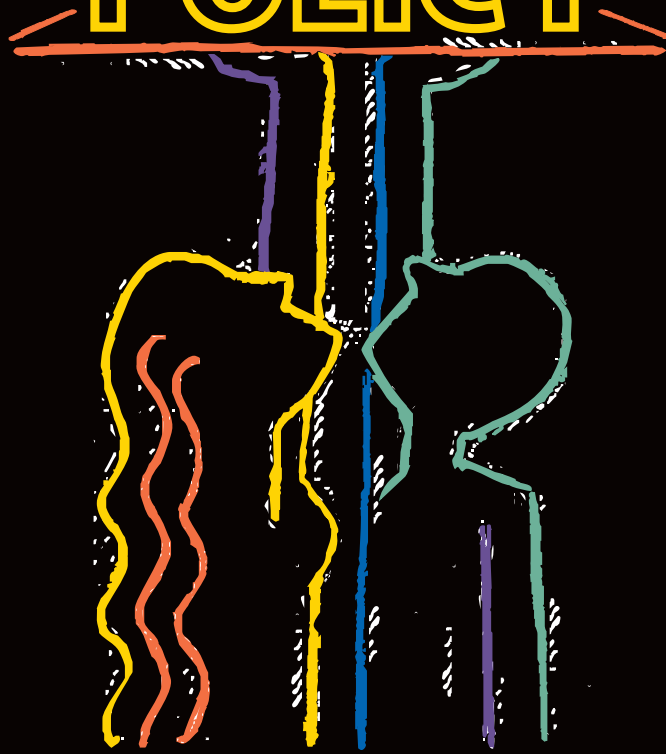


FINAL REPORT

who's making

POLICY



what difference does it make

**An international conference on gender-inclusive
decision making for peace with justice**

October 18-20, 2006



JOAN B. KROC
INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE & JUSTICE

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

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A report from the working conference co-convened by:

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego is committed to fostering peace, cultivating justice and creating a safer world. The IPJ was founded with a generous gift from the philanthropist Joan B. Kroc, who asked that the Institute be a place that not only “talked about peace, but made peace.” Through education, research and peacemaking activities, the Institute offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights. The Institute’s Women PeaceMakers Program recognizes and connects women who have an essential role in the building of just and lasting peace.

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

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Who’s making policy? What difference does it make? Final Report

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Foreword

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

Rampant exclusion of women from the bodies charged with the responsibility to protect and to address the root causes of our current continuum of global violence and conflict is undeniable. Efforts to further peace, human security and social justice are blatantly compromised. Indeed, quests for accountability, prevention and peace require voices from the damaged communities be included if there are to be genuine transitions to peace with justice for those long entangled in nets of brutality. In the four decades since the first U.N. Conference on Women, it has become ever clearer that women remain caught in a cycle of human rights violations. They are both targeted during conflicts and suffer post-war abuse. They seldom have adequate or lasting redress to change their environments at any point. As we have seen over many years, getting women and gender-sensitive men to the many tables that determine the conditions in which so much of their lives shall be lived is no small task.

An international working conference “Who’s making policy? What difference does it make?” was co-convened by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego to review this crisis of omissions from decision-making tables. Women and men — scholars, practitioners and students — from diverse sectors of society came together. They were asked how to further cultivate the gender-inclusive successes they are observing, as well as how to overcome the roadblocks they are encountering. The intent was to examine inclusion more closely and across a wider range of powerbrokers.

Many questions underlie the creation of this conference. How effective are gender quotas in enabling women to influence public decision making to promote gender equality? How can peacekeeping processes put an end to the impunity with which sexual violence is used as a means of prosecuting warfare? How can civilian control over the military be asserted in security sector reform processes so that security institutions understand their role to include making public and private life safe for women? Must women’s human rights be a bargaining chip that is traded away in exchange for the compliance of belligerent parties to peace accords? What paths might the world’s religious leaders take if their decision-making chambers were gender inclusive? What would corporate board policies be in conflict and post-conflict situations if women survivors had a say in the direction of reconstruction priorities? Are gender-sensitive men ready to stand up for accountability and fairness? Some of these questions were given serious thought and reflection at the conference, as you will find in the report. Others remain extremely challenging, as the policymakers who need to be engaged do not want the questions asked and avoid engagement.

In a brief two and one-half days, however, exchanges were helpful, information fruitful and networks fostered. It is our wish that this report inspire both attendees and subsequent readers to think and act. We must all ask who is making the decisions and what difference is it making. Then women and men concerned with community well-being must find ways to work together for peace with human justice and security for us all.

Anne Marie Goetz of UNIFEM and I wish to thank everyone who gave their time and energy to this conference. We hope we are asking the right questions; now we need to find or create better answers.

Chapter 1:

Advancing the Agenda — Women's Role in Peacebuilding



Chapter 1: Advancing the Agenda — Women’s Role in Peacebuilding

Introduction: Women, Peace and Security — Where We Stand, What’s Next

When women are engaged in peace and development, the process will be more sustainable.

In the past decade, women worldwide have made incredible inroads into the policy and practice of peace and security. They are securing gains for women in peace negotiations, having an impact on the reform of security mechanisms and processes and accessing official positions in the executive and legislative branches of government in record numbers. In formal roles and through civil society movements, women are making invaluable contributions for their constituencies and for the population generally. Ensuring their participation in post-conflict reconstruction provides an entry point to realizing gender equality as well as the larger objective of establishing security and long-term development. When women are engaged in peace and development, the process will be more sustainable — a notion that is increasingly recognized by international and national actors alike.

In the field of peace and security, there is growing emphasis on the importance of involving women and men in the quest for gender equality.

In 2000, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1325 — a landmark decision mandating the participation of women in peace processes. It calls upon all parties to protect women in armed conflict, promote their participation in decision making and peacebuilding, integrate gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping and mainstream gender issues in U.N. reporting systems and programs. This instrument has been reiterated in various Security Council resolutions and other mechanisms and documents, and women are demanding its implementation from Afghanistan to Sri Lanka, Colombia to Sudan.

Despite the international framework that has evolved, the gaps in practice are vast. Sporadic implementation and weak enforcement measures exist within the U.N. system, member states, multi-lateral agencies and humanitarian and relief organizations. Capitalizing on women’s capacity for conflict early warning, increasing their numbers in the ranks of military personnel and civilian police during peace operations, ensuring that gains for women’s rights made in the post-conflict period are not lost or diluted and supporting the myriad efforts of women in civil society are just a few of the steps that are absolutely necessary if the world is to realize peace and justice for men and women.

Who’s making policy?

The discussions at this conference explore the continued marginalization of women from positions of power, why it is necessary for women to fully participate and how they are making advances and addressing ongoing challenges. Strategies, best practices and models of effectiveness are shared in an effort to continue the progress made by women and men in recent years.



Ugandan women in internally displaced persons camp learn about human rights (Photo credit: IPJ)



Celebration of the successful pro-democracy movement in Nepal that included women (Photo credit: IPJ)

What difference does it make?

From the presentations at this conference, it is clear that women make a real impact on policymaking. They bring forth the perspectives, needs and concerns of women. Practical advancements are made, legislation is changed and women become leaders at the national and local level. While implementation and institutional change are ongoing processes — and pressure for reform continues — without women's presence and participation with gender-sensitive men, there is no recognition of their value, their needs and their rights.



Dee Aker opens conference

Plenary Summary: Women, War, Peace — Politics in Peacebuilding, Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture

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

This conference is about the politics of getting women to the peace table with men, what must be done to keep them there and what difference it makes. In a world of growing militarism, increasing poverty and rising religious extremism, it is clear that existing policies are insufficient to find solutions and bring peace. The voices of those on the frontlines — the women — are necessary to realize real change.

Decades ago, women and men came together from around the world for a conference on women's issues in Mexico City. There women found commonalities in their lives and similarities in their challenges. For years since, women have continued to meet, share experiences and strategize. They have articulated and lobbied for real changes — for gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive policies.



Anne Marie Goetz welcomes conference delegates

The voices of those on the frontlines — the women — are necessary to realize real change.

In Focus: Women Building Peace With Men

In the field of peace and security, there is growing emphasis on the importance of involving women and men in the quest for gender equality. International policies and programs are beginning to recognize that a gender perspective must include the concerns and needs of both men and women, which was reflected in presentations throughout the conference.

In Nepal, women are creating strategic partnerships with men in an effort to guarantee women's representation and rights in the democratic transformation of the government. In Azerbaijan, men are involved in a Mercy Corps maternal-child health program because the culture allows them to be more mobile; this has

led to a significant increase in the health of both men and women in the past four years. Women's active role in peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Southern Sudan means that their participation is now "ingrained in the perception and concept of our men," according to James Kok, a government commissioner.

Just involving men in the dialogue on women, peace and security — a conversation which is often up to 90 percent female — may be the first step to begin to break down barriers. Irene Santiago noted that women simply cannot carry the banner of peace and equality alone: "It will have to be men and women — steeped in the notions of gender equality, human rights and social justice."

Irene Santiago, Senior Advisor to the Peace Process in the Philippines and Chair of the Mindanao Commission on Women

What was remarkable about Beijing was as much its process as its product — the Beijing Platform for Action.

In preparation for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, five regional conferences were held, and non governmental organizations (NGOs) ran parallel forums to give women a stronger voice at the governmental conference and to enable cross-country networking among the women’s groups. A strong women’s team emerged from these regional processes to convene at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Over 10 days, 30,000 participants attended 500 daily events as part of the NGO Forum on Women. What was remarkable about Beijing was as much its process as its product — the Beijing Platform for Action.

While there has been significant progress to recognize and elevate women’s role in security and development since that landmark event, political and official power remains primarily in the hands of men. Patriarchy remains pervasive, and women’s agendas continue to be sidelined.

“The forces of fear and want continue to make violence an option for men.” Peace must confront all of these elements: patriarchy, fear and want. When women have the opportunity for empowerment, they confront these issues and open the space for peace.

Quotas are in place. Training and organizing for women has occurred. Instruments, modalities and tools abound. Yet women have not accessed positions of power on equal terms with men. While women have the skills, they frequently desist from entering the public arena, for the model of power that is seen in the world today is not the power that women want to hold. Santiago urges a re-definition of power as “the potency to act for what is good.... If this is the definition, will women claim that kind of power? Yes!”



Irene Santiago discusses the doors opened by the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing

“The forces of fear and want continue to make violence an option for men.”

— Irene Santiago

In Focus: The Philippines

In the last thirty years, a separatist conflict in the Philippines has resulted in the deaths of more than 120,000 people. Since 1996, negotiations initiated between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) have broken down numerous times. Progress has also been complicated because of accusations that the MILF cooperates with jihadist groups.¹ In August,

President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo established a special Commission of Inquiry to investigate the intensified numbers of political killings over the past few years. President Arroyo pledged “to break this cycle of violence once and for all. I have directed [the Melo Commission] to leave no stone unturned in their pursuit of justice, the victims and their families deserve justice to be served.”²

Alma Viviana Pérez, Consultant and Professor at the Universidad Externado de Colombia

Women's dialogue has continued beyond Beijing. Women's rights appeared among the Millennium Development Goals, and their role in peace and security was affirmed in the passage of 1325. This progress did not occur in a vacuum, but was the result of women's sustained advocacy.

Resolution 1325 was a ground-breaking document that mandated women's participation in all aspects of peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, and it is binding on every U.N. member state. The resolution calls for women's protection in situations of armed conflict and declares that crimes committed against women must no longer go unpunished. It requires women's participation in negotiations and political decision making, and it mandates the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all U.N. operations as well as reports and implementation mechanisms.



Alma Viviana Pérez shares her experience implementing 1325 in Latin America

Only with systemic transformation will the perspectives and approaches of both men and women co-exist.

In Focus: Colombia

Since the mid-1960s, Colombia, a country of over 43 million inhabitants, has been engulfed in a conflict between the government; two anti-government insurgent groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN); and illegal paramilitary groups including the United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia (AUC).³ The FARC and ELN, largely funded by trade in illicit drugs, have been involved in kidnapping, drug trafficking and terrorism.⁴ More than 60,000 Colombians have been killed as a result of the

fighting since 1963.⁵ Although women have not been at the peace negotiation table between the government and the insurgents, Colombia has a strong women's movement and has a relatively high number of elected women representatives in office.⁶ Despite repeated kidnappings, threats and acts of violence perpetrated against women leaders, these groups continue to organize, develop agendas for peace and lobby for the implementation of these agendas along with the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325.⁷

While 1325 is a powerful advocacy tool, implementation is the critical next step. Women's organizations are continuing to exert pressure on the United Nations, member states and armed groups. No other resolution has such a vibrant civil society movement behind it, for 1325 is "living proof that any one of us can touch international reality and modify it." Women were able to realize the passage of this document, and now they are actively pursuing its enforcement. This is the next frontier: making 1325 a reality at the national level. As Pérez notes: "It's time for all men and women to begin implementing the spirit of 1325 at home — in your country, your region, your neighborhood."

**Miria Matembe, Former Minister,
Government of Uganda**

Women have the right to participate in governmental processes, yet they are asked for data to prove their impact. They are asked for their qualifications and experience to access the peace table. Women are marginalized from peace processes, while the men who made war sit at the table.

After suffering through decades of struggle, Ugandan women were prepared to participate in the post-conflict development of their nation. Women saw the constitution, in particular, as their “savior.” They organized and advocated for a gender perspective, and two women actually participated on the 21-member constitutional commission. The result was the adoption of a national constitution that enshrines gender equality and the rights of women. It mandates gender balance in the executive and legislative branches of government, and women are participating in significant numbers.

However, while the existence of such language is critical to advancing women’s agenda, it is only the beginning. Women in Uganda continue to face challenges to the passage of laws and policies related to land reform, domestic violence and a host of other issues, again illustrating the necessity for action in implementation of national and international resolutions if women are to truly serve as equals in the quest for peace and development. Matembe affirms: “Without peace, we cannot develop. Without equality, we cannot have peace or development.”



Miria Matembe explains Uganda’s constituent assembly process

In Focus: Uganda

Uganda, a country landlocked among five neighbors, has a population of over 28 million people that has been greatly affected by a conflict in the north between the government and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). President Yoweri Museveni, who has been in power since 1986, uses the conflict to maintain the status quo in Ugandan politics and deny his opposition a power base, along with placing restrictions on freedom of expression and association in the name of “the war against terrorism.” Since 1986, one million to two million Ugandans have been displaced because of the conflict and government policies. Eighty percent of the Ugandan internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women and children, and they face numerous health and safety

issues.⁸ Many Ugandan women, however, are active in lobbying for peace. In October 2006, in recognition of the sixth anniversary of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, women’s organizations in Uganda collected signatures of members of parliament committed to peace. They called for women’s participation in the peace talks and also demanded women’s rights be addressed, “especially the protection of women against gender-based violence, property rights for displaced women and women’s participation in decision-making and transitional justice.”⁹ Despite an active civil society and a minimum of one-third of the legislative positions in the government, many Ugandan women believe there is still a long road ahead of them.

Discussion and Conclusion

The energy at the Beijing conference and the dynamism that stemmed from the women's movement has become technical in some instances. Models, training and checklists are at the forefront of gender mainstreaming rather than the "incandescent impetus" that defined the women's movement, according to Santiago. The successor generation — men and women — must be challenged not to become complacent. The young people must continue this work and define their own issues, while maintaining an understanding of what the movement is and what it can do.

While gender advisors are now being placed in peace operations, the world is currently suffering from women's historic absence. The sexual abuse and exploitation perpetrated by U.N. peacekeepers has elevated this issue to a priority level. There is renewed commitment in the United Nations to address women's issues and needs and integrate a gender perspective in peace operations. While this has been translated into mandates, they have yet to be implemented fully.

“Without peace, we cannot develop. Without equality, we cannot have peace or development.”

— Miria Matembe

In Mindanao, there was not a single woman in the 1996 peace negotiations, and there was no thought for women's issues or needs. A recent evaluation showed that women received 10 percent of the resources — but these have become the only sustained projects. Men and women have learned from this experience, and Muslim women are now seeking ways to speak for themselves within their movement and beyond. Similarly, women across the Islamic world are working for peace, justice and human rights, although this may not often appear in the mainstream media.

Women have an important role to play in the prevention of war and early warning for armed conflict, yet they are not often in a position to do so. To prevent conflict, William Ury of the Harvard Negotiation Project writes that one must be a teacher, a provider and a bridge builder. It is necessary to have both skills and values to be effective as a peacebuilder. In Colombia, for example, women are actively preventing violence in the midst of armed conflict. They are negotiating humanitarian accords at the local level and participating in national peace processes.

Many women believe that to be effective at peace and security, they must think and act like men. But that is not the case, according to Pérez. The Margaret Thatchers and Condoleezza Rices of the world are entrenched in the institutions of men. Matembe noted that only with systemic transformation will the perspectives and approaches of both men and women co-exist. Santiago confirms: "It's not just any woman. It will have to be men and women — steeped in the notions of gender equality, human rights and social justice. Without these, what kind of leader are you?" For while a woman can behave like a man, a man can also advocate for gender equality. According to Pérez, this "makes him a very strong peacemaker in his own right. There is no better advocate than a man who is committed to gender equality."



Delegates listen to the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture which opened the conference

Plenary Summary: Women on the Frontlines

Rapporteur: Laura Taylor, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Women on the frontlines of conflict transformation and peace-building efforts bring innovative talents and approaches; their efforts, however, must be accepted at the national level and supported by international organizations and institutions. From East Africa to South Asia, from the Middle East to the Pacific, women have made inroads to peacefully resolving the violent conflicts that have ravaged their homes, their families and their nations. While progress is made, a number of conditions threaten to erode the gains women have achieved.



Laura Taylor introduces the Women on the Frontlines Panel

In Nepal, women played a key role in the movement for non-violent democratic transformation, but were relegated to the sidelines as the formal processes began. The subsequent outcry of women has led to some initial commitments for their participation by the parties, and the coming months will reveal their sincerity. Women’s needs and gender sensitivity remain of secondary concern in the humanitarian response in Lebanon — despite international mandates in this area — and only intense advocacy and attention might rectify this situation. During bilateral peace talks in the Philippines, female negotiators operated with a “win-win” mindset and drew on a unique set of skills to resolve conflicts within and among the parties. While women in Somalia, Sudan and Uganda were able to make concrete gains for their constituencies during peace negotiations and post-conflict processes, many of these have been reversed by the resumption of violence, illustrating again the complex context on the ground and the need for support for women’s efforts to bring sustainable peace.



Shobha Shrestha describes women’s exclusion in Nepali politics

Women in the Nepali Democratic Revolution: Missing From the Government

Speaker: Shobha Shrestha, South Asia Partnerships — Nepal

In 2006, the people of Nepal proved that a revolution through nonviolence is possible. The 19-day pro-democracy movement “was a unique revolution ... because it was solved by a home-grown solution,” stated Shrestha. The people organized a peaceful protest that ended 238 years of autocratic rule in Nepal, and women were an integral part of this movement.

Throughout the April revolution, thousands of women mobilized across Nepal, defying shoot-to-kill curfews ordered by King Gyanendra. They organized not only to express their democratic solidarity and demand restricted powers on the monarchy, but also to raise awareness of the rigid hierarchical social structure and discriminatory

traditional socio-cultural values that marginalize women and other sectors of Nepali society. Through rallies, poetry readings, satirical plays, mass meetings, letter campaigns, candlelight vigils and door-to-door advocacy, women called for the repeal of discriminatory laws and for equal participation in the

In Focus: Nepal

On April 24, 2006, King Gyanendra surrendered his direct rule in response to a popular pro-democracy movement that swept the country. The king accepted popular sovereignty, reinstated parliament and invited the Seven-Party Alliance (SPA) to implement these changes.¹⁰ After delays and setbacks, on November 8, 2006, the SPA and the Maoists committed to a historic agreement laying the foundation for a new government and ending the internal armed conflict which began in 1996 and resulted in the deaths of over 13,000

people. The agreement provided a position in the government for the Maoists, changing their status from a decade-long armed insurgency to a legal political party. Both sides have failed to include women in the peace process. According to Sapana Pradhan-Malla, a lawyer and women's rights activist, "They [the interim government and Maoists] still do not recognize our existence due to their assumption that Nepalese women are not capable at all."¹¹

restructuring of the state. However, the security forces responded to the peaceful demonstrations with violent oppression. Women and men were beaten, tortured, detained and killed for their activism. When the king finally responded to the people's demands and restored the parliament, women took to the streets alongside men to celebrate the success of their peaceful revolution.

But now, "The peace process has started, but where are the women?" asked Shrestha. Despite the fact that women were on the frontlines of the peace movement and fought on behalf of both the government and the Maoists, they have been sidelined in the official peace process. Neither party has included women in their negotiation teams, and governmental bodies established to advance a democratic Nepal — including the constitutional drafting committee and ceasefire monitoring committee — have also failed to include even one woman.

In response, women are creating strategic partnerships with men to set common agendas through collaborative efforts, promote legal changes that institutionalize women's rights and increase monitoring mechanisms to hold decision-makers accountable. Women are working with political parties to guarantee their representation in party structures, and they are pressuring for the implementation of the House of Representatives' proclamation reserving one-third of all government posts for women. Women have been instrumental in bringing back power from the king and now must wage a new protest to demand inclusion in the peace process.



Sarah Martin addresses the humanitarian response in Lebanon

Despite the fact that Lebanon was a "high-profile CNN conflict," women's rights were once again sidelined in the humanitarian response.

The Humanitarian Crisis in Lebanon: Addressing Women's Needs

Speaker: Sarah Martin, Refugees International

In July 2006, a quarter of the Lebanese population — one million people — were displaced by the upsurge in violence. The humanitarian response to this crisis took on two distinct forms: the Lebanese reaction and the efforts of the international community, primarily through the United Nations. According to Martin, the national response was overwhelmingly good: "Even though Lebanon has been torn apart by civil war for many years, many Lebanese felt like it was a time for national unity; many opened up their doors and took people in." However, their response was handled primarily by men for men, and women's repeated requests for sanitation supplies, baby diapers and other goods were frequently ignored.

In Focus: Lebanon

During the 34 days of fighting between Israel and Hezbollah in July 2006 following the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers, the Lebanese state was greatly damaged. The conflict displaced over one million of the nation’s four million citizens, resulted in over 1,000 civilian deaths, destroyed thousands of homes and crippled the Lebanese economy. Although U.N. Resolution 1701 halted the fighting between the two sides, between

100,000 and 150,000 displaced persons were still unable to return home.¹² Many of the displaced live with family or friends; however, their basic needs have yet to be met. Unlike many other countries with significant displaced populations, Lebanon is not a failed state. It has functioning governmental institutions, a sophisticated infrastructure and an active civil society.

When international observers raised concerns, the Lebanese civil society was generally eager to address these issues. In Martin’s experience, however, the response of the United Nations was not so positive when the same problems were raised by advocacy organizations and outside observers. For example, while local groups were active on the ground in aid distribution, U.N. agencies — organized in protection clusters¹³ — were “conducting assessments” from within the hotel headquarters. When Martin specifically asked about civil society consultations, U.N. staff noted the presence of a single Lebanese employee. Rather than capitalizing on existing local capacity, the United Nations seemed to prefer that national partners adapt to its system.

This situation clearly illustrates that in a time of crisis, great strides are still necessary to coordinate local and international humanitarian efforts in order to meet the needs of the most vulnerable. Media attention and international awareness is not sufficient. Despite the fact that Lebanon was a “high-profile CNN conflict,” women’s rights were once again sidelined in the humanitarian response and the local population essentially ignored. Martin called for a renewal of the international commitment to women’s needs and local participation and noted the urgency of continued advocacy.

At the Table: Negotiating for Peace in the Philippines

Speaker: Irene Santiago, Senior Advisor to the Peace Process in the Philippines

(For background information on the conflict in the Philippines, see Chapter 1: Women, War, Peace — Politics in Peacebuilding.)

In her career, Santiago has worked in a number of spheres and in various positions to maximize the impact of her efforts. She became an expert in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; therefore, when the government needed guidance on the ceasefire, they came to her. At the official negotiation table, she recognized that there are times when “you threaten; you do not ask.” As a negotiator, this approach worked for her because she had worked with civil society for years and was able to mobilize a large constituency to back up her demands. In negotiations, one cannot stand alone.

“*In negotiations, one cannot stand alone.*”

— Irene Santiago

Internal negotiations with her own team was often the most difficult, Santiago reflected. As a senior advisor to the government negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), she has pushed the teams to think outside the box. She has also been able to use her expertise in drafting policy, which has facilitated the speed at which agreements can be made since the language is in place. It does make a difference to have women at the table, Santiago said, “if for nothing else, I could fight with the men when the men cannot fight with the men” to stand up for women’s rights. A woman with courage, strong beliefs and the support of the women’s constituency can be extremely effective.

A woman brings the needs and concerns of women on the ground with her to the table. Santiago recalled one woman who simply wanted to be able to “beautify herself;” that is what peace meant to her after decades of displacement. “All the time I was at the negotiation this is what I had in my head. [It is] for this woman, [so] that she will never have to go to the evacuation center ever again Because of that,” concluded Santiago, “I knew what I had to do.”

Steps Forward and Backward in Northern Uganda, Somalia and Sudan

Speaker: Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda, U.N. Development Fund for Women



Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda presents cases from East Africa

“I have seen in Africa,” explained Gumbonzvanda, “how women can cry with one eye and smile and celebrate with the other.” While this may seem a paradox, in fact it captures the delicate work of women working for gender-sensitive peacebuilding in Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.

Understanding the context of conflict resolution is essential to resolving the conflict. While in East Africa there are a number of tools that can be used to protect women’s rights and demand justice, they are not sufficient to overcome the failed state in Somalia, to bring peace to the ongoing instability in Darfur or to provide respite to the displaced population in northern Uganda. Despite international instruments and national constitutions with clauses that guarantee women’s rights and gender equality, border conflicts and resource disputes continue to disrupt a region that has survived decades of insecurity and violent conflict.

In recent years, regional leadership and the international community have supported local women’s initiatives for peace and helped to create a space for them in the official peace processes. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union (AU) have recognized the need for women’s inclusion, the United Nations has engaged substantively on these issues and the women’s movement and vibrant media coverage have helped raise the visibility of women’s efforts for peace. “There is a practice of consultation with women. It is not always consistent or visible, but it is there.”

Regional leadership and the international community have supported local women’s initiatives for peace and helped to create a space for them in the official peace processes.



Plenary sessions foster dialogue among delegates and speakers

In Focus: East Africa

East Africa, which includes Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania, has been plagued with conflict for decades.¹⁴ Famine, rape, killing and instability have characterized the region. International instruments have been established to protect and empower women and others affected by the instability and violence in these areas. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the U.N. General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women.¹⁵ Somalia and Sudan have yet to ratify this agreement. As members of the United Nations, all states are bound to adhere to U.N.

Security Council Resolution 1325, although implementation has not been universal. On July 11, 2003, the African Union (AU) adopted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, a supplementary protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights.¹⁶ In July 2004, the A.U. Heads of State met and adopted the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA). Through this declaration, the heads of state and government committed themselves to report annually on progress towards gender equality.¹⁷ Even with these international instruments, violence and abuse of human rights have continued in the region.

Women can bring a new perspective to a negotiation. Women build bridges and connect personally, not only as commanders, chiefs and commissioners, but also as mothers, wives, daughters and sisters.

Four strategic gains should be recognized, according to Gumbonzvanda:

1. Mediators and negotiators are beginning to act as catalysts for women’s inclusion;
2. Women’s participation in peace negotiations is considered both a right and a means to an end;
3. Peace agreements have emerged that explicitly recognize and address women’s rights, gender equality and women’s priorities; and
4. Gender inclusion is becoming a facet of post-conflict planning, resource distribution and implementation.

Yet these gains are fragile and remain threatened by ongoing violence and insecurity, a lack of accountability, a peace without justice and scarce resources to sustain women’s advocacy and build their capacity for greater participation. A variety of steps are necessary to sustain and institutionalize these advancements. Strategic approaches are needed to overcome current barriers; in particular, once women gain access to the peace table, the question of their preparedness for and protection during talks must be considered. Global partnerships that link aid and the Millennium Development Goals with 1325 must be strengthened, and existing research and activism must connect with policy and practice on the ground.

Discussion and Conclusion

Moderator: Rebecca Okwaci, Women’s Action for Development

Women can bring a new perspective to a negotiation. Gumbonzvanda shared an example in which the presence of Somali women in negotiations at Oslo and Abuja opened the space to talk about personal issues. Women were able to speak of the violence they had experienced and its impact on their families and neighbors. The negotiators then had to weave in these perspectives and address some of the issues facing the communities caught in conflict. Women built bridges and connected personally, not only as commanders, chiefs and commissioners, but also as mothers, wives, daughters and sisters. In Gumbonzvanda’s opinion, this humanization of the “other” has been key to the negotiations.



Rebecca Okwaci, 2006 IPJ Woman PeaceMaker from Sudan, moderates the panel discussion

Women are also able to inquire and speak frankly in negotiations. According to Santiago, when a woman enters a room, she is more likely to ask, "What is your problem? Does this work for you? This works for me. Deal? Deal." There is less positioning when women engage in negotiations.

When a woman first sits at the table, there is often an assumption that she has little or no expertise. Where there is fear, women are more vulnerable to intimidation. Therefore, women must be properly trained so they can bring confidence, objectivity and knowledge to negotiations. Men must challenge their assumptions and be sensitized to recognize, appreciate and incorporate the contributions of women. The systems that marginalize and intimidate women at the table must be confronted and transformed. In order to include men in this struggle, one must articulate what the benefits are for them and how the process and outcomes will be enhanced with women's perspective and participation.

Working Sessions: Building Knowledge and Capacity on Women, Peace and Security

Constructing an International Interactive Gender and Armed Conflict Research Agenda

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

A knowledge gap continues to exist in the area of women, peace and security. Women's organizations and others working on the ground in areas of armed conflict are focused on advocacy and activities, and there is insufficient space or time to collect and disseminate their experiences, best practices and lessons learned. Yet policymakers, practitioners and researchers are actively seeking out this information, which exists in pockets within U.N. agencies, national governments and international and national civil society groups.

To promote more effective information sharing and to direct research toward the gaps and needs of policymakers and practitioners, the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights is in the initial stages of creating an Interactive International Research Agenda on Gender and Armed Conflict on their Web site: www.genderandsecurity.org. Participants can submit questions, initiate discussions and find up-to-date research in progress on a variety of questions related to gender, women, war and post-conflict reconstruction. Such collaboration aims to decrease the existing fragmentation of information and knowledge on these issues and facilitate international collaboration and stronger, research-based responses to needs in the field.



Delegates discuss a gender and security research agenda

Working group participants suggested several research areas that require further development: security sector reform, gender-sensitive curriculum development and training for military personnel, healthcare in the context of armed conflict, protection for women who are the "subjects" of research, sexual slavery and gender asylum policies, among others. The modalities of this research are equally important. Those working on women's and gender issues must be brought together with those who focus on other aspects of armed conflict, such as security, refugees or development. Researchers must not only engage with international or high-level national experts, but also with women in the communities to hear their experiences. In that realm, researchers should not merely extract and utilize the information, but must consider women's protection needs, work to build their trust and focus on finding solutions beyond the research.

Training and Capacity Building — Developing Effective Curriculum for Women Peacebuilders

Facilitator: Victoria Stanski, The Initiative for Inclusive Security

A disconnect remains between those on the ground and those making policy.

While the body of research on women, peace and security is growing, a disconnect remains between those on the ground and those making policy. To bridge the gap between these two groups, The Initiative for Inclusive Security and International Alert produced *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (available at www.huntalternatives.org). This resource defines and details key phases in the response to armed conflict — such as prevention, negotiations, transitional justice and security sector reform — the impact of these processes on women’s lives and examples of women’s contributions in each area.



Delegates work to develop capacity-building programs for women peacebuilders

The toolkit is now being used in numerous countries by policymakers, practitioners and women peacebuilders as a reference guide, an awareness-raising tool and a training resource. The Initiative for Inclusive Security has conducted trainings for women leaders from Afghanistan, Colombia, Iraq, Sudan and other countries in armed conflict to increase their effectiveness. The training components are proving very useful in the transfer and ownership of this knowledge by women and include the following steps:

- Build team dynamics among the women participants to strengthen coalitions through personal experiences and the identification of common goals and interests;
- Generate a joint advocacy agenda and priorities for the women of the country;
- Collectively develop strategies to ensure systematic implementation;
- Apply lessons learned from other countries;
- Produce policy-oriented recommendations to transmit the women’s agenda to the relevant actors;
- Develop skills to deliver this advocacy message; and
- Create monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and networks to sustain the group and its agenda beyond the training event.



Delegates network during breaks

Chapter 2:

Integrating Women and Gender Issues into Security Policy and Practice



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As the survivors of violent conflict, women have not only the right, but the relevant information and knowledge to participate in the design and implementation of programs to re-establish security at regional, national and local levels.

Women are particularly marginalized from the realm of security, as only the actors in the armed conflict along with relevant agencies in the international community tend to dictate these policies and processes. In general, women are brought into discussions on security primarily as victims in need of protection and assistance. However, as the survivors of violent conflict, women have not only the right, but the relevant information and knowledge to participate in the design and implementation of programs to re-establish security at regional, national and local levels. As this is increasingly recognized, women are beginning to make their mark on several key processes to establishing post-conflict security, such as peace operations, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), security sector reform (SSR) and the elimination of small arms and light weapons (SALW).

Resolution 1325 specifically addressed the protection of women during armed conflict and their participation in post-conflict security mechanisms. Among its recommendations, the Security Council called for an expanded role for women in peace operations and the integration of a gender perspective into peacekeeping missions. Women participate in peacekeeping missions in far fewer numbers than men. As of March 2006, women made up nearly 30 percent of civilian staff (though most are in junior positions), five percent of police and only one percent of military personnel.¹⁸



Mary Ann Arnado, 2005 IPJ Woman PeaceMaker, organized the Bantay Ceasefire monitoring team which documented experiences of the displaced people living in evacuation camps, Mindanao, the Philippines (Photo credit: Mary Ann Arnado)

little is known, and thus few programs exist to support women's efforts. However, as one expert notes: "SSR must derive from and be supported by the will of the society, and particularly its leadership, to endorse far-reaching changes [Yet] women remain marginalized. The numbers of women in security sector institutions remains abysmally low — and the incidents of violence against women perpetuated in [those institutions] or endorsed by them remain alarmingly high."¹⁹ The few examples available where women have had an impact on SSR exhibit the overwhelming importance that women participate in the redesign of the military and police forces, as their specific experience and skills may lead to distinct outcomes.

Women are also engaging in micro-disarmament in official and informal roles to eliminate the threat of small arms and light weapons. As noted by a woman leader in this field: "These so-called light weapons have killed more than four million people in the last 10 years. They have become the instrument of choice in most armed conflict Women can no longer limit themselves to repairing the damage caused by conflict, as in humanitarian action, demobilization and reintegration. Today they are obliged to wage an additional battle, the one to eliminate light weapons."²⁰ In furtherance of that effort, women are assisting international weapons collection programs, advocating for stronger regulations and redress and promoting awareness of the dangers of SALW in their homes, communities and countries.

The following summaries of the plenary and working sessions address these and other issues related to women's roles in promoting post-conflict security.

In addition, 1325 issued a mandate for "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 dependents." Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is frequently deemed the most critical phase of post-conflict security, as peace often hinges upon weapons collection and the peaceful disbanding of warring parties. Only in recent years has women's participation in armed forces been recognized, and programming is just beginning to adapt accordingly.

Among these formal processes, security sector reform is the area in most need of further research and documentation on the role of women. Very

Plenary Summary: Getting Gender-Inclusive and Gender-Sensitive Military and Peacekeeping Policies into Action²¹



Anja Ebnöther shares her work at the Geneva Centre on security sector reform

Rapporteur: Camille Pampell Conaway, Consultant

Before democracy and governance can be addressed, security must be provided, and women have critical contributions to make in this area. While women's role in peacebuilding has received increased attention in recent years, the area of security policy continues to neglect the needs, concerns and contributions of women. Despite the existence of peace agreements, women experience violence and exploitation — even at the hands of those charged with their protection. It is necessary for women to assume military, police, civilian and leadership roles and work alongside gender-sensitive men if peace operations are to be effective at delivering real security for the entire population — men, women, boys and girls.

Security and safety are not equally enjoyed.

Gender, Democratic Control of Armed Forces and the Reform of the Security Sector

Speaker: Anja Ebnöther, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

"Working for peace and security is a huge burden and responsibility, which we cannot lift alone but have to share." Yet women are essentially marginalized from the political and the security arena, despite the fact that the United Nations has declared that all individuals have the right to human security — "freedom from want and fear." Security and safety, however, are not equally enjoyed. Obstacles such as violence, armed conflict, human rights violations and post-war insecurity stand in the way. Violence against women must also be framed as a security issue; it violates human security, promotes other forms of instability and undermines women's role as peacebuilders.

It is the responsibility of the security sector to respond to these matters. This includes the armed forces and the police, as well as civilian management and oversight bodies and civil society groups. The principles of good governance must be implemented within the security sector, such as accountability, transparency, responsibility and participation. This last component was proclaimed in 1325, which mandates the equal involvement of women in these processes. However, beyond this statement, challenges remain. The resolution must be implemented, women must be integrated and the security sector must begin responding to women's needs. These institutions must address violence against women and provide redress. The different needs, vulnerabilities, skills and experiences of men, women, boys and girls must be taken into account to effectively realize security.

Challenges to the European Security Strategy from a Gender Perspective

Speaker: Gitti Hentschel, Feminist Institute, Heinrich Boell Foundation



Gitti Hentschel focuses on E.U. peace support operations

Where peace operations have good leadership and favorable conditions, there have been advances in women's participation, such as Burundi and Timor-Leste.

While the European Union (EU) has become a major player in the field of peace operations, its strategy for conflict resolution has become increasingly militarized. The 2003 strategy paper, *A Secure Europe in a Better World*, listed international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime as key threats to security. However, the document does not clearly define security policy or criteria for civil and military interventions and remains gender-blind overall.

While E.U. documents, treaties and other statutes frequently refer to gender mainstreaming — and even to 1325 on occasion — these concepts and mandates are missing in the official security strategy for the continent. Defense policy and military strategy remain areas of male domain, and EU missions and operations therefore do not have a mandate or expertise to address issues of gender or women's concerns. To rectify this situation:



Comfort Lamptey explains the evolution of U.N. peacekeeping missions

- The definition of security must expand to include "human security;"
- The European Union should focus on prevention, not only intervention, and civil solutions, not only military ones — budgets should be adjusted accordingly;
- The European Union needs a continent-wide action plan to implement 1325 and a strong impetus for the member states to do the same;
- Gender-specific data must be regularly collected and drawn upon for conflict and actor analyses, and gender awareness must be part of the education and training of civil and military personnel; and
- E.U. measures and activities for peace and security must be regularly evaluated from a gender perspective.

Transforming Gender Disparity and Gender Insensitivity in International Peacekeeping

Speaker: Comfort Lamptey, U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations

The role and mandate of the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) is to support the re-establishment of security and to facilitate long-term development. In recent years, much of peacekeeping has shifted to nation building, and therefore the nature of DPKO's work itself has evolved. The numbers have grown; there are 93,000 peacekeepers in 18 missions worldwide with a budget of \$5 billion.

DPKO's mandate with regard to women is two-fold: 1) To enhance gender sensitivity in all aspects of operations and policies; and 2) To increase the numbers of women in the agency and its missions. Concrete steps have been taken at headquarters and in the field to advance the agenda of women's participation and the inclusion of a gender perspective in peace operations. Where operations have good leadership and favorable conditions, for example, there have been advances in women's participation, such as Burundi and Timor-Leste. But challenges still exist:



Jacqueline O'Neill discusses women in civilian police forces

- Implementation;
- Short-term mentality in the approach to peacekeeping;
- Poor recruiting practices by member-state militaries (less than 30 percent actively recruit women); and
- A mission staff — civilian and military — that remains overwhelmingly male (only one percent of military personnel and five percent of civilian police are women; while 30 percent of civilian staff are women, the vast majority are in junior positions).

Moving forward, security indicators must be broadened to measure sexual violence against women, and the framework itself must become more inclusive. The profile of peacekeepers must be broadened, and civilians are needed to work alongside the military personnel. The mission environment must become more gender-sensitive as one strategy to recruit women at all levels.

Women's numbers in peace operations alone does not mean that the mission will be gender-sensitive. The integration of a gender perspective among both men and women is necessary to address the range of issues in multi-dimensional peace operations.

Community-Based Security: Role of the International and National Police Securing the Space for Women Peacebuilders

Speaker: Jacqueline O'Neill, The Initiative for Inclusive Security

There are currently 7,000 U.N. civilian police — a number that is on the rise — operating in 13 missions but only five percent are women. These personnel, often unarmed, are responsible for liaising with the local community, including women, and addressing their security needs. While many see them only as victims and in need of protection, women are also building peace and are actively seeking out ways to assist in providing security in their communities and homes. In the camps of refugees and internally displaced in Darfur, for example, several hundred women have organized themselves and asked the African Union to protect them from sexual violence.

Women need to be part of civilian police forces in order to create a more holistic and effective approach to civil-military relations in peace operations. Their participation will likely lead to:



Delegate poses question from audience

- Increased reporting of gender-based violence;
- A more inclusive peace process and reconstruction plan;
- A shift in the power dynamics within local communities;
- Enhancement of force protection; and
- Transformation of the U.N. mission's organizational culture.

Within the United Nations and member states, there is currently a heightened awareness of the need for more civilian police and the critical role they play in peace operations. We cannot miss this opportunity to ensure that women are part of this dialogue and that tailored strategies are developed to recruit women into the growing ranks of civilian police units.

Lessons from the Frontlines of Peacekeeping and Restoring Peace With Gender Justice

Speaker: Sarah Martin, Refugees International

Women's participation in peace operations and gender mainstreaming in the U.N. Department for Peacekeeping Operations is critical, but it will not happen overnight. It will require significant time and investments to change the existing culture. There is distrust and even fear of the concept of "gender," and many diplomats do not necessarily see how gender mainstreaming fits into their agenda. Many troop-contributing states are not focused on this issue, and the United Nations must rely on whatever military personnel that the country is willing to deploy for peace operations. Involving men in discussions on gender and security may begin to break down some of these barriers.

It is this culture of hyper-masculinity and a male-dominated military that contributes to the marginalization of women's needs and concerns and even perpetuates their abuse and exploitation. This occurs in both developing and developed states — even in the best-trained military units, and the most common victims are women within their own countries. Even in the United States, one in seven women in military academies have reported abuse or harassment; it is estimated that up to half have had similar experiences, which go undocumented.

While this can be controversial, it is important to realize that increasing women's numbers in peace operations alone does not mean that the mission will be gender-sensitive. The integration of a gender perspective among both men and women is necessary to address the range of issues in multi-dimensional peace operations in an effective manner. Gender sensitivity must be a critical component of all aspects of peace operations, including tasks such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR).

To begin to take corrective action:

- Training on gender issues, particularly the exploitation and abuse of women, must occur before deployment, while military personnel and civilian police are in their home countries;
- Civil society must be supported and women's groups strengthened to monitor the situation; dialogue between these organizations and peace operations personnel should be encouraged; and
- Creative options should be encouraged, explored and evaluated, such as the all-female unit from India sent to the Liberian mission and the recruitment strategies of South Africa to include women in peace operations.



Delegates take advantage of receptions for further discussions

Discussion and Conclusion

Moderator: Joyce Neu, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice and the United States Institute of Peace

There are examples of effective co-policing (between civilian police and the community). In Sudan, as a result of women's advocacy, firewood patrols should be attended by A.U. police. Before women raised the issues, however, the military did not see this situation as relevant to their work. In some cases, small changes can make an important difference for women. Altering the public perception of the police may encourage dialogue. Hiring female translators, for example, can improve relations and communication significantly between mission staff and women on the ground. Changing the rules for reporting rape can encourage women to come forward, as can the provision of confidential and anonymous counseling and therapy for post-traumatic stress related to sexual violence and other human rights abuses.

With regard to sexual abuse and exploitation by peacekeeping personnel, the investigation and prosecution occur in the home country of the alleged perpetrator. Although U.N. standards apply to all peace operations personnel, enforcement is nearly impossible. When allegations are made, the accused is repatriated and referred to judicial procedures at the national level; impunity is rampant. Privatization of many security forces also complicates this process. In some cases, however, the leadership of a particular mission can have a major impact on personnel behavior. A military commander once said:

Training on gender and women's issues by men for men can also be effective to raise awareness and ensure women's protection and participation.

“Now that the fighting has started, raping will too, and if raping starts then hangings will, as well.” Another leader reportedly told the troops in his peacekeeping force: “There is no such thing as a consensual relationship in a time of armed conflict.” Internal accountability within peace operations can be a powerful tool to ensure women are protected and involved. Training on gender and women’s issues by men for men can also be effective in raising this awareness. Militaries need to understand that in addition to the fact that sexual exploitation is wrong and illegal generally, it also detracts from their mission and effectiveness.

In sum, **definitions of security** must be re-defined according to the needs and concerns of the whole population. Despite the existence of mandates and laws, it is the **organizational culture** of security institutions that must change. Increasing women’s numbers in peace operations and participation in security dialogues and maintenance is critical, but **integrating a gender perspective** throughout these processes is the ultimate goal.

Working Sessions: Defining and Demanding Security for Women

Small Arms and Light Weapons — Crafting Practical Recommendations

Facilitator: Shobha Shrestha, South Asia Partnerships — Nepal



Working session on small arms and light weapons

Five hundred thousand people die at the hands of small arms and light weapons (SALW) annually worldwide; 90 percent are civilians, and 80 percent of those are women and children. Yet the “big business” of producing and trading small arms goes on. Over 639 million SALW are in circulation today, and over 1,000 companies produce them. In Nepal — where the South Asia Small Arms (SASA) Network is based — the government alone holds approximately 166,000 weapons, while the Maoist armed movement both produces and collects SALW to fuel their struggle. Arms have also been imported from Belgium, India, the United Kingdom and the

United States. This excessive use of SALW has led to an exacerbation of the conflict in Nepal and the establishment of a weapons-dependent society where human rights violations are common, criminal activities are on the rise and the development budget is diverted for military expenditures.

The SASA network was formed in 2003 in response to the massive problem of SALW in the region. The 42 member organizations raise public awareness of these issues, mobilize civil society and conduct research and advocacy to further the U.N. Programme of Action on SALW, the Arms Trade Treaty and other international mechanisms to monitor weapons. The SASA network also plans to train the security forces and the police on human rights and the inappropriate use of SALW and to urge the destruction of arms rather than recirculation to village defense committees and civilians. In Nepal, as the new constitution is written and new structures are established, the SASA network is maximizing its opportunity to pressure the government to incorporate international standards in new legislation and appoint a focal person to specifically address the overwhelming problems related to small arms.

Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Times of Crisis

Facilitator: Sarah Martin, Refugees International

Sexual exploitation and abuse occurs worldwide, but is exacerbated during times of conflict. Women are often victimized in the midst of the crisis, as refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs), for example, and in the post-conflict aftermath of instability. These human rights violations are perpetrated not only at the hands of combatants or security forces, but cases of abuse by U.N. peacekeepers — sent to protect the population — are increasingly reported. A pattern of sexual exploitation and abuse by “blue helmet” officers has emerged and captured the attention of global media and the United Nations. Prostitution of women and children for goods or favors, international trafficking to service peacekeepers and allegations of rape and other forms of abuse have occurred in Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Timor-Leste, Haiti, Liberia and elsewhere, manifesting the prevalence of this universal problem.



Delegates discuss sexual exploitation during conflict

The United Nations has responded by conducting high-level investigations, making internal recommendations, enacting zero tolerance policies and providing gender-sensitive trainings to troops and mission staff to attempt to address the problem. Because military personnel are ultimately accountable only to their own governments, impunity is the norm even when allegations of very serious crimes, such as trafficking and rape, are made.



Sarah Martin shares case studies of peacekeeper abuse

However, some member states are beginning to recognize and respond to these issues. South Africa is prosecuting a peacekeeper for the rape and murder of a young girl, and India has deployed an all-female peacekeeping unit in an effort to eliminate sexual abuse entirely.

Much more must be done both in terms of preventive action and also accountability and justice. While ensuring that zero tolerance policies are implemented in the field is critical, assisting the survivors of sexual abuse, easing the reporting process and providing counseling and support are equally important — but often neglected — measures. For more specific recommendations to counter sexual abuse and exploitation by U.N. peacekeepers, see Sarah Martin’s report: “Must Boys Be Boys? Ending Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in U.N. Peacekeeping Missions” (available at www.refugeesinternational.org).

Pursuit of Gender Justice during Armed Conflict

Facilitator: Joyce Neu, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice and the United States Institute of Peace

Justice mechanisms are essentially nonexistent in most situations of armed conflict, and the pursuit of justice is often postponed in the pursuit of peace. Yet following the war, as justice systems are created or re-created, women’s needs and concerns are generally marginalized from the process. Post-conflict justice at international, national and local levels do not often bring redress for women and do not recognize and focus on their ongoing trauma and suffering.

Creativity is necessary to bring gender justice. Counseling to address women’s trauma, for example, can be defined in a way that is less stigmatizing. New tools for justice can be created, such as cleansing ceremonies, community drama and gender-sensitive awareness raising for men by men. In Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, an official effort was made to provide gender justice through the reconciliation commissions as a result of women’s advocacy. Yet relying on women to provide or demand gender justice in local or national processes is not enough, and action must be taken in a number of areas.



Joyce Neu facilitates a working session on gender justice

1. Institutions must be held accountable from the international to the community level.
2. At the outset of post-conflict justice, gender experts and women leaders must be consulted to discover how to address women’s needs and concerns, including protection for testimony.
3. Physical security, the provision of basic needs and women’s livelihoods must be on the agenda of post-conflict justice.
4. Women must be included from the outset in peace talks, and where these negotiations are held can have an impact on their participation. The peace table must be held among the people to facilitate a transparent and inclusive process.

5. Implementation of the CEDAW, 1325 and other tools is critical to promoting gender justice. Nations must be publicly admonished when they fail to follow these mandates.

6. We must turn collective anger into non-violent action and harness women’s collective will and abilities to promote gender justice.

7. Top-down and bottom-up approaches are necessary; large and small initiatives working simultaneously can be effective.

Women and Peace Operations — Security from the International to the Local Level

Facilitators: Jacqueline O’Neill, The Initiative for Inclusive Security; and Jolynn Shoemaker, Women in International Security

Despite the mandates of 1325, women remain severely underrepresented in peace operations. From heads of mission to military and police to civilian staff, the United Nations is a long way from the goal of 50-50 gender balance in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and in field missions. Among civilian staff, there has been some progress at the junior level of professional posts, but women’s numbers drop in more senior positions. Furthermore, women represent only one and five percent of military personnel and civilian police, respectively, as of March 2006.²²

According to working group participants, major challenges to the recruitment of women for U.N. peace operations include:

1. A lack of transparency and access to the complex online-only application process for civilian staff known as the Galaxy human resources system, particularly for women in developing countries;
2. Institutional bias, which favors those who already know and understand the U.N. system and have contacts or political clout within the United Nations or member states;

3. Limited knowledge or political will within member states to proactively increase women's numbers in military and civilian police deployment or to nominate them for high-level mission appointments;
4. Few mechanisms or means to address women's specific employment needs (e.g., mission postings that are not designated as "family duty" assignments, or a lack of funds for women to travel home from peace operations); and
5. Limited accountability of member states or U.N. agencies when they fail to increase the number of women among mission personnel.



Delegates share their experiences in working sessions

A variety of tactics must be carried out simultaneously to enhance women's participation in peace operations. The United Nations should conduct a public diplomacy campaign to raise awareness of its mandate to employ gender balance in all its activities, urge member states to comply and develop advertising strategies to recruit women. Incentives should be considered for member states that nominate a substantial number of women for high appointments, and activists should increase scrutiny of the employment and contracting processes within member states and the United Nations. Finally, enhancing women's knowledge, skills and capacity to apply for these positions is critical; women must be able to work within the formal policy structures and discourse if they are to be effective in that environment.

Security Sector Reform

Facilitators: Anja Ebnöther, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces; and Kristin Valasek, Consultant

Women's role in security sector reform is an emerging issue — one that has received scant attention by policymakers, practitioners and researchers until very recently. Resources are few, but new initiatives are being explored. The U.N. International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), for example, has created an online network to exchange information on gender and security sector reform. The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, together with INSTRAW and other partners, has created a working group that generates training materials along the same lines. This ongoing research will include a gender and security index, assessment tools, curriculum and training for a variety of actors, country studies on this issue and instruments to track and realize concrete policies on these issues.

Given the general lack of attention, little has been done in the U.N., E.U., or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) missions, among others, to incorporate women and gender concerns into the reform of the police, intelligence sector or armed forces. Furthermore, these separate international organizations rarely interact with each other; across the board, there is a disconnect between headquarters and the field. Mission personnel and new police forces often experience difficulties interfacing with the local community. Civil society involvement on the ground is an important component of a transparent and accountable security sector; therefore, bridges must be built among the various actors.

It is critical to recognize that gender and security sector reform cannot be reduced to merely adding women. Being female does not necessarily equate with gender sensitivity. There must be both gender balance and gender sensitivity in post-conflict security sector reform. That is, both gender-sensitive men and women should be recruited into the new forces.

Civil society involvement on the ground is an important component of a transparent and accountable security sector; therefore, bridges must be built among the various actors.

Knowledge-Building Workshop: Create National and Organizational Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security

Trainer: Kristin Valasek, Consultant

An action plan is a written document that describes the efforts and resources required in order to implement a goal, law, mandate or policy within a specific period of time. Within the United Nations, for example, there is a system-wide action plan for the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325. Action plans are useful to engage all actors, coordinate activities, raise awareness, create ownership, promote accountability and monitor progress. INSTRAW outlines six major steps to create an action plan for women, peace and security (www.un-instraw.org).

1. **Advocate and Raise Awareness** — Campaigns and strategic advocacy are crucial to gain momentum to create the plan and ensure implementation (i.e., policy brief, public forum).
2. **Get Organized** — The formation of collaboration groups or inter-agency task forces can generate momentum, ensure a participatory process and assign responsibilities for drafting and implementing the action plan.
3. **Plan for Planning** — Terms of Reference should be developed at the outset of the process; it should include rationale, objectives, strategy, expected outputs, timeline and budget for the production of the action plan.
4. **Conduct an Assessment** — A women, peace and security audit (institutional and/or external) is necessary to determine the gaps, the priority areas of work and a baseline for future monitoring and evaluation.
5. **Plan Meetings** — Departmental, sectoral or task force meetings and workshops should be well facilitated and participatory; they should include capacity-building components to build awareness, collective ownership and accountability.
6. **Draft the Action Plan** — It should be based on the assessment and the input of the key women, peace and security actors. Allow time for broad circulation of a first and second draft to incorporate feedback and build consensus. The action plan components should include: introduction, rationale, short- and long-term objectives, specific initiatives and activities, time frame, monitoring and evaluation and budget.



Linda Harvey documents group dialogue in working session



Kristin Valasek helps set the agenda for the working session

Chapter 3:

Promoting Gender-Sensitive Governance — Men and Women as Partners in Political Leadership



Chapter 3: Promoting Gender-Sensitive Governance — Men and Women as Partners in Political Leadership

As women's presence begins to increase in legislatures and governmental structures, the mission of maximizing their impact becomes more pressing.

In recent years, there has been a striking increase in the numbers of women in public decision-making roles at regional, national and local levels. Interestingly, many of the countries with the highest proportion of women in decision-making structures have recently emerged from armed conflict. Given the “window of opportunity,” the transitional period can serve as an important entry point for women. Various post-conflict states have over one-third women's representation at the parliamentary level, and Rwanda tops the world's list of countries with a 49 percent female presence in the lower house.²³

With tailored international support during the critical transition period, women are overcoming political, economic, social and psychological challenges to become decision-makers in record numbers. Experts attribute this achievement to specific mechanisms established in the aftermath of armed conflict — quotas, reserved seats, political party mandates, indirect elections and other tools. There is no “silver bullet” to ensuring women's political participation at local and national levels. Strategies vary given the cultural context, political climate and system, strength of the women's movement and individual leaders and the needs of the post-conflict society.

Yet as women's presence begins to increase in legislatures and governmental structures, the mission of maximizing their impact becomes more pressing. The U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs notes: “A significant presence of women in parliament does not, in itself, guarantee that women have achieved equality in the political sphere. Nor does it guarantee that greater attention will be given to gender issues or translated into policies and action on gender equality.”²⁴ The international community and women's organizations must continue to seek ways to enhance women's capacity to go beyond numbers in public decision-making positions into an influence on policymaking.



A woman holding her voting card waits in line at the voting station in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Photo credit: IRIN)



Voters in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Photo credit: IRIN)

Plenary Summary: Making Democracy and Peacebuilding Work for Women and With Men

Rapporteur: Jessica Walker-Keleher, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights

Following armed conflict, there are both constraints and entry points for women seeking political positions. Women have drawn on 1325 and various tools to advance their participation. While quotas, constitutional mandates and institutional transformation can facilitate this effort, formidable obstacles remain and sustaining initial gains proves very difficult. The independence, legitimacy and gender sensitivity of women officials, the challenges of implementation of mandates, quotas and laws and the complex environment of a new governance system are issues that must be addressed if gender equality is to be realized in post-conflict states.



Governance panelists listen to the grassroots challenges experienced by conference delegates

Quotas: Global Perspective on Guaranteeing Women's Political Participation as a Means to Good Governance

Speaker: Rick Matland, University of Loyola Chicago

Women's representation in government is generally low due to a combination of factors, such as the nature of the electoral system, the general level of economic development and culture. These influences and others account for the current global average of only 16 percent female representation in national legislatures. The Nordic countries are at the high end of the scale with 38 percent women, while Arab countries have only six percent female representation on average. Interestingly, post-conflict Rwanda tops the list globally with 49 percent women in the lower house of parliament.

Overall, democratization has a significant impact on women's ability to access positions of power. While economic development has an overall positive, but varied, effect, culture is strongly correlated with representation; and proportional vs. single-member representation makes a crucial difference in how many women assume elected positions. More specifically, systems of proportional representation tend to have the highest numbers of women in the legislature.

While some quotas are mandated in constitutions or laws to boost women's political participation, many are voluntarily established by political parties. As of 2005, 34 countries legally required women's participation, and voluntary quotas were in place in 61 states. However, while quotas have been effective in some countries — such as Argentina, Costa Rica and Taiwan — they have not led to changes in women's representation in others, namely France and most of Latin America. Good faith compliance among political parties is not always reliable; incentives and sanctions are necessary to guarantee the implementation of quota laws.

Democratization has a significant impact on women's ability to access positions of power.

New Government, New Faces — Can Women be Equal Partners in Governing Sudan?

Speaker: James Kok, Government of Southern Sudan

As women's presence begins to increase in legislatures and governmental structures, the mission of maximizing their impact becomes more pressing.

During the time of colonial rule in Sudan, many viewed women solely as child bearers and homemakers. Throughout the 22-year war that followed, women began to participate in the liberation movement and the fight for peace in Sudan. Since the binding 2005 comprehensive peace agreement, the Government of Southern Sudan has recognized women's rights and established affirmative action measures as women are a majority of the population. In all three tiers of government — executive, legislative and judicial — 25 percent of leaders must be women, according to the constitution of the Government of Southern Sudan.



James Kok describes the changing culture in the Sudan

According to Kok, implementation of this mandate is inhibited by cultural and religious beliefs and a lack of educated women. However, the culture is changing. Because of women's active role in peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Southern Sudan, the participation of women is "ingrained in the perception and concept of our men." Men now realize that without women, there cannot be accountability, transparency, democracy or an effective justice system in the new government.

In Focus: Sudan

Sudan, the largest country in Africa, has been riddled by a series of overlapping conflicts between Muslims and Christians; Arabs and Africans; and nomads and farmers. Although genocide continues in the Darfur region by pro-government militias, the north-south war — which began in 1983 and resulted in the death of over two million people — formally ended with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in January 2005.²⁵ In the constitution

of the Government of Southern Sudan, a quota system guarantees women's participation in federal and state legislatures: 25 percent of all parliamentary seats are reserved for women and 10 percent are reserved in all other state legislatures and elected local bodies.²⁶ One of the obstacles to filling these seats is the low numbers of formally educated women in the country due to continuous war and displacement.

Challenges to Gender Justice: Betrayal of Uganda's Affirmative Action Constitution

Speaker: Miria Matembe, former minister, Government of Uganda

(For background information on the conflict in Uganda, see Chapter 1: Women, War, Peace — Politics in Peacebuilding.)

Despite the inclusion of affirmative action in Uganda's constitution and the visible position of women in the legislature and the executive, their political leadership has not been transformative and has not yielded the expected results. The lack of political will on behalf of the government, which gives women "only enough space to sing [the government's] praises," has negated the effects of one of the world's most gender-sensitive constitutions.

Women account for 28.8 percent of parliamentarians and make up 30 percent of local government leaders in Uganda, yet their actions are dictated by male officials. In this sense, the quota system has been counter-productive, according to Matembe, and is frequently used as a tool to contain and control women's voices and actions. Because of the quota system, women often see their appointment as a favor from the government and subsequently tend to avoid "rocking the boat." These women are co-opted by state structures and find it difficult to influence policy from within or negotiate from without.



Carol Cohn moderates governance panel

This has led to a renewed struggle for basic women's rights — for inheritance, land and protection and redress against domestic violence, among others — and women are encountering strong resistance from the very government they have supported. Women must be disentangled from a system of state patronage if they are to be sufficiently strong and independent to regain these rights.

“The Ugandan government's lack of political will gives women “only enough space to sing [the government's] praises,” but negates the effects of one of the world's most gender-sensitive constitutions.”

— Miria Matembe



Doreen Mattingly poses question from the audience

Advancing U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 and Inclusive Governance: Training Experiences from the Andean and Central American Regions

Speaker: Alma Viviana Pérez, Consultant

The lack of interest or motivation to pursue women's rights and participation purported by some policymakers can be counteracted by “translating” international tools, such as 1325, into a language they can understand. Its mandates must be customized to the specific context if implementation is to be achieved. “Reading 1325 in Latin America is not the same as reading it in

Africa.” The resolution can even be tailored to the needs and issues in so-called “peaceful” states where war or armed conflict is not the key issue, but perhaps security or political participation is.

In any context, accountability mechanisms must be strengthened in order to jump-start implementation at the national level. Additional tools and levers must be developed, such as regional instruments or national plans of action and platforms. Resolution 1325 should never be used alone, but combined with the mandates of other instruments, such as CEDAW. Partnerships are also critical — across sectors, countries and sexes. Men can be critical allies in the effort to secure women's rights and a seat at the table.

Constraints Women Face in Advancing a Gender Equity Agenda within State Institutions and in Political Parties

Speaker: Anne Marie Goetz, U.N. Development Fund for Women

Governance institutions are “the neglected middle” in discussions of women’s political effectiveness. Legislation alone cannot result in changes on the ground.

“There is a rising tide of women in politics; but the tide is rising too slowly.” Some of the most dramatic increases in the numbers of women in politics have occurred in post-conflict states. In some cases, this is because quotas were negotiated in peace accords or in new constitutions, and women have been eager to take advantage of the policy-making possibilities offered by their new presence in public office. Yet major constraints to women’s effectiveness are posed by internal party politics, which control public agendas and may seek to control the women they front as candidates — favoring those who are willing to conform to the party line. In other cases, quotas may not have been negotiated, but women still manage to increase their representation — sometimes by a significant amount, as in Timor-Leste.

Either way, women are discovering that a physical presence in public office is not the same as a substantive policy influence. “What matters is not just about physically being present in the public space; but what matters are the ideas behind this presence. What matters is how you got into public space.” In other words, the process of building constituencies and generating support for new policy agendas cannot be bypassed and is the key to the policy influence that women can have. For when women hold public office, they often work hard to change legislation to improve the lives and rights of women. For example, research shows that the Optional Protocol to CEDAW is more likely to be adopted by national legislatures when there are higher numbers of women in government. Women in political positions also increase the likelihood that national machinery and structures will be created for women.



Lessons learned can be applied in multiple spheres

Governance institutions are “the neglected middle” in discussions of women’s political effectiveness. Legislation alone cannot result in changes on the ground. It cannot improve the status or daily lives of women. Institutions are where policies are implemented, where there are clear mandates for change, where resources are allocated and where accountability mechanisms must be enforced. For a gender equality policy to be effective — to result in changes in women’s lives — decision-makers must consider how to steer policies through an institutional transformation process. Bureaucrats and service providers who are indifferent or hostile to women’s needs will not change their views or behaviors just because a new policy has been imposed; incentive systems must also change. They need to be rewarded for

responding to women’s needs or be sanctioned if they abuse women’s rights or ignore their female clients. Performance measures need to recognize and assess actions that address women’s concerns. Accountability systems must review and assess the quality of this response and these systems must enable women themselves to register concerns and complaints. Without gender-sensitive institutional transformation, women in decision-making posts can become “window dressing.” Current governance reform programs must be made gender-sensitive in order to ensure that women’s engagement in public decision making produces the gender equality that we hope it will.

Discussion and Conclusion

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

The goal and hope of the women, peace and security community is to have women in political positions who can have a positive **impact on the process and outcomes of policy**. In public policy, a woman's presence often represents an end to a long, hard struggle to get her there in the first place, and yet, it is only the beginning of a new set of struggles. Women must then contend with actors, systems, values and a culture that has long worked against them. Women and men must work together to end male control of social, cultural, economic, religious and political institutions.

Although quotas do not always seem to have an immediate impact on policymaking, "some representation is better than no representation," according to Matland. Women do operate in entirely non-democratic institutions, such as in North Korea, where women make up 20 percent of the parliament — visible yet powerless. For a shift in approach and policy, the system must be democratic and there must be a substantial number of women.

In public policy, a woman's presence often represents an end to a long, hard struggle to get her there in the first place, and yet, it is only the beginning of a new set of struggles.

“There is a rising tide of women in politics; but the tide is rising too slowly.”

— Anne Marie Goetz

In addition, women in civil society — where female political leaders often start out — must be steadfast in holding their male and female elected officials responsible to a women's rights agenda. In Norway, for example, women in political seats voted for higher levels of public spending for childcare. As the proportion of women at the municipal council level increased, so did the funding for childcare.

Although it was shared as a challenge, there are valuable lessons to be learned from the Ugandan experience. Women in other countries should realize the pitfalls and attempt to avoid similar marginalization and co-optation. There are positive examples in some places. In South Africa, political parties entering the new government at the end of apartheid agreed to women's quotas from the outset. When men later tried to regain these reserved seats, women successfully brought their case before parliament. In Colombia, the Commission on National Reconciliation is being formed and includes representatives of the government and civil society. Of the five members of civil society, two are women, and one represents the women's movement in Colombia. This is a step in the right direction.

In many countries, the women's agenda falls secondary to the peace and security agenda. Political leaders may not be supportive of women's rights and gender equality if there is no gain for them. In Afghanistan, for example, the shrinking public space is linked to an insufficient investment in the reform of customary law. While the priorities of the international community are the war on terror and drugs, women's rights and family law have been surrendered to religious tribunals. This is leading to abuse on a phenomenal scale, as "peace is being reached at the cost of a compromise on women's human rights," according to Goetz.

It is critical to take time for reflection, to know when to retreat and when to go forward. It is possible, according to an audience member from Uganda, to be knowledgeable and prepared, but also pragmatic. No one individual can change the world, but each can take a part. "Put your brick there, and let the others also put their bricks; do not think you are here to build the whole house."

Working Sessions: Outlining Mechanisms to Guarantee Women's Political Participation

An Official Seat at the Table: Planning, Running and Winning

Facilitator: Anne Hoiberg, United Nations Association — Women's Equity Council

Despite the low number of women in elected positions — in both developed and developing states — the need for their participation, knowledge and contributions is evident. Yet the challenges are numerous and reflect both internal and external constraints:

- The requirements for **legislative recruitment**, such as a previous track record of loyalty to a political party or elected officials and support from local notables;



Delegates discuss women running for political office

- **Women's outlook on politics**, such as —
 - Lower levels of interest compared to men to run for public office and a hesitation to engage due to the negative perceptions of the political sphere;
 - A fear that past mistakes and details of their personal life will emerge during campaigns;
 - Household demands and the feeling that they should wait until their children are older before running for office; and
 - The additional requirement of willpower and strength to enter positions that are overwhelmingly male;

- The absence of a support system for female candidates who are prepared to engage in politics.

It is critical that more women step forward, and current female politicians should encourage and mentor potential candidates. Civil society groups should also actively identify and promote women's political involvement. Women candidates may require skills building, fundraising and other assistance if they are to be elected. Only then can women begin to change the face of formal politics.

Tools for Inclusion: The Efficacy of Gender Quotas

Facilitator: Richard Matland, Loyola University Chicago

Although many agree that more women are needed in positions of political power, there is significant debate as to the means to that end. In post-conflict states, many governments and political parties are turning to quotas as the mechanism of choice. According to Matland, quotas are not only the right thing to do, they are "politically astute." That is, quotas can attract voters to a given party or demonstrate that the party is democratic and inclusive. In some cases, however, legal or institutional requirements may be outlined, making the implementation of quotas simply a matter of following the law.

There are three major stages in the recruitment process, each requiring a specific intervention to increase numbers of women engaging in political activity.

1. **Eligible women** — Of the 50 percent of the population that make up potential candidates, only 14 percent of women ever actually aspire to political positions and have the resources to consider running for office.
2. **Women aspirants** — Once women have made the decision to engage, they may be given opportunities from within their political parties. Gatekeepers select candidates based on loyalty,



Rick Matland explains the relationship between gender quotas and democracy

visibility and the potential to attract voters. Internal party aspirant quotas often result from women's advocacy. Yet they tend to have limited use and effectiveness, occurring mostly in single-member districts and established democracies (e.g., the Labour Party in the United Kingdom).

3. **Women candidates** — Quotas to guarantee that women are among political candidates are often implemented in proportional representation systems and result from constitutional or legal requirements (i.e., Argentina) as well as internal party rules (e.g., the Labour Party in Norway). These quotas require a certain percentage of party nominees to be women.

There are several conditions that enhance the efficacy of candidate quotas in proportional representation systems. First, parties must be

able to win a fairly high number of seats for a given district; that is, it should be a multi-seat district so that parties do not feel they are "risking" too much by fronting women candidates among their male colleagues. Second, mandates to place women's names higher on the candidate list can help to overcome the frequently observed problem that quotas can be undermined when women appear near the bottom of party lists. Third, when parties are politically supportive to women's causes — or legally or constitutionally obliged to have quotas (as in Argentina) — women have a greater chance of being elected. In contrast to party quotas, some systems instead designate reserved seats for women to guarantee that female candidates receive a legislative post. This often occurs in "partially democratic" countries and when women are indirectly elected or appointed to these positions. This can undermine their perceived legitimacy and independence from the party top brass.

While reserved seats tend to be enacted in "partially democratic" countries, political party quotas are most often implemented in democratic, multi-party countries. Overall, quota systems are most often enacted and are most effective in democratic systems, whether the country is a developing or a developed state (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Probability That a Country Has At Least One Party That Has Adopted Electoral Quotas

Source: Rick Matland, Loyola University Chicago

Level of Development:	Electoral System:	Single-Member Districts			Multi-Member Districts		
	Level of Democracy:	Non-Democratic	Partially Democratic	Democratic	Non-Democratic	Partially Democratic	Democratic
LOW		0.9%	7.4%	30.0%	5.9%	26.1%	61.0%
MEDIUM		1.1%	8.3%	32.0%	6.6%	28.0%	63.1%
HIGH		1.1%	8.6%	32.8%	7.0%	28.8%	64.0%



Paula Rothenberg poses a question about writing women into constitutions

Writing Women into Constitutions — Can It Work?

Facilitator: Miria Matembe, former Minister of Ethics and Integrity, Government of Uganda

While it is critical to write women's rights into the constitution at the outset of a new government, how that process occurs and what is guaranteed can affect women's lives for years. In Uganda, for example, affirmative action was written into the constitution, yet women in these positions remain marginalized and are frequently controlled by the party leadership. In Afghanistan, the new constitution outlines women's rights, yet the culture and general post-conflict context and insecurity are a huge challenge to realizing those rights. In Togo, very few women are in power, and at this very moment, the women's movement is contemplating strategies and next steps to enhance their political participation.

Key to women's inclusion in the government is the support and assistance of NGOs. The ongoing advocacy and strength of women's organizations can have an impact not only on the legislation of women's rights but also the implementation and judicial application of these guarantees. When women enter the mainstream and create strategic partnerships, their message can be enhanced and their power strengthened. In this way, awareness is created as is the potential for cultural and political change.



Miria Matembe facilitates a working session on women's rights and constitutions



Delegates collaborate on how to enact gender-sensitive legislation

Legislation: Women, Law and Politics

Facilitator: Lilia Velasquez, California Western School of Law

While the constitution is the foundation of the rule of law, legal instruments, agreements and conventions are other tools to demand compliance with international human rights standards for women. Enactment of legislation on specific issues — family, property, inheritance, domestic violence — is a critical first step that allows women to call for its implementation on the ground. In Southern Sudan, for example, women leaders are currently seeking such legal guarantees of women's rights with the support of international organizations and national networks, yet they remain aware that implementation will be key and cultural norms must also change.

Numerous tactics and activities are involved in the advocacy for legislation on women's rights.

1. **Identify laws** that need to be created or changed; it is possible to change laws even after they are enacted.
2. **Consult lessons learned** and models from other countries to draw on their experiences.
3. **Increase public awareness** of the potential laws and their importance through civic education, public consultations and various media including songs, drama and radio.
4. **Distribute** materials and provide gender-sensitive training to judges, prosecutors, advocates and legislators.
5. **Strategize and partner** with women's groups and leaders nationally and internationally as well as men in civil society, religious organizations and parliament.
6. After the laws are passed, **track their implementation** and continue advocacy for their enforcement.

Knowledge-Building Workshop: Lobby with U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325

Trainer: Alma Viviana Pérez, Consultant

U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 is the first mandate of its kind to acknowledge that peace and security is inextricably linked to equality between men and women. This recognition has implications for the entire U.N. system, member states, parties in armed conflict, civil society and all individuals, for the only way the resolution can have real impact is if everyone actively participates in its implementation. The resolution outlines four areas for action:

1. Women's participation in decision making and all processes related to peacemaking and peacebuilding;
2. Women's protection and special needs in conflict, including gender justice;
3. Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping; and
4. The inclusion of a gender perspective in U.N. reports and implementation mechanisms.

Every U.N. resolution has two components: an introductory section and operational action steps. The language is meticulously selected and refined by multiple member states, which can lead to complicated wording. As a result, it is useful to analyze each individual action step closely to determine its mandate for relevant actors and the leverage that can be used for advocacy efforts. To assist women in this effort, the NGO PeaceWomen has translated 1325 into over 75 languages, including regional dialects such as Ciluba (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Karen (Burma) and Nuer (Sudan); these documents are available online at www.peacewomen.org.

Dissecting the language in this way enables women's organizations to tailor their advocacy very specifically to their context and needs, ultimately making their efforts more effective. It is critical that 1325's recommendations are made real to each individual in order to encourage action at the international, national, local and personal level.



Delegates learn how to implement 1325 (Photo credit: IPJ)

Chapter 4:

Engaging Civil Society to Protect and Promote Women



Chapter 4: Engaging Civil Society to Protect and Promote Women

Civil society encompasses a range of sectors distinct from the political sphere, including NGOs, religious congregations, professional associations, trade unions, community organizations, advocacy coalitions and women's groups, among others. As civilians are frequently the victims of war and displacement, it is not surprising that these individuals — outside of government — are often the voices calling for a non-violent resolution to the conflict. Citizens in these various groups may also play a bridge-building role, as members of opposing sides of the conflict unite through unofficial networks — even as the government or warring parties do not.

Citizens of opposing sides of the conflict unite through unofficial networks — even as the government or warring parties do not.

Women's groups have become increasingly organized and active in recent decades. Given their exclusion and marginalization from the halls of power, women's leadership has expanded in the realm of civil society. Since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, these networks have strengthened, spanning communities, countries and continents.

The peace-building capacity of women, in particular, is now recognized at the highest levels of the United Nations and by bilateral donors, development agencies and international non-governmental relief and aid organizations. Many of these groups are actively seeking the means to both support women as an important sector of civil society while also working to propel them into leadership positions in both informal and formal arenas — from corporate boards to religious organizations, from development agencies to local and national elected bodies.



Nepali citizens take to the streets to celebrate the people's pro-democracy victory in April 2006 (Photo credit: IPJ)



Luz Méndez, 2004 IPJ Woman PeaceMaker, leads a rally for women's rights in Guatemala City (Photo credit: UNAMG)



National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG) marches for social justice and gender equality in Guatemala (Photo credit: UNAMG)

Plenary Summary: Policy Frontiers for Reconstruction and Sustainable Peace

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

Although women are more frequently found in leadership positions in civil society than in formal business or governance roles, we are still far from gender equality in each of these sectors. Vast gaps continue to exist on corporate boards, in organizational policies and in the coverage of issues of concern to women in mainstream media. Yet a vibrant, active civil society with the full participation of both men and women is necessary to hold governments, corporations and transnational power brokers accountable to the needs of the entire population and to ultimately realize sustainable peace and development.



Jensine Larsen discusses the role of media in amplifying women's voices

In Focus: Women's Underrepresentation in Corporate Leadership

Jennifer Rhodes and Laura Taylor, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

In 1996 and 2000, over half of the largest global economic entities were private companies.²⁷ Nation states are dwarfed by the economic impact of multi-national corporations, and national laws are superseded by international trade agreements. While it is essential that women reach decision-making positions in government, it is also critical that they are engaged at the highest levels of the corporate sphere if they are to have a real impact.

Women head 10 of the Fortune 500 companies in the United States;²⁸ however, limited information is available about what impact they have had on corporate policies with respect to peace with

justice. While some work has been done in the United States to understand this relationship, often neither the individual corporate Web site nor comprehensive research, especially in the international sphere, have covered this topic.

Yet data have shown some benefits. "If women break through the glass ceiling, it helps other women," according to a recent study.²⁹ The results demonstrated that when women reach senior management positions, it leads to more equitable workplaces in general and higher wages for female workers (who, even in this case, still only earn 91 percent of their male counterparts' salaries).

A Missing Link: Women's Insignificant Roles on Corporate Boards

Speaker: Liisa Kiiainlinna, Kuopio Administrative Court and the International Federation of Business and Professional Women

Finland is often cited as a model for women's public participation and leadership. It was the first country in the world to give women the right to vote, and its second woman president is currently in office. There have been eight female prime ministers, and a 40 percent quota exists for state appointees.

However, in the private sector, this 40 percent quota is only recommended, and the number of women leading corporations is small. Finland, for example, is ranked only 18th for the number of women corporate managers. Despite the positive correlation between a company's pluralism and its productivity, the rate of increase of women managers is slow and uneven across Europe. In the original 15 E.U. countries, the rate of increase is just two percent, while it is 35 percent across all 25 states.

In sum, advancements for women's inclusion in the governance sphere do not directly translate to the corporate sector. Though the glass ceiling may have grown higher, its existence has not yet disappeared — even in the Nordic states

Gender Equality for the Promotion of Sustainable Development

Speaker: Michael Szporluk, Mercy Corps



Michael Szporluk shares Mercy Corps policies and practices on gender inclusion

Human development is dependent on the equal partnership of men and women. While women can advocate, men must also demand and work for women's full participation and freedom. Recognizing the importance of women's full participation and freedom motivates many men to advocate on behalf of women. Fighting for women's equality can benefit men very close to home, as they recognize the humanity of their own mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.

Building "secure, productive and just communities" for both men and women is the mission of Mercy Corps, which currently serves approximately 10 million people in 40 countries.

The organization adheres to accepted relief and development standards, and core values include accountability, participation and non-violent change. The 2001 Mercy Corps Gender-Inclusion Task Force has utilized internal and external measures to increase the number of women in leadership positions, including board members, a CEO and two of six regional directors. Gender issues and women's inclusion have also been integrated throughout programs at the headquarters and in the field.

This progress has had a direct impact on the ground, and information sharing with partners contributes to this effort. In Darfur, for example, nearly 200 Mercy Corp staff are assisting 125,000 people. Gender sensitivity has been a priority, which has been exemplified in the training of hundreds of women to make fuel-efficient stoves out of locally available materials. This decreases the need for women to place themselves at risk by gathering firewood. In Azerbaijan, men are involved in maternal-child health because the culture allows them to be more mobile; this has led to a significant increase in the health of both men and women in the past four years. From Iraq to Tajikistan, Mercy Corps continues to promote gender mainstreaming in relief and development.

World Bank Gender and Youth Outreach — Can it Influence Policy?

Speaker: Katherine Ferrey, World Bank

In 2001, the World Bank unveiled its gender strategy — Engendering Development — which resulted from an alliance of female country executive directors. These leaders recognized that gender and women's issues are not part of official decision making despite "a great deal of evidence from around the world [that] indicates that gender inequalities undermine the effectiveness of development policies — in fundamental ways."³⁰ Since then, the Bank has increased social spending and integrated gender in various programs, particularly in the social sector.

“Gender and women's issues are not part of official decision making despite 'a great deal of evidence from around the world [that] indicates that gender inequalities undermine the effectiveness of development policies.'”

— World Bank

Increasingly, this is expanding to the private sector components of the Bank, which recognized that “economic growth is driven by women” in a September 2006 report: “Gender Equality as Smart Economics: A World Bank Group Gender Action Plan”.³¹ The outcome of a high-level consultative meeting on the promotion of Millennium Development Goal 3 (promoting gender equality and women’s empowerment), the Bank’s Gender Action Plan explores concrete ways to operationalize gender mainstreaming and generate improved gender analysis.

This year’s World Development Report, the annual flagship document of the Bank, examines the status and activities of young people for development. The report includes gender-disaggregated data in areas such as health, employment and citizenship for the world’s 1.3 billion young people between the ages of 13 and 24. Programs now encourage the elevation of youth’s voices through such initiatives as the annual Youth, Development and Peace Conference where 100 young people from all regions meet to discuss and coordinate their struggle against poverty. Through these efforts, the Bank is attempting to include previously marginalized sectors, such as women and youth, and integrate them into its broader economic policies.

Awakening Civil Society

Speaker: Medea Benjamin, CODEPINK and Global Exchange



CODEPINK’s women-led, anti-war movement

While a vibrant civil society is necessary to a functioning democracy, this does not exist in many countries. The United States, for example, lacks a multi-party system, strong trade unions and a strong women’s movement active beyond issues of reproductive health and rights. In general, the U.S. public’s appetite for social engagement and change has been dulled through years of apathy and by a consumerist society. People-to-people contacts are constrained by new restrictions and terrorist alerts, leaving U.S. citizens less globally informed and connected.

The women-led, anti-war movement CODEPINK was founded in response to the current U.S.-led war in Iraq. Through street theater, direct action and solidarity visits with women and children in Iraq, the organization has raised awareness of the destructive impact of violence and the human cost of this war. One CODEPINK activist stated: “Because of our responsibility to the next generation, because of our own love for our families and communities and this country that we are a part of, we understand the love of a mother in Iraq for her children and the driving desire of that child for life.”³² Public opinion within the United States has begun to change due, in part, to their work and the efforts of many others.

“We work not because we are sure of the outcome, but because it is the right thing to do.”

— Medea Benjamin

CODEPINK has a number of local chapters with significant membership of men and women, which encourage new levels of global awareness and local engagement. Effective organizing begins at the local level — in one’s own community among family, friends and colleagues. “We work not because we are sure of the outcome, but because it is the right thing to do.”

Giving Coverage Where Coverage is Due

Speaker: Jensine Larsen, World Pulse Magazine

The dialogue must extend beyond “What difference does it make who is making policy?” to how women can make an impact on policy.

Women on the ground with the flame of tenacity and a vision for their countries are rarely the subject of mainstream media, yet what they have to offer is “gold for the world.” To fill this void, World Pulse magazine was created. It works with women and youth where they are, elevating women’s voices in the media to be bold and powerful, then channeling these voices to make an impact on the situation on the ground.

World Pulse is now taking this approach one step further and seeking ways for women to be agents of their own stories through an interactive, Web-based media source. “If we look at communications technology and tools, they offer the possibility to vastly magnify the scale of women’s innovations and collaborative power.” World Pulse recognizes four unstoppable trends occurring today:

1. The rise of women in leadership across countries and sectors;
2. The desire of women worldwide to network, hear other experiences and ask questions in order to empower women — even when they are overwhelmed in their work, they want to form this connection;
3. A shift in consciousness that recognizes that one of the most effective ways to solve global problems is to empower women with investment and resources; and
4. A shift in technology as women’s communication access and global reach continues to expand through blogs, digital mapping and other media.



Delegates reflect on panelists’ presentations

World Pulse has therefore created a central web portal — called **PulseWire** — that is currently in the testing phase. Components include breaking news, resources on media and media training for women and a posting board for diverse issues. PulseWire is simultaneously building a network and a movement while enhancing the collaborative power and voices of women around the world. For more information and to subscribe to World Pulse magazine at no cost, visit www.worldpulsemagazine.com.

Women Making an Impact

Speaker: Barbara Kasoff, GrassRoots Impact, Inc. and Women Impacting Public Policy

The dialogue must extend beyond “What difference does it make who is making policy?” to how women can make an impact on policy. Women must network, speak in one voice, collaborate on a common agenda and leverage their efforts to influence legislation on issues that affect women.

One path to enhance women’s decision-making power is through the electorate. In the United States, 52 percent of women are voters and vote in nine out of 10 elections. They know the issues, are familiar with the candidates and embrace those who promote women’s issues. Women can build vibrant networks that support gender-sensitive candidates. As spokespersons, women’s voices carry weight not only among their peers, but also in the greater society. “Women are no longer trailblazers. We are the engine that drives our community.”

Organizing around specific issues, women can educate themselves and become vocal leaders in their communities. Through grassroots communication — letters to the editor and e-lists to friends, family and colleagues — women position themselves as resources for media and local groups. To this end, women can inform and educate their communities, strengthening the social fabric necessary for future change.

Discussion and Conclusion

Moderator: Stephen Standifird, University of San Diego School of Business

Restrictions on **women's available time**, given the responsibilities of work and household, may inhibit political action. This is particularly true for 30- and 40-year-old women with children at home. Some organizations seek to provide tools and information to reach women where they are, to decrease their isolation and to facilitate their participation. Embracing and engaging women in this way can help to spur action and prioritize political participation.

Finding the mechanisms and means for women to further issues that are **priorities for women** can also encourage their activism. In the case of the global workplace, for example, women have initiated movements to effectively change the provision of childcare. An **individual leader** can also make a direct impact on other women's lives and serve as a role model. In Nepal, a young woman left her abusive husband, began a factory and now employs 300 women, providing them with a living wage. This is just one example of a woman reaching out to the community, educating other women and demonstrating economic and personal independence.

The prevention of war and violence against women is as important as redress in the aftermath. Perpetrators must be held accountable, and in that effort, women must work with men as partners in all sectors. Women leaders must also assume positions of political power, but not just any women are needed. Peace requires men and women leaders in politics, business and civil society who will advance both women's issues and the peaceful resolution of conflict. Democracy means for the people, by the people. The voices of peaceful men and women must be louder than other interests, and the first step must occur at the community level.

Women's efforts and collective potential for change are increasingly recognized in multiple spheres of power. Through collaboration and networking, women as individuals and groups have gained some success in influencing economic policy that drives development in their communities and nations. They have not, however, been able to break through and reach the decision-making seats in sufficient numbers. While civil society campaigns and greater media coverage are tools that can influence corporate action, women must move from advocate to decision-maker. They must be recognized as equal partners to men, not only as recipients of social and economic services and programs, but also as equal partners in determining the focus and scope of those programs. The dialogue on women's participation must not only incorporate governance and security, but also cross into economics, civil society and religion to fully realize the collaborative power of women to create a world of peace with justice.



Greater numbers of women, mostly illiterate, have keen interest to learn a handicraft as a means of income and a profession (Photo credit: IRIN)

Peace requires men and women leaders in politics, business and civil society who will advance both women's issues and the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Ronne Froman, Chief Operating Officer, City of San Diego

Froman welcomed the international audience to San Diego, a city that passed a resolution on CEDAW in 2002, demonstrating that local governments can act independently of national governments to protect women's rights. Froman's experience exemplifies how women can achieve success in multiple spheres of power — from the armed forces to civil society to government. In each instance the glass ceiling was present, and she chose to maneuver around it. When Froman became the executive officer of the Navy's largest installation at Norfolk, she was told it was an 'experiment' and that she would fail. Early in her naval career, "[she] used to think it was normal to be the only woman [She] wanted to be seen as one of the guys." However, when she arrived to her post at the Joint Chiefs of Staff she stopped and realized for the first time that it was important to be a woman. She was expected to participate at the table, not provide support to it. While thriving in a sphere historically dominated by men, Froman worked hard to keep her femininity, to work "with compassion and without conflict," and affirm the belief that women have the right and ability to be anything. Froman concluded by awarding conference delegates with a certificate of honorary citizenship to the City of San Diego.

Plenary Summary: Gender-Inclusive, Faith-Based Strategies to Create Human Security and Peace

Despite the fact that religion can be used as a justification for violence — often against women — faith and spirituality can also be powerful instruments in the quest for peace and gender equality.

Rapporteur: Erica Williams, Institute for Women's Policy Research

Despite the fact that religion can be used as a justification for violence — often against women — faith and spirituality can also be powerful instruments in the quest for peace and gender equality. Worldwide, women peacebuilders frequently build bridges across their faiths during times of war and draw upon the tenets and values of religion to work for good in their countries and communities. This mobilization of women through religious and inter-faith structures has the potential to propel them into the public sphere and political leadership.

Women are notably missing from decision making around peace and human security in both formal locations, where they lack presence and power, and religious institutions, where their presence is strong but their authority is weak. Women must claim their spiritual power and authority and translate it into public life in order to truly transform the world around them.

This panel explored perspectives ranging from the theoretical to the practical, looking at where women are excluded, the power of their spirituality that guides their values and vision, and the networks they must continue to build and support that will help them move into the public sphere to bring about peace and justice.



Panelists discuss religion and faith in peace processes with audience

Between the Eagle and the Dove: Where Are the Women?

Speaker: Ron Kirkemo, Point Loma Nazarene University

Women are excluded from decision-making processes that range from making war to building and maintaining peace. Women are absent from a number of formal settings, including foreign policy communities, and in academia studying war and peace. While women's high enrollment levels in public policy programs at colleges and universities across the United States provide some hope for changes to come, women's work around issues of foreign policy, peacemaking and peacebuilding largely take place outside of traditional power centers. Women's protest and scholarship of war runs parallel to more traditional spaces that deal with armed conflict and crises and that define policy and public attitudes. Their peace-building work often happens through faith-based organizations, feminist movements and theological and social science disciplines. This has clearly diminished the potential for women to have direct influence on decision making for peace and security.



Ron Kirkemo presents on the potential for faith to positively influence public policy

Still, when women do access the formal centers of power, establish their moral self-image and are able to harden public attitudes toward peace, they have the potential to alter the course of foreign policy decisions. Increased power for women and people of faith, in general, might have an impact on the outcomes of post-conflict situations in which communities and societies are planning their future direction.

Kirkemo outlined two circular paths that post-conflict communities may choose: one that travels from bereavement to revenge and another from bereavement to reconciliation. The first path leads societies back to war, but the second is transformative and can re-humanize the perpetrators of violence. Women and spiritual people, if they are able to infuse their values and perspective into the debate and establish their moral high ground, may greatly influence which of these paths is taken.

Speaking of Values: The Importance of Women's Religious and Inter-faith Activism in the United States

Speaker: Amy Caiazza, Institute for Women's Policy Research



Amy Caiazza describes women's inter-faith efforts

Despite their sizeable presence in congregations and religious communities, women of faith in the United States are less likely than men to become

engaged in political and civic life via their religious institutions. As in the foreign policy community, women are missing from positions of spiritual leadership, and debates on moral values ignore their experience and insight.

However, inter-faith community organizations that bring together women and men of various religious backgrounds have a clear ability for involving women in politics and developing their leadership potential. Inter-faith organizing in the United States is second only to unions in numbers of people who are involved. These organizations, however, are highly localized and thus less visible.

Many women participating in inter-faith activism find themselves “claiming their own religious authority ... a sense of moral authority that has traditionally been denied to women.” They learn to connect their private and public lives and are driven by their faith to live out their values and feel obligated to participate in public life. Many feel motivated to act based on their belief in compassion, in shared responsibility and mutuality and in the idea that rights are only valuable when they are brought into the community.

“Many women participating in inter-faith activism find themselves “claiming their own religious authority ... a sense of moral authority that has traditionally been denied to women.””

— Amy Caiazza

The power to write the culture in a society may be more important than the power to write laws.



Conference delegates – incorporating the next generation

Women in inter-faith organizations are transforming the way that we think and talk about moral values and building a new movement. They are developing training programs that empower women to connect their private lives and experiences with policy and the public sphere. In turn, women are stepping into public life and taking on local issues that address their concerns and experiences and improve the well-being of their families and communities.

Bridging Spirituality to Political and Gender Justice

Speaker: Michael Nagler, University of California at Berkeley

Faith moves women to act. Nagler began his presentation with a story of women’s heroism in India, where Hindi women protected their Muslim neighbors from state-sponsored killings by hiding them below the altars in their homes. Those providing sanctuary insisted they would have to be killed first before they would allow harm to come to those they were protecting. This is just one example of women’s ability to non-violently resolve serious conflicts, which supports the notion that there is “another kind of power” in people that we must tap into if we are to create a truly peaceful and just world.

The power to write the culture in a society may be more important than the power to write laws. The people with the power to define and re-direct culture will be the people with the power to lead. The U.S. culture of commercialism and the way in which it begets waste and violence has become a trap that impedes real change. Spirituality will give people the vision and the power to change the current culture into one that values nonviolence; it will be the bridge that leads us to profound social change. “No one, neither exploiter nor exploited, will know a moment’s peace until we find our way out of this cultural trap We need a different kind of power in people, not so much a different kind of people in power.” Women, as spiritual people, help to bring spirituality to public life.

When Extremism Overcomes Faith and Reason: Cases from Iran

Speaker: Elahe Amani, Women's Intercultural Network

Worldwide, there has been a rise in religious extremism that seeks to politicize and redefine identities to advance the agenda of individual groups. This trend is a political, not a religious movement. Extremism does not uphold fundamental values; it erodes democracy and threatens human rights. "Religious extremists are using women's images to define themselves." This negative depiction of women's role at home and in society helps to determine the broader cultural identity and to further the co-optation and alteration of religion and spiritual values and teachings.



Elahe Amani shares the case study of extremism in Iran

In Iran, women are tapping into their faith tradition to find culturally relevant forms of protest. Their reclamation of religious authority and spirituality will be critical to the reclamation of public life and Islam in Iran. As in many other Muslim societies, "women are taking ownership of their religion ... reinterpreting patriarchal religious law with a gender-sensitive lens and with a feminist interpretation." There are over 300 NGOs focusing on women and gender issues in Iran. The Iranian government has formed a new police force to control these groups and enforce government-defined "cultural norms" around public interactions between men and women.

Women are also exploring other avenues for empowerment, such as education. In Iran, 60 to 64 percent of those in higher education are women, and the numbers of women in math and science fields is higher than in the United States. However, only 10 to 15 percent of Iran's workforce is made up of women, underlining the fact that educational advancement does not necessarily translate into acceptance in the public sphere.

As these women's organizations move forward, they rely on the collective experience of women globally for support. Networking across boundaries and faith traditions is critical to women claiming their moral authority and rightful place in public life and to bringing an authentic feminist interpretation to their own social and political contexts.

Extremism does not uphold fundamental values; it erodes democracy and threatens human rights.

Out of the Shadows: Socially-Engaged Buddhist Women in the Global Community

Karma Lekshe Tsomo, University of San Diego

Buddhist women number 300 million worldwide. Buddhism teaches that women have "equal spiritual potential for liberation and awakening" and for learning and living. Yet in practice, women are excluded from full participation in religious life. They are often isolated within their particular communities, even lacking support for women by women. Women "have very little power, especially in the political process, and virtually no voice at all in their own religious communities." Their struggles largely concern fulfilling basic needs.



Karma Lekshe Tsomo discusses the work of socially-engaged Buddhists

In response, Tsomo and others have created an international organization of and for Buddhist women that facilitates networking and inter-faith and ecumenical dialogue. Sakyadhita: International Association of Buddhist Women provides education and training programs, particularly in leadership and human rights, and pushes for the ordination of women within the Buddhist tradition. For more information, visit: www.sakyadhita.org.

Discussion and Conclusion

Moderator: Sister Barbara Quinn, Center for Christian Spirituality at the University of San Diego

While many do not consider women's voices as authentic and strong they are a powerful and emerging force.

In Africa, as in many regions, women are highly mobilized, “carrying the continents on their backs,” according to delegate Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda of the U.N. Development Fund for Women. Yet they are sidelined from decision making by both their governments and religious institutions. In Uganda, for example, religious leaders are part of the formal peace dialogue, but women are not. In the United States, too, women experience exclusion from faith leadership.

When women challenge the revered status quo of religion, they risk further marginalization and exclusion. It is important that women confronting these same power relations in a variety of contexts help each other to build global responsibility and morality through this shared experience. A critical issue brought to the panel was whether women truly want a place at the decision-making table when the institutions and systems in place discriminate based on race, sex and class. Still, women's absence from decision-making processes also impedes their ability to bring about a paradigm shift to address historic marginalization. Seemingly inflexible, religious organizations can — in reality — change just like any other institution.

In addition to discrimination and marginalization, women and girls worldwide continue to face gender-based violence. In the recent attack on school children in an Amish community in the United States, the media largely glossed over the way that girls were specifically targeted. Such violence against women and girls must be recognized if a solution is to be found. Nonviolence and the power to transform — combined with a new global consciousness that transcends individual needs — offers an alternative.

While many do not consider women's voices as authentic and strong, they are a powerful and emerging force. Women are beginning to claim their spiritual and moral authority despite the consequences. They are changing the decision-making process and power centers as they engage the institutions that have persistently sought to exclude them. Women must work together in global coalitions, networks and alliances to voice their needs in the public debate and foster their transformative power.

Working Sessions: Maximizing Women's Knowledge, Values and Strength to Bring Peace



Michael Nagler facilitates a dialogue on the power of nonviolence

Nonviolence: Another Kind of Power

Facilitator: Michael Nagler,
University of California at Berkeley

Gandhi believed that nonviolence is the greatest power that humanity is endowed with, and there is no situation where it cannot be applied. Non-violent movements have emerged worldwide to affect such change; in fact, three billion people live in regimes that have been shaped by non-violent actors. Nonviolence does not mean that someone will not get hurt during

a protest or campaign, but fewer people will be harmed relative to violent activities, and the use of nonviolence will have a lasting effect. If there is violence anywhere in the equation, however, the outcome will likely be more violence. This is perpetuated by dehumanization of the “other,” while nonviolence “re-humanizes.” There are three phases of nonviolence:

1. Practice the peaceful resolution of conflict;
2. Cling to the truth; and
3. Be willing to risk one’s life for nonviolence.



Delegates discuss the power in people

Nonviolence can be a spiritual practice to achieve social change and can be utilized in both personal and social situations, by individuals and movements. For example, an Iranian woman with her small child was seeking a way home after curfew one evening; when confronted by security forces, she asked for their assistance to get home. They complied and did not arrest her because she was able to transform the dynamic and turn a potentially violent situation into a peaceful one. In another example, an African participant who had trained soldiers asked them to see the women on the other side as their mothers, sisters and children. This gave them an entirely new perspective and humanized their “enemies,” leading to fewer incidences of rape and violence against civilians. Shifting the frame of reference, channeling one’s anger and converting fear into a positive force can lead to non-violent change.

Called to Speak: Bringing Women’s Values into Religion, Politics and Civil Society

Facilitators: Amy Caiazza and Erica Williams, Institute for Women’s Policy Research



Between sessions, delegates relax and network (Photo credit: IPJ)

Individuals hold a number of central values that are integral to their internal being as well as their political work. Honesty, commitment, trust, loyalty, humility, empathy, responsibility, respect, accountability, fairness, passion and integrity, among other values, are often the motivating factors in individual lives and vocations. In addition to these principles, women have particular issues of concern that drive their work, such as injustice, inequality, misogyny, the lack of tolerance and understanding, and ongoing violence.

These values and concerns can be tapped into through public life and engagement.

Caiazza’s research on the organizing models of inter-faith organizations has documented a number of strategies for involving women in politics based on these issues. The successful strategies are able to foster activism among women, and they do so by allowing women a space to discuss their fears and embrace their anger, which they often are taught they should not feel. Links exist between injustice and women’s faith values and how these values obligate them to act. Women’s means to become leaders are enhanced by role models and mentoring that helps them see the potential for change within themselves. For more information and details on these strategies, see Caiazza’s report: “Called to Speak: Six Strategies that Encourage Women’s Political Activism” (available at www.iwpr.org).

Knowledge-Building Workshop: Conduct a Gender Audit — Tools for Organizational Transformation

Trainer: Suzanne Kindervatter, InterAction

U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, the Millennium Development Goals and other international mandates have issued calls to agencies and member states to change the way they address gender equality and women's participation. The challenge is in implementation; patriarchy is deeply entrenched in both individuals and institutions. There are tools that can help to bridge this gap between policy and practice, such as **gender audits**.

The first step in a gender audit is to conduct an organizational self-assessment — a series of 80 questions for the staff. The next step is meeting in focus groups; the product of this fact finding and analysis is a customized action plan for gender integration. The following framework for gender mainstreaming was developed by the Commission on the Advancement of Women (more information available at: www.interaction.org) and includes four components that must be assessed in a gender audit:

1. **Political will** — the ways in which leaders use their position of power to communicate and demonstrate their support, enthusiasm for and commitment to working toward gender quality in the organization is the foundation for the following three components (action: enact a gender policy);
2. **Technical capacity** — the level of ability, qualifications and skills that individuals in an organization need to carry out the practical aspects of gender integration to achieve enhanced program quality and level of institutionalization of gender-equitable processes (action: change organizational procedures);
3. **Organizational culture** — norms, customs, beliefs and codes of behavior in an organization that support or undermine gender equality (action: document and record progress); and
4. **Accountability** — mechanisms by which an organization determines the extent to which it is “walking the talk” in terms of integrating gender equality in its programs and organizational structures (action: set and assess annual targets).

If change is really owned by the organization (not imposed), then an energy emerges from this commitment and subsequent actions, leading to a “pinball effect” for gender integration throughout the agency.



Delegates learn how to apply InterAction's Gender Audit tool

Conclusion:

Moving Forward



Conclusion: Moving Forward

Conclusion: Moving Forward



Camille Conaway delivers a summary of the conference

From the diverse themes of this conference, several trends emerge. First, women are participating in decision making for peace and security in ever-increasing numbers. They come from various backgrounds as leaders of NGOs, members of religious groups, women's organizations, community associations, political parties and even armed combatants. Actors from the international to the local level are beginning to agree that women's inclusion is both a matter of democratic justice and a means of building the sustainability of peace and democracy. These advancements are due, in part, to the heightened recognition of women's right to participate, a direct result of years of pressure and advocacy.

Implementation of the mandate for women's participation is inconsistent; enforcement mechanisms and accountability are weak, and in some contexts, virtually non-existent.

Second, this success is far from universal. Women's participation is not consistent, nor is it sufficient in nearly any context or country. Furthermore, in some areas there is even regression and backwards movement in the struggle to secure women's rights. In some contexts, quotas are not working effectively, and international and national institutions do not become more gender-sensitive merely by virtue of a heightened presence of women amongst decision-makers. Repressive regimes and political extremists continue to threaten the gains that women have made. Implementation of the mandate for women's participation is inconsistent, and enforcement mechanisms and accountability are weak and, in some contexts, virtually non-existent.



Delegates celebrate three days of hard work

Third, entry points and levers to maximize women's participation are in place. A new Secretary-General will assume office in 2007, and the moment is upon us to ensure that he appoints women leaders and integrates a gender perspective throughout the Secretariat. The U.N. Peacebuilding Commission has a woman as its vice-chair and as the head of the Support Office. Assistant Secretary-General Carolyn McAskie pledged "to bring [1325] to the attention of the members as a core issue at all levels."³³ An important first step would be to ensure that women's needs are a priority issue in the selection and disbursement of resources by the new Peacebuilding Fund.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, women are finding a new ally in this struggle. In the words of one delegate, "There is no better advocate than a man who is committed to gender equality." Men are joining women in the call for women's full participation at international, national and local levels, and women are capitalizing on these strategic partnerships. Both parties are increasingly recognizing the added value and strength of women and men — working together for gender-sensitive and inclusive peace and security.

“There is no better advocate than a man who is committed to gender equality.”

— Alma Viviana Pérez

Appendices

Who's making policy? What difference does it make?



Appendices

1. Biographies of Speakers, Moderators, Rapporteurs and Facilitators

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

Elahe Amani is a gender, peace and social justice activist. Amani has taught women's studies at California State University (CSU), Long Beach and Fullerton. Amani is the chair of the Coalition of Women from Asia and the Middle East, serves on the board of Women Intercultural Network, is an Orange County Representative of the California Women's Agenda and on the advisory board of the Women's Center at CSU Long Beach. She is a trained mediator through the Los Angeles Mediation Association and participated in conflict resolution efforts in South Africa in 2000. Amani was a member of the Women Intercultural U.S. Delegation to Afghanistan. Amani has worked closely with women/feminist groups in Iran and contributed to Iranian feminist publications. In 1995, Amani presented her paper entitled, "Women's Human Rights and Islam," during the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Since Beijing, Amani has conducted workshops and facilitated numerous dialogues and sessions at local and global conferences.

Medea Benjamin, founding director of Global Exchange, has worked for social justice and human rights in Asia, the Americas and Africa for over twenty years. Since September 11, 2001, Benjamin has been working for a peaceful response to the tragic event. She has traveled several times to Afghanistan and lead a delegation of 9/11 families there to highlight civilian casualties caused by the U.S. invasion. Benjamin is a leading activist in the peace movement and helped bring together the groups forming the coalition United for Peace and Justice. Since the war began, Benjamin has traveled several times to Iraq to organize the Occupation Watch International Center in Baghdad. Benjamin also co-founded CODEPINK, a women's peace group which has been organizing creative actions against the war and occupation of Iraq. In 2005, Benjamin accompanied a delegation of U.S. military families whose loved ones had been killed in Iraq to the Iraqi/Jordanian border to bring a shipment of humanitarian aid for the Iraqi people in Falluja. In 2005, Benjamin was nominated as one of 1,000 women for the Nobel Peace Prize. CODEPINK organized a delegation of Iraqi women, representing Sunni, Shi'a and Kurdish groups, as part of the Women Say No to War campaign in March 2006. The delegation spoke to audiences across the United States and lobbied at the United Nations and the U.S. Congress.

Amy Caiazza, Ph.D., has worked as study director for Democracy and Society Programs at the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) since 1998. An expert on the motivations and impacts of women's political participation and leadership, Caiazza has recently explored the values and experiences of religious women activists. As a regular in the media, Caiazza has appeared on outlets such as CNN, CNBC and PBS' *To The Contrary*, as well as in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Newsday* and *The Chicago Tribune*, among many others. Her publications include *Mothers and Soldiers: Gender, Citizenship and Civil Society in Contemporary Russia* (Routledge, 2002), *The Ties That Bind: Women's Public Vision for Politics, Religion and Civil Society* (IWPR, 2005), and articles in journals such as *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* and *Women and Politics*. Caiazza worked jointly for the National Governor's Association and the National Conference of State Legislators, as well as for the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services. She holds a Ph.D. in political science from Indiana University and a bachelor's in international relations from Georgetown University.

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

Camille Pampell Conaway is a researcher, writer and expert on women, peace and security. As an independent consultant, she has published articles and studies for various agencies of the United Nations, the United States Institute of Peace, nongovernmental organizations and think tanks. From 2002 to 2004, she was a program associate with Women Waging Peace in Washington, D.C., and has worked for non-profit groups, universities and the U.S. Department of State. Conaway holds a master's in international peace and conflict resolution from American University and is currently based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Anja Ebnöther is assistant director and head of special programmes at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). She leads the "Women and Children in an Insecure World" project which conducts research, as well as builds networks and produces educational materials. Ebnöther is also chairing a Working Group on Security Sector Reform in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, and the chairperson of the DCAF-led PfP-Consortium Working Group on Security Sector Reform. In 2000, she was a member of the team responsible for the creation of the Centre. Prior to this, Anja was a civil servant with the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports. She was engaged in developing the parameters of Switzerland's participation in PfP serving as Deputy Head of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council/PfP desk. She holds a law degree from the University of Fribourg, with a specialization in European and International Law and is an alumna of the 12th International Training Course in Security Policy at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. She co-edited, *Combating Terrorism and its Implications for the Security Sector* (DCAF, 2004) and contributed to DCAF's recent publication, *Women in an Insecure World: Violence against Women, Facts, Figures and Analysis* (DCAF, 2005).

Katherine Ferrey, born in Nicaragua, has worked with the Communications Association U.S. Outreach of the World Bank External Affairs for the past three years, and has entered recently into the area of student outreach. She has written comments on the publication, "A parliamentarian's guide to the World Bank" (World Bank, 2004). Prior to joining the Bank, she helped organize the Central American presidential summit to establish the Mesoamerican Biological Corridor and has worked with permanently disabled demobilized Sandinista and Contra soldiers in Nicaragua.

Ronne Froman became San Diego's first chief operating officer in January 2006, and relies on her previous experience in the military, education and human service organizations sectors. Froman served as chief executive officer of the American Red Cross of San Diego and Imperial Counties since 2003. Through her leadership they quickly and decisively developed "The New American Red Cross in San Diego" by refocusing the organization on its core mission of disaster relief and emergency preparedness. Before joining the American Red Cross, Froman served as chief of business operations for the San Diego Unified School District for one-and-a-half years. As the chief of business operations, she was responsible for the modernization and automation of the district's finance, technology and logistics support operations and infrastructure. Froman is a retired Navy Rear Admiral and the former "Navy Mayor of San Diego," and has over 31 years of service as a Naval Officer leading reform efforts. Froman has received the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Navy Distinguished Service Medal, and various service and unit awards. In the civilian community, Froman was recognized by San Diego Magazine as the Peacemaker of the Year (2004) and one of the "50 People to Watch in 2004."

Anne Marie Goetz, Ph.D., joined UNIFEM in 2005 as the chief advisor for the Governance, Peace and Security program. Previously, she was a professor of political science at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Her work focuses upon the politics of pro-poor, gender-equitable development. Goetz has studied women politicians in developing countries, analyzing the constraints they face to advancing a gender-equity agenda within state institutions and in political parties. Her theoretical work relates to debates on accountability and good governance, and her empirical research has involved studies of poor people's anti-corruption initiatives, and the challenges of long-term institutional change and capacity-building in developing country service bureaucracies. Goetz has conducted research in Bangladesh, India, Uganda and South Africa. She is the author of *Women Development Workers* (2001), co-author of *Contesting Global Governance* (1999), editor of *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development* (1997), co-editor of *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy-Making* (2003) and co-author of *Reinventing Accountability: Making Democracy Work for the Poor* (2004).

Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda, regional program director for UNIFEM in East Africa, is playing a central role in current peace efforts in Sudan and Darfur. She has worked extensively in Northern Uganda, supporting women's engagement in peace talks there, and was also involved in Somalia's "Sixth Clan" initiative, the coming together of the women from different traditional clans to form a women's clan and get a seat at the all male peace talks.

Gitti Hentschel has served as director the Feminist Institute of the Heinrich Boell Foundation since 2004. She is a member of the steering committee of the German Women's Security Council. Hentschel has worked as a freelance journalist, co-editor of the weekly newspaper *Freitag* and lecturer at the Technical and Humboldt Universities in Berlin. Her publications focus on the issue of (sexual) violence, peace and security policy from a gender perspective, strategies against (sexual) violence, empowerment strategies for women, women and media, and intercultural communication. Hentschel has a master's in communications and social education.

Barbara Kasoff is the president and co-founder of GrassRoots Impact, Inc., a public policy strategies firm whose mission is to connect corporate and political leaders to small business owners, including women-owned businesses, minorities and women in business. Kasoff is also the chief operating officer and co-founder of Women Impacting Public Policy (WIPP), Inc., a non-profit, public policy advocacy organization advocating for and on behalf of women in business. WIPP's mission is to strengthen business women's sphere of influence in the legislative process of our nation, create economic opportunities for them and build bridges and alliances to other small business organizations. Her efforts to unite various organizations has enabled small business owners to share information with each other, learn from one another and become better informed in economic and political issues. Kasoff serves on the board of directors of the National Women Business Owners Council, the premier certification agency for women business owners. She has also served as a delegate to the White House Conference on Small Business and was the recipient of the State of Michigan Women in Business Advocate of the Year award in 1995.

Liisa Kiianlinna is an assistant judge at the Kuopio Administrative Court, Finland. She is the vice-president of Fédération Internationale des Femmes des Carrières Juridiques (Women in Legal Careers), former president of Women Lawyers of Finland and board member of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. As a former board member of UNIFEM-Finland, Kiianlinna presented on Human Rights for Women Ad Hoc Taskforce for the 2005 Commission of the Status of Women (CSW) at the United Nations. Previously, Kiianlinna has served as a board member and chairperson of juridical committee of the European Union of Women for six years.

Suzanne Kindervatter, Ph.D., is director of gender and diversity at InterAction. Since 1994, she has led InterAction's work in expanding the capacity of InterAction members to integrate a gender perspective into their operations and programs and in promoting gender equity in donor and U.N. agencies. Since 2003, she also has been responsible for InterAction's Diversity Initiative, which supports members in increasing the representation of women and people of color on their staffs and boards and in adopting inclusive organizational policies and practices. Over the past 25 years, she has worked in 20 countries, in the areas of: education, small enterprise development, leadership training, evaluation, organizational capacity building and gender and development. From 1991-93, she served as director of the Better Life Options for Girls and Young Women Program at the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA), where she managed a fifteen-country initiative to expand rights and opportunities for adolescent girls. She is widely recognized for her user-friendly training materials and guides for development practitioners, such as *Choose a Future: Issues and Options for Adolescent Girls*, and other materials available through UNIFEM's Women's Ink publications.

Ron Kirkemo, Ph.D., is a professor of political science at Point Loma Nazarene University, San Diego, California. His academic research and writing addresses the relationship between Christian faith and political policy. Kirkemo has written three books: *An Introduction to International Law*, which surveys the law of the world community; *Between the Eagle and the Dove: The Christian and American Foreign Policy* (InterVarsity Press); and *Promise and Destiny*, which explores the history of Point Loma Nazarene University. His most recent paper is "Ethics and use of Contract Soldiers in U.S. Foreign Policy." He is director of the Institute of Politics and Public Service at Point Loma Nazarene University, which uses various programs of speakers, seminars and workshops to encourage students to consider careers in public service.

James Kok is the Commissioner of Southern Sudan's Peace Commission. He has been an advocate for women's participation in peace processes within Southern Sudan since 2000, and assisted in the creation of a gender peace desk within Southern Sudan's Peace Commission. Kok has been a member of the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) for 22 years. He has been the head of the SPLM Peace Desk for reconciling people within Southern Sudan since 2001. Kok was intricately involved with the peace negotiations between the SPLA/M and the government of Sudan from 2002-2005.

Comfort Lamptey is the gender advisor for the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and has served in this function since August 2004. Previously, Lamptey worked with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), first as a regional gender advisor in West Africa and as senior gender advisor at the headquarters in Geneva. Between 2000 and 2004, Lamptey worked with the UNIFEM, first as a program officer in the Africa Section and then as an advisor for global programs in conflict-affected countries, and played an instrumental role in getting UNIFEM's global program on women, peace and security underway. Prior to joining the United Nations, Lamptey worked with International Alert, a London-based NGO which specializes in the field of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Lamptey has also served on a number of technical committees and as a board member to a number of African-based organizations working in the field of peace and development.

Jensine Larsen founded World Pulse Magazine in 2003 after working as a freelance journalist reporting on indigenous movements and "ethnic cleansing" in South America and Southeast Asia. World Pulse Magazine is a media source that broadcasts the thriving but neglected voices of women and youth speaking out on local, national and international politics around the world. She has appeared on National Public Radio and her writing has been published in *The Nation* (Thailand), *The Progressive*, *The Sojourner* and academic journals such as *The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*. Through speaking engagements, lectures and radio programs, Larsen shares women's and youth voices globally. She holds a degree in comparative international studies from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

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

Miria Matembe is a co-founder of Action for Development (ACFODE) in Kampala, Uganda, and a former member of parliament representing the Mbabara district of Uganda until 1989. She also represented her country as a member of the Pan-African Parliament, where she served as chairperson of its Committee on Rules. As former Minister of Ethics and Integrity, from 1998 to 2003, she formulated the government's policy on corruption, and helped set standards of ethics for professionals in public office. A former commissioner of the Uganda Constitutional Commission, she later served as delegate to the Constituent Assembly that promulgated the new national constitution in 1995. In 2002, she published a memoir entitled *Gender, Politics and Constitution Making in Uganda* (Ahfad Journal) in which she documents her experience in bringing gender issues to the forefront of national politics. A lawyer who has focused on human rights law, constitutional law and business law, Matembe has presented numerous papers at conferences in Africa and the United States. She was a fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, D.C. Matembe received her LL.B. from Makerere University, Uganda and her LL.M. from the University of Warwick, United Kingdom.

Richard (Rick) Matland, Ph.D., is the Helen Houlahan Rigali Chair of Political Science at Loyola University Chicago in Chicago, Illinois. He has also held positions at the University of Bergen and the University of Trondheim in Norway and the University of Houston. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan in 1991. Matland's work crosses several fields including public policy, comparative politics and U.S. politics. His work emphasizes a comparative institutions approach, looking at how different institutions for aggregating preferences can lead to different policy outcomes. His work includes a number of articles looking at the effect of electoral systems on women's representation in legislatures. He has also done work on policy implementation, on school choice programs in the United States and theories of distributive justice. His work has been published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Social Science Quarterly* and *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, as well as many other journals and books. He is co-editor of the book, *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

Elena McCollim is a program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Prior to that she worked for eight years in Washington, D.C., with NGOs engaged in advocacy on international development and social justice issues. She worked most recently at InterAction with its member organizations such as Oxfam, World Vision, Catholic Relief Services and Save the Children, lobbying the World Bank to make its policies and practices more transparent, participatory and accountable. During three years in Mexico and Central America, McCollim worked in a study abroad program for U.S. undergraduates, teaching courses on gender and development in Latin America. She has a master's in international relations, with concentrations in international economics, social change and development, from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University, and a Bachelor of Arts in development studies from the University of California, Berkeley.

Michael Nagler, Ph.D., is professor emeritus of classics and comparative literature at the University of California, Berkeley, where he founded and still teaches nonviolence and other courses in the Peace and Conflict Studies Program. He co-directed the first Spiritual Progressives Conference in Berkeley in July 2005 with Rabbi Michael Lerner and is a frequent speaker on nonviolence and spirituality. Nagler's most recent books are *The Search for a Nonviolent Future* (American Book Award, 2002) and *Our Spiritual Crisis*. He has been twice nominated for the Jamnalal Bajaj award for Gandhian work outside India.

Joyce Neu, Ph.D., executive director (on leave) of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is a Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow – United States Institute of Peace for the academic year 2006-2007. Her research will focus on the impact of International Criminal Court interventions on conflict resolution and sustainable peace. Neu is a conflict resolution specialist with a background in scholarship and practice in international mediation and negotiation. From 1992 to 2004, Neu conducted conflict assessments in Albania, Georgia, Latvia, Macedonia, Madagascar and Moldova and helped facilitate discussions between parties in conflict in Bosnia, Congo-Brazzaville, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Mali, Sudan and Uganda. During her years at The Carter Center, Neu accompanied the former President to Bosnia where they obtained a four-month ceasefire in December 1994. She led a Carter Center team working on restoring Sudan – Uganda bilateral relations that culminated in a summit with the two heads of state, with President Carter serving as mediator, and the 1999 Nairobi Peace Agreement. In 2000, she was recognized for her work in Africa by the National Peace Foundation with the Peacemaker/Peacebuilder Award. Neu is a faculty member in the Communication Studies Department at the University of San Diego and teaches in the Masters in Peace and Justice Program. She has a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Southern California, and completed undergraduate majors in English and French at the University of Colorado.

Rebecca Okwaci is the secretary general of Women Action for Development. In 1995, Okwaci co-led the Sudanese delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China. She facilitated a dialogue within various groups of political, religious and ethnic backgrounds for which she was recognized by international institutions and governments, and culminated in the foundation of Sudanese Women's Empowerment for Peace. As an Executive Producer at the Sudan Radio Service, Okwaci produces programs targeting women, such as "Our Voices" and "Women's Corner," and contributes to programs educating citizens on the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005, ending the twenty-year civil war. She is also a founding member of Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi and Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, the first grassroots peace organization established by Sudanese women living in exile in Kenya, and co-led the Sudanese women's delegation to The Hague Appeal for Peace in 1999. With Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, Okwaci carried out the first peacebuilding and conflict resolution programs and trainings in the Shilluk Kingdom in Mid-West Upper Nile in southern Sudan.

Jacqueline O'Neill is a policy associate at The Initiative for Inclusive Security in Washington, D.C. She focuses on enhancing women's participation in conflict resolution throughout Sudan as well as on working with United States, Canadian and other military and civilian police organizations to engage constructively with local women leaders. Prior to joining the Initiative, O'Neill worked in the Human Rights Unit at the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), as well as at the Institute of Gender and Development at Sudan's Ahfad University for women. She served as a policy advisor to Canada's Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific and has worked as a crisis communications and management consultant in the private sector. O'Neill also helped found an effort to bring together military, humanitarian and human rights communities to discuss strategic military uses of child soldiers and remains involved in its implementation. She has a bachelor's in commerce from the University of Alberta and a master's in public policy focused on international security and political economy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

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

Barbara Quinn, RSCJ, is the director of the Center for Christian Spirituality at the University of San Diego. The center, rooted in Christian spirituality, respects the diversity of beliefs and cultures, and focuses on personal enrichment, professional and academic life and social justice. These goals are realized through academic courses; programs designed for professional constituencies including business, law, social work and spiritual direction; workshops for personal enrichment; and collaboration with groups addressing social justice concerns. The center emphasizes dialogue as an essential way to discover and share the transcendent values of life in order that they may be placed at the service of the community. Quinn co-teaches a course on business leadership and spirituality in which MBA students and local business leaders explore the relationship between business and spirituality with a focus on the challenges of leadership, including current theory and practice in business and spirituality.

Irene Santiago is the chair and chief executive officer of the Mindanao Commission on Women and co-founder of the Mothers for Peace Movement in the Philippines. She is a senior advisor to the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process where she assists in policy and strategy formulation, specifically on demobilization, disarmament and reintegration. Santiago is one of two women on the Philippine government panel negotiating peace with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). In this role, she has brought gender issues into the peace talks. In 2005, Santiago was nominated as one of 1,000 women for the Nobel Peace Prize. She has been a gender advocate for the past thirty years and has consulted for the World Bank and numerous international institutions, organizations and governments. Santiago served as the executive director of the NGO Forum on Women which was organized in parallel with the 1995 U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Jolynn Shoemaker is the executive director of Women in International Security (WIIS). She has worked for the U.S. Department of State on human rights, the U.S. Department of Defense as a lawyer and a policy analyst and on international law and policy issues for The Initiative for Inclusive Security. Shoemaker has a J.D. and a master's degree from Georgetown University. She has published on women and armed conflict, legal reform in postconflict situations and human rights. Shoemaker is a member of the New York Bar.

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

Stephen Standifird, Ph.D., is an associate professor of management at the University of San Diego. Prior to joining USD, he taught at Western Washington University, was a visiting lecturer at the Academy of Entrepreneurship and Management in Warsaw, Poland, and worked in a variety of project related areas for Amoco Chemical Company. His current research interests include international institutional influences and organizational reputation. He has been widely published and currently serves on the editorial boards of *Corporate Reputation Review* and the *Journal of Management Inquiry*. He has served on a number of not-for-profit boards and currently serves as a board president for The Crime Victims Fund, a not-for-profit that provides financial support to victims of crimes with a special emphasis on victims of domestic violence.

Victoria Stanski is the manager of network strategy and advocacy for the Women Waging Peace global network, part of the Initiative for Inclusive Security, a program of the Hunt Alternatives Fund in Washington, D.C. As the primary liaison for over four hundred women peacebuilders in forty conflict and postconflict countries, she has organized advocacy efforts to promote the full participation of all stakeholders, especially women, in peace processes. In 2005, Stanski worked at the U.S. Institute of Peace on "Envisioning Iraq's Future: Developing an Alternative View," a research project focused on analyzing the new, emerging leaders in Iraq and exploring their views and attitudes toward key policy issues. Previously, Stanski served as an AmeriCorps volunteer at Peace Games, a national peace education and violence prevention program for elementary and high school students in Boston, Massachusetts. She was awarded the Harold Isaac's Award for "Lynchpin for Democracy: The Critical Role of Civil Society in Iraq," which was published in *The Third World Studies Journal* (Fall 2005). Stanski was a contributing editor for the peace and conflict resolution section of *365 Ways to Change the World* (Myriad Editions, 2005; Penguin Books, 2006). Stanski earned a master's in international peace and conflict resolution from American University's School for International Service in Washington, D.C., and a bachelor's in cultural anthropology and African studies from Smith College.

Michael Szporluk is a senior program officer based in Portland, Oregon. Szporluk works with the Training, Advocacy and Networking Program operating in Mongolia and Guatemala. He works on local partnership principles and practices, and inclusion of people with disabilities. He has worked in Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia for local and international organizations on a range of development and dialogue projects, and led the European Centre for Minority Issues' Policy Dialogue Initiative in Macedonia. Szporluk spent four years as a research officer and analyst in the Office of the Prosecution at the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia. Szporluk has a master's in public policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Laura Taylor is a program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) and has worked on the IPJ Nepal Project and for the Women PeaceMakers Program. She co-edited the final report for the 2004 IPJ conference, "Promoting Women's Participation in Peace and Security Processes: Operationalizing U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325," and has coordinated the 2005 IPJ Global Women's Court of Accountability and the 2006 IPJ conference, "Who's making policy? What difference does it make?" Taylor has served as director of development at the Guatemala Human Rights Commission in Washington, D.C., and as project coordinator for Puentes de Paz, an indigenous women's community mental health project located in the highlands of Guatemala. Taylor has also worked in a women's center in Managua, Nicaragua and conducted independent research in Cuba. Taylor earned a master's in peace and justice from the University of San Diego and a bachelor's in psychology, a minor in Spanish and a concentration in Latin American and Iberian studies from Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Karma Lekshe Tsomo, Ph.D., is an assistant professor in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of San Diego, where she teaches Buddhism, world religions and comparative religious ethics. Her primary academic interests include women in Buddhism, Buddhism and bioethics, religion and cultural change and Buddhism in the United States. In addition to her academic work, she is actively involved in inter-faith dialogue and in grassroots initiatives for the empowerment of women. Tsomo is president of Sakyadhita: International Association of Buddhist Women and director of Jamyang Foundation, an initiative to provide educational opportunities for women in the Indian Himalayas and Bangladesh.

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

Erica Williams works as a policy analyst at the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR). She earned her master's in international policy at the Monterey Institute for International Studies, with a Certificate in Gender and Development, and double majored in sociology and Spanish studies as an undergraduate at Santa Clara University. While at IWPR, Williams has conducted interviews and coordinated the activities of the Working Group on Women's Public Vision for the institute's project on Politics, Religion, and Women's Public Vision. She has co-authored a number of reports related to IWPR's Status of Women in the States project and IWPR's briefing paper series on women in the Gulf Coast. Williams also coordinates IWPR's monthly Women and Social Security Alert and is co-chair of the Domestic Priorities Task Force of the National Council of Women's Organizations.

2. List of Delegates

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2006 Conference delegates in IPJ Rotunda

3. United Nations Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)³⁴

Poverty

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

Education and Training

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

Health

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

Violence

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

Armed Conflict

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

Economy

- Promote women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources.
- Facilitate women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade.
- Provide business services, training and access to markets, information and technology, particularly to low-income women.
- Strengthen women's economic capacity and commercial networks.
- Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination.
- Promote harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men.

Decision-making

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

Institutional Mechanisms

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

Human Rights

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

Media

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

Environment

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

The Girl-Child

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

4. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000)³⁵

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

"The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. **Urges** Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
2. **Encourages** the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. **Urges** the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. **Further** urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights 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."

5. List of Acronyms

1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
ACFODE	Action for Development
AU	African Union
AUC	United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEDPA	Centre for Development and Population Activities
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSU	California State University
CSW	Commission of the Status of Women
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ELN	National Liberation Army (Colombia)
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
GBV	Gender-based Violence
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IPJ	Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
IWPR	Institute for Women's Policy Research
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)
MBA	Masters of Business Administration
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Philippines)

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
PFA	The Beijing Platform for Action
PfP	Partnership for Peace
RSCJ	Religious of the Society of the Sacred Heart
SAIS	School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP-Nepal	South Asia Partnerships-Nepal
SASA network	South Asia Small Arms Network
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNAMG	National Union of Guatemalan Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
WIIS	Women in International Security
WIPP	Women Impacting Public Policy

6. Endnotes

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Dedicated IPJ volunteers (Photo credit: IPJ)

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*You dared to come,
You made a personal choice to be here.*

*From your universities, from your communities,
From your high tables, and from your village struggles,*

*You decided to be here, to be here at this Institute,
To be here at this conference.*

*You are part of the struggle,
You are part of the struggle for peace, the struggle for justice,*

*The struggle for humanity, the struggle for equality,
The struggle for being, the struggle of our time, the struggle of integrity,
And the struggle for dignity.*

*You came with your ideas,
You came with your knowledge,
You came with your passion,
You came with your spirituality,
You came with your dreams,
and you came with your being.*

*You came because you believe, you believe in a tomorrow,
A tomorrow that is different.*

I believe with you, and together we are in this struggle.

*Today and tomorrow, we'll remain in this struggle,
Because it is a struggle of dignity.*

*It is our struggle, it is their struggle,
It is our struggle, and it is your struggle.*

*My struggle is your struggle,
And together we'll get dignity.*

Improvised poem by Nyaradzai Mugaragumbo-Gumbonzada, shared at the conference closing

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