symposium for Sudan, in Oslo, Norway; Expert Group Meeting on Understanding the Darfur Conflict, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and a workshop on Women's Human Rights and Gender-Based Violence, sponsored by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, in Geneva, Switzerland. In 2005 Adam participated as a gender expert in the seventh round of the Darfur peace negotiations in Abuja, Nigeria, and was among the 1,000 women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Hodan Addou works for the United Nations Development Programme. She was formerly the United Nations Development Fund for Women's regional peace and security advisor for East and Southern Africa, providing substantive policy and operational guidance to ensure women, peace and security issues are effectively tackled under the organization's Africa Peace and Security Programme. Addou has worked to mainstream women's perspectives on peace and security in various ways, including by bringing together women ex-combatants in Rwanda to discuss gender specific challenges in reintegration, and strengthening capacity to engender the Somali National Reconciliation Conference. She has supported women's access to post-conflict justice reforms and engendering early warning and response at the national and regional levels. Addou has more than 10 years of field experience in Africa, working directly on crisis and post-crisis situations. She has a B.A. in History from American University in Washington, D.C., an M.A. from Teacher's College and a master's degree in International Affairs from the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University.

Dee (Dianne) L. Aker is the interim executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ). She is a psychological anthropologist and conflict resolution professional with 30 years experience working with international communities and individuals in transition. At the IPJ, Aker created the Women PeaceMakers Program and WorldLink Program and directs the Nepal Project. She is the former director of United States International University in Kenya and past president of the University of Humanistic Studies. She worked as a regular TV host, columnist and freelance journalist covering women leaders, pioneers and survivors for 10 years and produced 234, 30-minute interview programs with women from around the world. She has facilitated training, communications and negotiations for groups and individuals in conflict in Europe, Africa, Central America and South Asia. Currently her work

in Nepal specializes in programs for youth, women, nongovernmental organizations and leaders assuming their rights as stakeholders and responsible actors in the creation of the new republic.

Shinjita Alam of Bangladesh, a 2008 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, has dedicated much of her life to highlighting the connection between poverty and conflict, especially regarding the treatment of women in the domestic sphere and its repercussions for development. While studying for a degree in Social Welfare from the University of Dhaka, Alam worked with impoverished women in the slums of the capital, counseling them and providing primary-level education. She then went on to work for the organization Families for Children, conducting home visits to 100 women marginalized from their communities because they were widowed or divorced. Alam initiated and oversaw the peace program in the Bangladesh office of the Mennonite Central Committee, the first of its kind in the country. Alam has also worked on behalf of the Garo people of northern Bangladesh, whose culture is distinct from the rest of the Bengali population and who often clash with Muslim Bengalis over land rights. She has organized forums for interfaith dialogue between the Garo and Bengali and opened lines of communication between the local government and the Garo in resolving land disputes.

Karla Alvarez is the program officer for the WorldLink Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, supervising high school interns year-round and coordinating the annual Youth Town Meeting and quarterly youth forums. Alvarez was involved with the institute throughout her undergraduate career, developing the WorldLink Program through research and outreach. In June 2008, she was one of 200 international youth delegates selected to participate in the CIVICUS Youth and World Assemblies in Glasgow, Scotland. She has been an intern through the Community Service Intern Corps, where she explored the relationship between corporations and nonprofit organizations. Originally from Port Chester, N.Y., Alvarez has also lived in Mexico and France, which inspired her to pursue a career in international relations. She has a B.A. in International Relations from the University of San Diego.

Louise Arbour was the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, organizing the U.N.'s human rights efforts, from 2004 until June 2008. As High Commissioner, Arbour earned an international reputation for courage and tenacity and gained the respect of governments, human rights groups and human rights victims around the world. Arbour began a distinguished academic career in 1974, culminating in the position of associate dean at the Osgoode Hall Law School of York University in Toronto, Canada. In 1987, she was appointed to the Supreme Court of Ontario (High Court of Justice) and later served on the Court of Appeal for Ontario. In 1996, she was selected by the U.N. Security Council as chief prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda. After three years as prosecutor, she was appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Deborah Avant is professor of Political Science and director of International Studies at the University of California, Irvine, where her research focuses on civil-military relations, military change and the politics of controlling violence. Her recent work on the privatization of security is entitled *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*, and her articles have appeared in academic and popular journals such as *Perspective on Politics*, *Review of International Studies*, *Foreign Policy* and *International Studies Perspectives*. She is also the author of *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons from Peripheral Wars*. Her current research examines how the U.S. government's use of private security has affected democratic processes in the U.S., how private actors conceptualize and implement security in weakly governed territory and the way different non-state actors govern on the global stage.

Andrea Bell was the conference coordinator for the 2008 Women PeaceMakers Conference. Bell's experience spans project management, marketing, advertising, media planning and buying, event planning and corporate and project finance. Previously, she was a project manager with Incitrio Design Brand Media, a San Diego-based graphic design firm where she managed advertising, brand analysis, event planning, marketing collateral and Web site development on behalf of Incitrio's clients. Prior to that,

Bell was a marketing coordinator for Shoot Latin America!, a Los Angeles-based advisory firm for the motion picture and commercial film production industry, specializing in providing consulting services to U.S.-based firms operating in Latin America. Bell graduated with a B.S. in Business from the Pontifical Catholic University in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and holds dual professional certificates in Advertising and Marketing from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Jebbeh Forster is the country program manager for the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in Uganda. She also provides gender advisory services to the U.N. Special Envoy of the Secretary-General (SESG) for the Lord's Resistance Army-Affected Areas in the northern Uganda conflict. In the latter capacity she provides support to the SESG on gender issues and also technical support for women's engagement in the peace process and the Juba peace talks. Prior to assuming her current position, Forster was UNIFEM's country program manager in Sierra Leone for six years. The Sierra Leone program was developed to respond to women's post-conflict needs and focused on implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1308, and also addressed issues of transitional justice and HIV/AIDS.

Andrea Friedman is the vice president and senior counsel at the Global Justice Center. A human rights lawyer, Friedman works with women leaders, civil society activists, judges and government officials to enforce the international legal guarantees for women's political and legal rights. She has organized and conducted a number of high-level conferences on U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security and on international law and women's rights in such places as Thailand, Senegal, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Previously, Friedman was program manager of the Women and Public Policy Program at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where she helped to establish Women Waging Peace, a network of women from conflict areas who participate in skills and advocacy training as well as exchange strategies. Friedman holds a J.D. from Harvard Law School and a B.A. in Political Science from Tufts University.

Paula Garb is co-director and co-founder of the Center for Citizen Peacebuilding at the University of California, Irvine. She is also the associate director of International Studies, an associate adjunct professor of Anthropology and lecturer in Anthropology and Political Science. Garb spent 17 years living and working in Moscow, where she received her M.A. in Anthropology from Moscow State University and later completed her doctorate in Anthropology from the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Anthropology. She also worked as a field producer for CBS News in Moscow. After returning to the U.S., she has studied the mobilization of activists around environmental problems associated with the nuclear weapons complex in Russia and the role of citizen initiatives in the ethnic conflicts of the Caucasus. Her primary project has focused on facilitating and studying peacebuilding efforts between Abkhaz and Georgian academics, journalists, representatives of nongovernmental organizations and politicians.

Leymah Gbowee is the co-founder and executive director of the Women, Peace and Security Network, a pan-African women's peacebuilding organization. She is a founding member and past coordinator of the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET), Liberia chapter. During her tenure as coordinator of WIPNET, Gbowee organized collaborative peacebuilding initiatives for a network of women peacebuilders called the "Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace Campaign." She has also served as a commissioner designate of Liberia's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gbowee has an M.A. in Conflict Transformation from Eastern Mennonite University and an A.A. in Social Work from Mother Patern College of Health Sciences in Liberia. She is the recipient of several international awards, including the Blue Ribbon for Peace from the Women's Leadership Board at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and she was selected as one of the "21 Leaders for the 21st Century" by Women's eNews in 2008.

James Giganti is an M.A. student at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. She received her B.A. in Russian Language & Literature, with a minor in Dance Studies, from Emory University in May 2002. She has interned at the Initiative for Policy Dialogue at Columbia University, where she assisted in the completion of the forthcoming work, *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Model of Global Governance*. Giganti has participated in the "12 Hours of Dialogue" program, which in 2008 employed teleconferencing technology to engage young women from America and Tunisia in discussions about personal, local and international issues. She has also served as editorial assistant to the *Journal of International Affairs* and managing editor of *The Emory Wheel*.

Modibo Goita of Bamako, Mali has degrees from Kiev State University in Ukraine and Lund University in Sweden and recently undertook research on criminality and peacekeeping and the challenges of re-establishing the rule of law and respect for human rights in Liberia. He has been a professor at the Faculty of Law and Political Science and associate researcher at the Centre d'Études Remois de Relations Internationales at the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne in France. Goita has also held positions as professor of International Law and International Relations at the Pan African General Staff School in Koulikoro, Mali, associate professor at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Canada and adviser to the department of military schools for the Malian Armed Forces. He recently served as special representative of the president of the Economic Community of West African States Commission at the peacekeeping school Alioune Blondin Beye in Bamako.

Karin Grimm is project officer at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). Her main work area is DCAF's Gender and Security program, with a focus on gender and security sector reform and gender-based violence. She is co-author of DCAF's publication "Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector." Other work areas include the DCAF-led Security Sector Reform Working Group of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes and the organization of the 8th International Security Forum. Grimm holds an M.A. in International Relations from the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland and has done post-graduate studies at the Graduate Institute for Development Studies, also in Geneva. Previous work experience includes participation in a research project on conflict-sensitive program management of development and cooperation programs and an internship in microfinance with the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh.

Clare Hutchinson is currently gender affairs officer in the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Prior to her current posting, Hutchinson was acting head of the Office of Gender Affairs (OGA) in the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), where she was instrumental in developing a series of trainings directed at the security sector and the feminization of human security, as well as implementing a women in prison project, investigating the treatment of women in jail and promoting equal access to justice. As international gender adviser to the Agency for Gender Equality in the Office of the Prime Minister (Kosovo), Hutchinson supported the Kosovo Program for Gender Equality, which was funded through the UNMIK OGA. As a broadcaster and communications specialist, Hutchinson has worked for many years supporting and raising awareness of local women's organizations, including as a member of the board of the Canadian Committee for the United Nations Development Fund for Women.

Soledad Jarquín, coordinator of Women's Communication and Information in Oaxaca, Mexico, is also editor, researcher and news correspondent. She has worked for several Mexican newspapers and created international women's rights news networks and radio programs. Jarquín edits "Las Caracolas," the weekly supplement in the major Oaxacan paper *El Imparcial* and the only publication in the state dedicated to women's issues. She has traveled extensively to cover events such as the 2004 World Social Forum and the the Beijing Platform for Action in Africa (Beijing + 10). Jarquín has received many awards, including Mexico's National Journalism Prize in 2007 for her investigation of women raped by Mexican soldiers in the state of Coahuila.

Ximena Jimenez of Chile is a gender expert consultant in the U.N.'s Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI). A registered nurse, Jimenez worked as a management consultant to the Chilean Army, which led to her interest in issues of national defense. With graduate degrees in Security and Defense from the National Academy of Political and Strategies Studies and in Military Sciences and U.N. Peacekeeping Operations from the Army War College of Chile, Jimenez has been a fellow at the Chilean Joint Peacekeeping Training Centre since 2004. She is the course author of "Gender Perspectives in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," a course offered by the Peace Operations Training Institute, and is an active member of the International Association of U.N. Peacekeeping Training Centers and Women in International Security.

Capt. Margaret Grun Kibben is from Warrington, Pa., and entered active duty in the United States Navy in 1986. She has had assignments with the Marines at Quantico and Camp Lejeune and Navy assignments at the Naval Academy, the USS San Diego (AFS-6), the Chaplain Resource Board in Norfolk, Va., and the U.S. Third Fleet in San Diego. In 2006, she deployed as the command chaplain, Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan. She is presently assigned to the Office of the Chief of Navy Chaplains as the director for Force Structure and Community Management. Capt. Kibben is a graduate of Goucher College in Towson, Md. She received both her Master of Divinity and her Doctorate of Ministry from Princeton Theological Seminary. She served as a fellow at the United States Institute of Peace and holds a master's degree in National Security and Strategic Studies from the Naval War College. Her personal awards include the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, the Meritorious Service Medal (3 awards) and the Navy Commendation Medal (3 awards).

Stelet Kim, co-rapporteur for the 2008 Women PeaceMakers Conference, "Crafting Human Security in an Insecure World," was previously a peace writer in the 2007 Women PeaceMakers Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, documenting the story of Latifah Anum Siregar of Indonesia. After receiving her M.A. in International Comparative Education from Stanford University, Kim has been working as an independent consultant to various organizations, including The Asia Foundation, Room to Read, Survivors International and SAGE: Standing Against Global Exploitation. She has been involved in grassroots resource development and community mobilization through volunteer service in California and has taught English in South Korea and Esperanto at the University of California, Berkeley, where she received undergraduate degrees in English and Spanish Literature. Kim has written on such topics as post-colonial language planning, anti-prostitution and sex-trafficking policies, and issues of HIV/AIDS-related stigma, discrimination and gender inequality.

Diana Kutlow is a senior program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, where she manages the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series and assists with other education, research and peacemaking projects at the institute. Before switching careers, Kutlow worked in sports journalism and covered events for the *New York Post* and CBS Sports, and did "Up-Close and Personal" profiles for ABC's Olympic coverage. Kutlow received her B.A. in History with a minor in Russian language from Barnard College of Columbia University and her M.A. in Peace and Justice Studies from the University of San Diego in 2003, the inaugural class of the program.

Lt. Gen. Jasbir Singh Lidder was chief military observer and force commander of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) until April 2008. He has over 38 years of active military service and has served as General Staff Officer Grade 1 (Operations and Training) with the Indian Military Training Team in Bhutan and Chief of Staff with the United Nations Operation in Mozambique. During his tenure in Mozambique from June 1994 to January 1995, he assisted in successfully demobilizing over 70,000 armed personnel of the government and rebel armies and ensuring the holding of multiparty elections. Lt. Gen. Lidder is a graduate of the Defence Service Staff College in Wellington, India; the Higher Command Course in Mhow; and the National Defence College in New Delhi. He has held important staff appointments at various levels of the army's hierarchy and has vast experience in all types of operations,

from counter-insurgency/terrorism, peacekeeping and disaster management to conventional war. He has commanded his brigade and division in the intense counterterrorism environment in Kashmir. In 1969 he was commissioned into the Grenadiers Regiment of the infantry after three years of training at the National Defence Academy in Khadakvasla and one year at the Indian Military Academy in Dehradun.

Deborah Lindholm started the Foundation for Women (FFW) in San Diego in 1997. Founded on service, the FFW is dedicated to eliminating global poverty by creating and funding microcredit programs globally and locally. Programs are currently in place in India, Zambia, Niger and Liberia. Domestically, the microcredit program in San Diego is reaching women and families living below the U.S. poverty line, giving them business capital, support and encouragement. Lindholm holds a master's degree in Education and Counseling, and her Ph.D. work is in Clinical Psychology. She is a member of Rotary and has served in several board capacities; currently she is Microcredit Chair for District 5340 and International Chair for her club. She has more than 35 years experience in education, business and counseling settings.

Erika Lopez is the program officer for the Women PeaceMakers Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. She has extensive experience aiding persons who arrive in the United States seeking asylum from torture and persecution in their home countries. She has also worked with trafficked women and women's rights issues in South America and has experience organizing international human rights conferences in Brazil. Lopez is a graduate of the Fletcher School at Tufts University, where she received her master's degree in International Relations after completing her bachelor's degree in Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. She is fluent in Portuguese, Spanish and English and proficient in German, French and Italian.

Helen Mack is the president of the Myrna Mack Foundation, created in 1993 to combat impunity and contribute to the modernization and democratization of justice in Guatemala. Mack was working as a businesswoman when, on Sept. 11, 1990, a commando of the presidential security detail murdered her sister Myrna Elizabeth Mack Chang, a social anthropologist carrying out field research on populations displaced by the armed internal conflict. Helen Mack pushed forward a judicial process that culminated in the conviction of the material author of the murder. From 1994 to 2004, Mack carried out a second process against the intellectual authors of the crime, one of whom was convicted and sentenced to 30 years in prison, but managed to escape police custody and is now a fugitive from justice. In 2003 the Inter-American Court of Human Rights condemned the Guatemalan state for the extrajudicial execution of Myrna Mack and mandated various means of reparation. The Myrna Mack Foundation has started working with the Ministry of Government to establish efficient internal controls and supervision systems. The foundation is also working to develop the National Civil Police planning strategy and organizational matters and mechanisms to improve the professionalism of officers.

Sarah Masters is the Women's Network coordinator of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA). The IANSA Women's Network was founded to connect organizations working on violence against women with the global campaign to control the proliferation and misuse of small arms, ensuring that the campaign reflects women's concerns and reality. Masters is a member of Women in Black, an international feminist antimilitarist network, and treasurer of The Maypole Fund, a nonprofit women's organization granting funds to women's initiatives around the world. Prior to IANSA, Masters spent six years working with the international feminist solidarity network Women Living Under Muslim Laws, which provides information and support for women whose lives are shaped, conditioned or governed by laws and customs said to derive from Islam. With a formal background in gender and information and communication technologies (ICTs), Masters spent many years as training and programme adviser to the Women's Networking Support Programme of the Association for Progressive Communications. This global network of women promotes gender equality in the design, implementation and use of ICTs and the policies that regulate them.

Sylvie Maunga Mbanga, a 2008 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice and a trained lawyer, works with local organizations in the fight against sexual violence against women in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Formerly coordinator of the program against sexual violence for the Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation (ICCO) and Church in Action, and the program officer for the peacebuilding and conflict transformation program at the Life and Peace Institute, Mbanga consults for other agencies and groups, providing counseling and legal services to victims of rape and sexual violence. With ICCO, she developed strategic and holistic interventions to assist victims, including the provision of psychological counseling and medical care, legal services and access to the judicial system, and economic support in the form of income-generating activities and skills building. For the Life and Peace Institute, Mbanga is also charged with implementing programs on good governance and coordinating research activities. Mbanga works among the ethnic conflicts within communities in the province of South Kivu and has facilitated dialogue between the Banyamulenge community and other local groups such as the Babembe and Baviro.

Elena McCollim is a program officer at Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, managing the Internship and Volunteer Programs and the IPJ Speaker Series, Film Series and Daylight Series. Prior to her current position, McCollim worked for eight years in Washington, D.C., with a variety of nongovernmental organizations engaged in policy advocacy on international development issues. She worked as a policy analyst for Bread for the World Institute and program manager at InterAction (American Council for Voluntary International Action), a consortium which includes Oxfam, CARE, World Vision, Catholic Relief Services and Save the Children. McCollim has lived in South America and Mexico and traveled throughout Central America teaching in a study abroad program for U.S. undergraduates, through Augsburg College. She has an M.A. in International Relations from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, and a B.A. in Development Studies from the University of California, Berkeley.

Luz Méndez is president of the Advisory Board and coordinator of the peacebuilding and nonviolence against women program of the National Union of Guatemalan Women, a women's association working for women's human rights, gender equality and social justice. From 2005 to 2008, she was coordinator of the Women Agents for Change Consortium, which set in motion a political process for psychosocial healing and empowerment of women survivors of sexual violence during the armed conflict in Guatemala. In the 1990s, Méndez was involved in the Guatemalan peace processes and actively participated in the negotiations as part of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity's delegation. Méndez was a member of both the Follow-up Commission for the Implementation of the Agreements and the National Council for the Peace Accords. She was a speaker at the first meeting that the U.N. Security Council held with women's organizations leading up to the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 and was also vice-chairperson of the U.N. Expert Group Meeting on Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries. Méndez was a Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice in 2004.

Binalakshmi Neptram, from the state of Manipur in India's northeast region, is a writer and activist spearheading work on disarmament in South Asia. In 2004 she co-founded India's first civil society organization working on conventional disarmament issues, the Control Arms Foundation of India. To help thousands of women affected by gun violence in her home state, Neptram launched the Manipur Women Gun Survivor Network in 2007. She is an active member of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, the International Action Network on Small Arms and the Cluster Munitions Coalition. In 2004 Neptram was awarded a fellowship through the Ploughshares Fund to work on small arms mitigation in the Indo-Myanmar/Burma region, and two years later, she received the Scholar of Peace Award by Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace. She has published several articles in both national and international journals and is the author of three books: *South Asia's Fractured Frontier*:

Armed Conflict, Narcotics and Small Arms Proliferation in India's Northeast; Meckley, a work of historical fiction based on the conflict in Manipur; and *India and the Arms Trade Treaty*, to be published in late 2008.

Zandile Nhlengetwa of South Africa, a 2008 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is a community project coordinator for the organization Survivors of Violence, where she designs peacebuilding intervention strategies for communities that have experienced high levels of violence, both during apartheid and now in the post-conflict era when criminal violence is prevalent. Her work includes conducting trauma healing workshops for survivors and developing income-generating programs to alleviate the effects of poverty, as well as facilitating dialogue with traditional leaders to promote development in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. After the loss of family members to violent incidents, Nhlengetwa has reached out to young men in prison to help them break the cycle of violence, and joined with other women who lost husbands during violent conflict to form the Harambe Women's Forum to prevent violence in their communities. After the end of apartheid, Nhlengetwa assisted in the successes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by counseling victims before and after they testified and setting up community assistance programs to support victims. A teacher by profession, Nhlengetwa also develops education and counseling programs for street children and assists community members living with HIV/AIDS.

Emiko Noma is editor at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), where she works primarily on the Women PeaceMakers Program and the Distinguished Lecture Series. At the IPJ, Noma has also served as interim program coordinator and peace writer for the Women PeaceMakers Program, documenting the stories of Sister Pauline Acayo of Uganda (2005) and Svetlana Kijevčanin of Serbia (2006). In early 2006, Noma traveled to Uganda as part of the institute's Uganda Project and was an international observer to the presidential and parliamentary elections. In 2008, she joined Sun & Moon Vision Productions in Cameroon to document on film the work of Susana Tenjoh-Okwen, 2007 Woman PeaceMaker, for the upcoming documentary "Rhythms to Peace: The Way of a Woman PeaceMaker." She received her Master of Science in Conflict Resolution, with emphases in nonviolent social change and international conflict resolution, from Portland State University, and has undergraduate degrees in English and Religious Studies.

Olenka Ochoa, a 2008 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is an activist for women's rights in Peru. As a university student when the Shining Path rebels began their insurgency, Ochoa organized political activities and sheltered fellow women leaders resisting both the insurgents and the armed forces. In 1992 Ochoa joined the Research and Training Institute for Family and Women, which works primarily in the district of San Juan de Lurigancho. There she founded the first shelter for battered women and designed the innovative project "Keepers of the Peace," which involved at-risk youth in combating violence and discrimination. On the governmental level, Ochoa has helped formulate new approaches to combating violence against women. She has served as an elected member of the Metropolitan Lima Municipal Council, developing security strategies to protect women and founding the first commission of women in the municipality. Ochoa contributed to the design of a national law, signed in March 2007, for equal opportunities for women and men. She is also a board member of the Federation of Municipal Women of Latin America and the Caribbean and of the Huairou Commission, a global network of community development organizations.

Alma Pérez, human rights officer at the Colombian Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, has worked as an independent consultant as well as a government official. From 2003 to 2007, after completing her term at the Colombian Mission to the United Nations (New York) as part of the Security Council team, she combined her activities of crafting key government documents and coordinating their consultation processes with civil society together with advocacy actions in favor of women's participation in peacebuilding. She has participated in the making and consultation processes of

documents such as the Colombian Strategy for International Cooperation and the Colombia 2019 Project. Pérez has also designed and delivered a number of trainings and conferences on gender, conflict and peacebuilding, including strategies toward the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. A German Government fellow at the intercultural master's program in Public Management of the University of Potsdam in 2005 and 2006, she is currently focusing her work on human rights and post-conflict reconstruction.

Nicola Popovic is the associate expert on gender, peace and security, coordinating the policy, research and capacity-building activities at the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW). Her main research areas are gender and security sector reform, the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 and gender training for security personnel. Prior to joining UN-INSTRAW, Popovic worked with survivors of gender-based violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. She holds a B.A. in State Studies, an L.L.M. in International Peace Support Operations and a post-graduate diploma in Human Development.

Peter Sampson, representative for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, completed the preparation for the all-inclusive political dialogue in the Central African Republic in May this year. Prior to the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Sampson worked for five years with the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response in London and Nairobi. He has also taught development cooperation and conflict resolution classes in Kigali and Kinshasa and worked with the U.N.'s Integrated Regional Information Networks and the Global Fund for Women on the production and diffusion of an advocacy kit on the effects of violence against women during conflict. Sampson has a B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley, and an advanced degree in Security and Defense Studies from the University of Lyon in France.

Dustin Sharp is a senior program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, where he works to expand the institute's overseas peacebuilding programs. He has a background in human rights and international law and five years of field experience working on issues related to human rights, transitional justice and educational development. He has a number of publications on human rights in sub-Saharan Africa and is a regular media commentator on conflict dynamics in the sub-region. Previously, Sharp worked at Human Rights Watch where he was responsible for designing and implementing research and advocacy strategies in Francophone West Africa. A lawyer by training, Sharp also served as an attorney-adviser at the United States Department of State, where he represented the U.S. in multilateral treaty negotiations and advised the department on matters of United Nations law and international institutional law. He was a Peace Corps volunteer from 1996 to 1998, serving in Guinea, West Africa, and is a graduate of the University of Utah and Harvard Law School.

Jolynn Shoemaker is the executive director of Women in International Security (WIIS) at the Center for Peace and Security Studies, Georgetown University. Previously, she handled international law and policy issues for the Initiative for Inclusive Security, an initiative of Hunt Alternatives Fund. She served as country director in the U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, International Security Policy (Eurasia), where she focused on the Western Balkans region. She was a presidential management fellow from 2000 to 2002. During that time, Shoemaker was also the regional advisor for Southern and East Africa at the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Office of Country Reports and Asylum Affairs. She completed two rotational assignments working as an attorney in the U.S. Department of Defense, General Counsel's Office for International Affairs. Shoemaker has a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center, an M.A. in Security Studies from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and a B.A. from the University of California, San Diego. She has published articles and chapters on women and armed conflict, legal reform in post-conflict situations, human rights and women in peacekeeping, and is a member of the New York Bar.

Kathleen Staudt is professor of Political Science at the University of Texas, El Paso. She teaches courses

on women, borders, public policy, democracy and leadership. Staudt has published 13 books, five focusing on the border, including *Violence and Activism at the Border: Gender, Fear and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez*. Her forthcoming collection is *Violence, Security and Human Rights at the U.S.-Mexico Border*. She is active in the Coalition against Violence toward Women and the Border Network for Human Rights, among other grassroots organizations.

Laura Taylor is a doctoral student in the inaugural class of the dual Ph.D. program in Peace Studies and Psychology at the University of Notre Dame. Previously she was a senior program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) and worked primarily on the IPJ Nepal Project and with the Women PeaceMakers Program. Taylor has research and operational knowledge in conflict transformation, mental health and transitional justice, and six years of field experience in rights-based empowerment with a focus on gender and community reconciliation in the Caribbean, Central America and Nepal. She has designed and directed peacebuilding programs for rural, indigenous and displaced communities. Taylor served as director of development at the Guatemala Human Rights Commission in Washington, D.C., and project coordinator for Puentes de Paz, an indigenous women's community mental health project in the highlands of Guatemala. She was born and raised in Kwajalein, Republic of the Marshall Islands, and holds a B.A. in Psychology from Haverford College and an M.A. in Peace and Justice Studies from the University of San Diego.

Stephanie Ziebell is currently a programme analyst with the Governance, Peace and Security section of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). In supporting UNIFEM's overall programming in the area of peace and security, her work focuses primarily on women's participation in post-conflict peace and development processes as well as prevention of and response to sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict contexts. Most recently, she has supported UNIFEM's work in Uganda and Haiti to enhance peace and security programming with an emphasis on advocacy. This entailed working with partners to undertake a women's peace caravan in Uganda, advocating for women's inclusion in the Juba peace negotiations and supporting Haitian national coordination mechanisms to combat violence against women. She holds a master's degree from Rutgers University and a bachelor's degree from Macalester College, both with a research emphasis on women's rights issues in West Africa.

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D. LIST OF ACRONYMS

1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
1820	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AIUSA	Amnesty International (United States of America)
CDA	Community Development Association
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CJA	Center for Justice and Accountability
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EU	European Union
FFW	Foundation for Women
GJC	Global Justice Center
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCO	Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IHT	Iraqi High Tribunal
IPJ	Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
OGA	Office of Gender Affairs
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women
OSCE/ODIHR	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
POC	Protection of Civilians
ROE	Rules of Engagement
SESG	Special Envoy of the Secretary-General
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
US	United States
WIIS	Women in International Security
WIPNET	Women in Peacebuilding Network

E. ENDNOTES

¹ A full transcript of the lecture, along with the question-and-answer session of the lecture and a private interview, are available online at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/programs/lectures.html>.

² Available online at www.un.org/largerfreedom.

³ Available online at www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf.

⁴ In NGO literature prior to 2006, the common estimate recited was between 20,000 and 30,000 abducted children. A 2006 investigation by the Survey of War Affected Youth (SWAY), however, estimated the number of abductees at 66,000; this includes youth abducted for any length of time. As noted in a recent SWAY report, the highest estimate by a research team put the number at 80,000. www.sway-uganda.org/SWAY.ResearchBrief.Reintegration.pdf.

⁵ United Nations Development Programme. "Liberia: Country Profile." 2008. Available at: www.lr.undp.org/cprofile.htm.

⁶ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations "Liberia-UNMIL: Facts and Figures." 2008. Available at: www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmil/facts.html.

⁷ Human Rights Watch. "Country Summary: Liberia." January 2008. Available at: <http://hrw.org/wr2k8/pdfs/liberia.pdf>.

⁸ "Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification." <http://shr.aas.org/guatemala/ceh/report/english/toc.html>.

⁹ Guatemala Human Rights Commission. <http://www.ghrc-usa.org/Programs/ForWomensRighttoLive/ThreethousandandCounting,AReportonViolenceAgainstWomeninGuatemala.pdf>.

¹⁰ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997).

¹¹ Michael Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflict: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996).

¹² Louis Kriesberg, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

¹³ Heather Farrell, "Cradled in Her Arms: Stories of the Life and Work of Palwasha Kakar of Afghanistan," Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Available at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/Documents/WPMNarratives/PalwashaKakar.pdf>. The story described is from the chapter "Women's Unions."

¹⁴ Maia Woodward, "One Woman's Life, One Thousand Women's Voices: A Narrative of the Life and Work of Mary Ann Arnado of the Philippines," Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Available at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/Documents/WPMNarratives/MaryAnnArnado.pdf>. The story described is from the chapter "Bantay Ceasefire."

¹⁵ A more elaborate discussion of Méndez's role in the peace negotiations can be found in the chapters "Disclosure" and "Woman at the Table" in her story written by Sarah Cross, "A Just Path, A Just Peace: A Narrative of the Life and Work of Luz Méndez of Guatemala," Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Available at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/Documents/WPMNarratives/LuzMendez.pdf>.

¹⁶ Thorpe's work as electoral commissioner is described in depth on pp. 34 and 55-6 of *Is Peace Possible? Women PeaceMakers in Action*, available at http://peace.sandiego.edu/documents/reports/ConferenceReports/wpm/2007/07WPM_IsPeacePossible_FinalReport.pdf.

¹⁷ International Crisis Group, "Sierra Leone: The Election Opportunity," July 2007, pp. 6-7, and "Sierra Leone: A New Era of Reform," July 2008, p. 2

¹⁸ Emiko Noma, "Out of the Cages: A Narrative of the Life and Work of Svetlana Kijevčanin of Serbia," Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Available at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/documents/WPMNarratives/SvetlanaKijevcanin.pdf>. The story described is from the chapter "Mismatched Socks."

¹⁹ Women Targeted or Affected by Armed Conflict: What Role for Military Peacekeepers, May 27-29, 2008, Wilton Park, Sussex, UK. A summary of the conference can be found in Appendix A of this report.

²⁰ Physicians for Human Rights, "War-related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone." 2002.

²¹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. "Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict: A Framework for Prevention and Response." 2008.

²² Taken from the User Guide for the Gender and SSR Toolkit, available from the Web sites of DCAF (www.dcaf.org) and UN-INSTRAW (www.un-instraw.org).

²³ BBC News "Country Profile: Sudan." July 15, 2008. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/820864.stm.

²⁴ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "Darfur-UNAMID: Facts and Figures." Available at: www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unamid/facts.html.

²⁵ For background to the conflict in Liberia, see page 13.

²⁶ The information in this Conflict Background was taken from the focus session facilitated by Staudt.

²⁷ The map of Manipur district is courtesy of <http://manipur.nic.in/images/Manipur-Map-copy.gif>.

²⁸ For background to the conflict in Guatemala, see p. 14.

²⁹ Human Rights Watch. "Country Summary: Guatemala." January 2008. Available at: <http://hrw.org/wr2k8/pdfs/guatemala.pdf>.

³⁰ BBC News. "Finding Guatemala's Missing." July 27, 2006. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/crossing_continents/5216510.stm.

³¹ Originally published by the Global Justice Center. It is available at www.globaljusticecenter.net/publications/Global-Justice-Now.pdf.

³² Originally published by UNIFEM and is available at www.unifem.org/attachments/events/wiltonparkconference_summaryreport_200805_1.pdf.

³³ Organized by UNIFEM, DPKO, UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, Wilton Park, the United Kingdom and Canada.

³⁴ MINURCAT, MINUSTAH, MONUC, UNAMID, UNIFIL, UNMIL, UNMIS and UNOCI.

³⁵ Including homes, water points at pre-dawn hours, forests where women forage for fuel, and fields where they cultivate crops.

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Fred J. Hansen Foundation

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Open Society Institute • Trans-Border Institute

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Tower23 Hotel • Women in International Security

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Andrea Bell, conference coordinator, who dedicated her time, heart and creative talent to this conference.
Abigail Disney, producer of "Pray the Devil Back to Hell," who gave the IPJ permission to screen the film.
Vivian Suarez, graphic designer, who created the conference marketing materials, including the program and final report cover.

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