BMZ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

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Promoting Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and Peace Processes

Prepared by the programme Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Rights

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" 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."
(UNSCR 1325)

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Abbreviations

AU	African Union
BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CERCAPAZ	Peacebuilding by promoting cooperation between government and civil society (Cooperación entre Estado y Sociedad Civil para el Desarrollo de la Paz)
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DDR	Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
DPA	Department of Political Affairs
DWP	Dealing with the past
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	ECOWAS's Prevention Framework
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender-based violence
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
IFOR	International Fellowship of Reconciliation
IGOs	International governmental organisations
MSU	Mediation support unit
NAP	National action plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDFP	National Democratic Front of The Philippines
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
NPA	New People's Army
NWF	National Women's Forum
OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Advisor for the Peace Process
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSR	Security sector reform
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution
URNG	Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca)
WPP	Women Peacemakers Program
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
ZFD	Civil Peace Service (Ziviler Friedensdienst)
ZIF	Centre for International Peace Operations (Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze)

Acknowledgements

This publication is the outcome of two international workshops entitled 'Promoting women's participation in peace negotiations and political processes after violent conflicts'. These two events, held in January and June 2012 in Berlin, were organised by the programme Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Rights of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Peace activists from different regions undergoing violent conflict and peace processes – such as Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, Kenya, Liberia, Guatemala, Nepal, South Sudan and the Philippines – participated in both workshops. They shared their knowledge and their experiences and set the ground for fruitful discussions with representatives from governmental and non-governmental development organizations as well as German ministries. The main analytical focus of the publication is how development agencies can promote and increase women's participation in peace processes and peace negotiations.

I am grateful to all those who participated in the Berlin exchange events and who provided further support for the editing process. This publication would not have been realised without your exceptional support and encouragement!

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"Recognizing that the promotion and empowerment of women and that support for women's organizations and networks are essential in the consolidation of peace to promote the equal and full participation of women [...] and encouraging Member States, donors, and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to provide support in this respect." (UNSCR 1888)

the International Peacebuilding Alliance, Swisspeace, the Mano River Women Peace Network from Liberia, The Kenyan Coalition for Peace in Africa, Bangwe et dialogue (Stop Fighting) from Burundi, the Center for Human Rights and the Prevention of Genocide from Burundi, Tewa – The Nepal Women's Fund, the Afghan Women's Network, the South Sudanese Joint Technical Secretariat for Post Referendum Negotiations, the Institute for Inclusive Security (USA), 1000 Peacewomen across the Globe, Medica Mondiale e.V., the Women's Network for Peace, Misereor, the FriEnt Working Group on Peace and Development, the Gunda Werner Institute of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berghof Peace Support from Germany, the involved GIZ-programmes as well as the GIZ-country offices in the above-mentioned countries. The publication also benefitted from the comments and suggestions of a number of experts, including Birgit Felleisen, Andrea Gómez, Rita Schäfer, Maria Eugenia Vasquez, Norma Enriquez Riascos and Manuela Alvarado López. They provided valuable insights and input and performed the groundwork for this publication.

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Sabine Gürtner, Programme Director, Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Rights

Introduction

Background to and general context of the GIZ toolkit

In 2000, the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security called for the increased participation of women in peace processes and in all peacebuilding-related activities. To implement UNSCR 1325, the UN Secretary called upon all UN member states to develop national actions plans (NAPs) outlining specific lines of national activity.

As of February 2013, nearly 40 such NAPs[1] have been put in place. One of these is the German Government's NAP, published in December 2012, that makes UNSCR 1325 a cross-cutting issue for German foreign defence and development policy (Bundesregierung 2012, p. 2) and aims to provide a coherent and comprehensive approach and strategy for implementing UNSCR 1325.

The main focus of the German NAP is the participation of women in crisis prevention, peacemaking and peacebuilding. Its four main aims are:[2]

- Increased involvement of women in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms aimed at preventing and managing conflicts;
- A high awareness level regarding gender-specific issues among staff participating in conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict peacebuilding;
- Heightened and appropriate attention to gender perspectives and the participation of women in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements;
- Heightened and appropriate attention to the needs of women in the planning and carrying out of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration activities (DDR)

[1] *The list of countries and governments that have developed a national action plan (NAP) includes: Chile, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Nepal, the Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Uganda. See: www.peacewomen.org/naps/list-of-nap. Past and current challenges for all NAPs revolve in particular around questions of implementation, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.*

[2] *The English version of the German NAP is available for download here: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/634024/publicationFile/176215/121219_Aktionsplan_download.pdf*

With regard to gender-based violence (GBV), the German NAP targets the:

- effective protection of women and girls from human rights violations;
- effective protection of women and girls from gender-based violence during violent conflicts;
- effective prosecution of gender-based violence against women and girls.

The German NAP stresses civil society's role in developing and implementing the NAP. It also refers to and supports initiatives that bring men on board with combating and rejecting gender-based violence (Bundesregierung 2012, pp. 3 and 7).

Coherent and comprehensive approaches and strategies for implementing UNSCR 1325 become even more essential when considering the realities on the ground. There is still no 'critical mass' of women peacebuilders and mediators engaged in formal track I peace processes. The number of women negotiators, witnesses and signatories to peace agreements still remains astonishingly low.

A UN Women (2012) review identified that, out of 31 major peace processes conducted since 1992:

- 4% of signatories of peace agreements were women;
- 2.4% of chief mediators were women;
- 3.7% of witnesses or observers to peace negotiations were women;
- 9% of negotiation team members were women.[3]

At the same time, most local women peace activists on tracks II and III, drawing on their personal and political convictions, courageously tackle questions of social justice, human rights and gender-based violence (GBV). GBV is still a prominent feature of all violent conflicts and remains unaddressed in most peace negotiations and agreements. The work of local women's organisations and individual women peace activists on GBV, social justice and other peacebuilding issues has no formal mandate and is very often not linked to the official peace process. However, local and international networks and organisations[4] have made women's often invisible and unacknowledged work visible and have highlighted their contributions to the official peacebuilding processes.

[3] With 33% of female signatories and 35% of women on delegations, the 2011 negotiations in Oslo regarding the Philippines represent a stand-out high point without which the average number of women drops to 3% of signatories and 7.5% of negotiators.
[4] Such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) – www.wilpfinternational.org and www.peacewomen.org; Peace Women Across the Globe (PWAG) – www.1000peacewomen.org; the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) – www.gnwp.org; and the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) – www.icanpeacework.org.

tracks of diplomacy

track I The first track refers to official and formal negotiation/mediation processes. Main track I actors are political and military third parties and/or official representatives of conflict parties and international governmental organisations (IGOs).

track II The second track features non-official and informal peacebuilding activities. Main track II actors range from private individuals, academics, professionals, and 'civil mediation/citizens diplomacy' to international and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved in conflict resolution.

track III The third track includes capacity building, trauma work, grassroots training, development and human rights work. Main track III actors comprise local grassroots organisations, local and international development agencies, human rights organisations and humanitarian assistance.

It is this international context that informs the rationale for this toolkit. The toolkit is best understood as a reality check for addressing the above challenges, promoting women's participation in peace processes, and implementing national action plans on 1325 or similar strategic initiatives.

Methodology

The toolkit is the outcome of two international workshops entitled 'Promoting women's participation in peace negotiations and political processes after violent conflicts'. These two events, held in January and June 2012 in Berlin, were organised by the programme Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Rights of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Women peace activists from different regions undergoing violent conflict and peace processes – such as Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, Kenya, Liberia, Guatemala, Nepal, South Sudan and the Philippines – participated in both workshops.

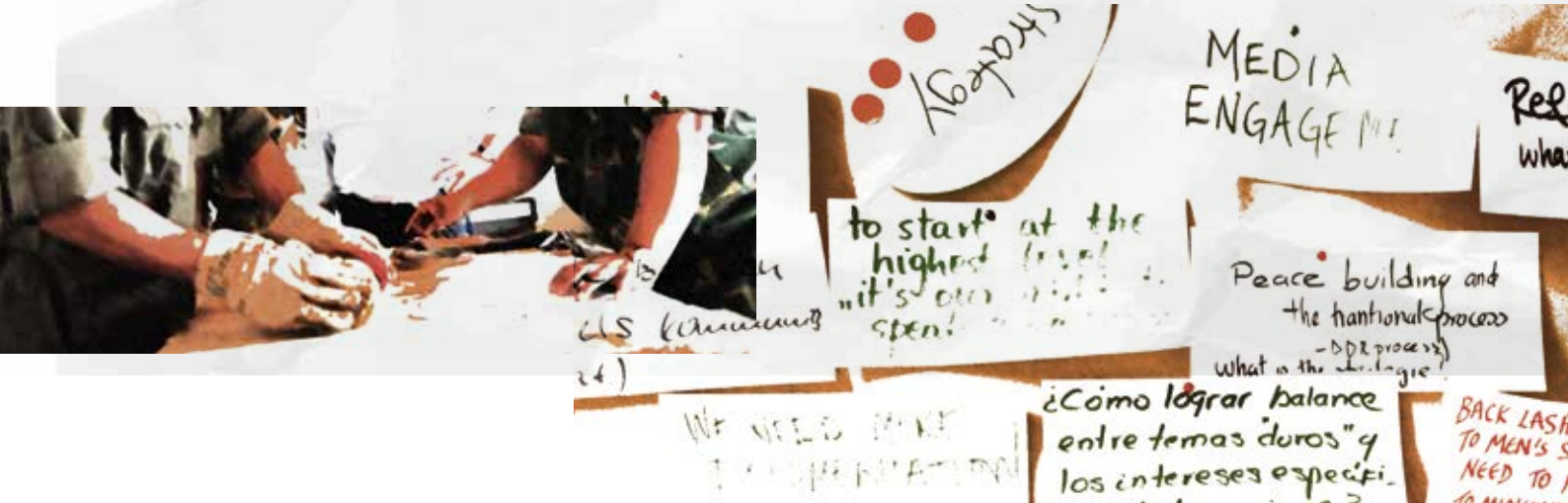
The toolkit also takes into account current international debate on women's participation in peace processes and peace negotiations, with a particular emphasis on the latest discussions on the Women, Peace and Security policy agenda. The toolkit also benefits from the latest UN Women publication on peace negotiations and agreements (2012) and recent policy research on women's roles in peace agreements and peace processes (Reimann et al. 2012).

Main questions and underlying assumptions

The main analytical focus of this toolkit is how development agencies can promote and increase women's participation in peace processes and peace negotiations.

This toolkit is based on four guiding assumptions on gender equality in peace negotiations and peace processes as advanced by UNSCR 1325 and its subsequent expansion through Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106 and 2122.

- A gender perspective highlights the different roles and needs of women and men during and after conflict. It offers a more accurate and comprehensive basis for any conflict analysis and peace intervention. Without integrating a gender perspective, a distorted and simplified picture of the complex processes involved in 'building peace' is offered.



- Including the views and needs of women, who constitute 50% of the population, increases the fulfilment of the needs and interests of the wider population. In doing so, institutions and actors in charge of peace processes and negotiations become more inclusive and effective. Without a gender perspective, peace processes and negotiations lack substance, which may jeopardise their very sustainability.
- A gender perspective calls for more equitable peacebuilding institutions, processes and structures. Gender equality is a core human rights principle and is key to peaceful development. The equal participation of women and men in peacebuilding contributes to the fulfilment of fundamental conventions with regard to human rights such as CEDAW[5] and important United Nations Security Council Resolutions, such as Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.
- Gender awareness in peace processes and negotiations is not a question of political correctness; rather, it is a question of the accurate, systemic and strategic analysis of an effective, sustainable and equal process, as well as of professionalism (Reimann 2012).

In the light of these four assumptions, the toolkit focuses both on women's fundamental human rights to participate in peace negotiations and on their specific contributions to peace negotiations and agreements.

In order to address one of the key thematic areas of the women, peace and security agenda, this toolkit focuses on women's participation in peace processes. As such, its analysis cannot (fully) capture the gender complexities that actually underpin violent conflict and transformation processes, such as: changing gender roles and notions of masculinities; 'militarised masculinities'; 'devalued masculinities' such as homosexual men, and handicapped and ill men; transsexuality/ies; and male vulnerability and gender-based violence against men.

[5] *The role of women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations has been spelled out by CEDAW in its general recommendation No. 30, CEDAW/C/GC/30, 1 November 2013.*

Who the toolkit is for

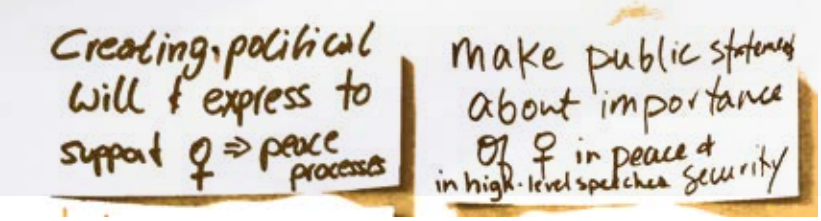
The toolkit offers German development actors a rich base for collaborative learning. It is also of great value to its other targets: bilateral and multilateral donor agencies; national and international non-governmental organisations; and governmental actors involved in women's empowerment, development and peacebuilding.

General outline

The above introduction sets out the toolkit's main aims and questions. The main section below discusses women's participation in peace processes covering obstacles, opportunities, lessons learned and best practices, as well as providing recommendations for German and international development agencies.

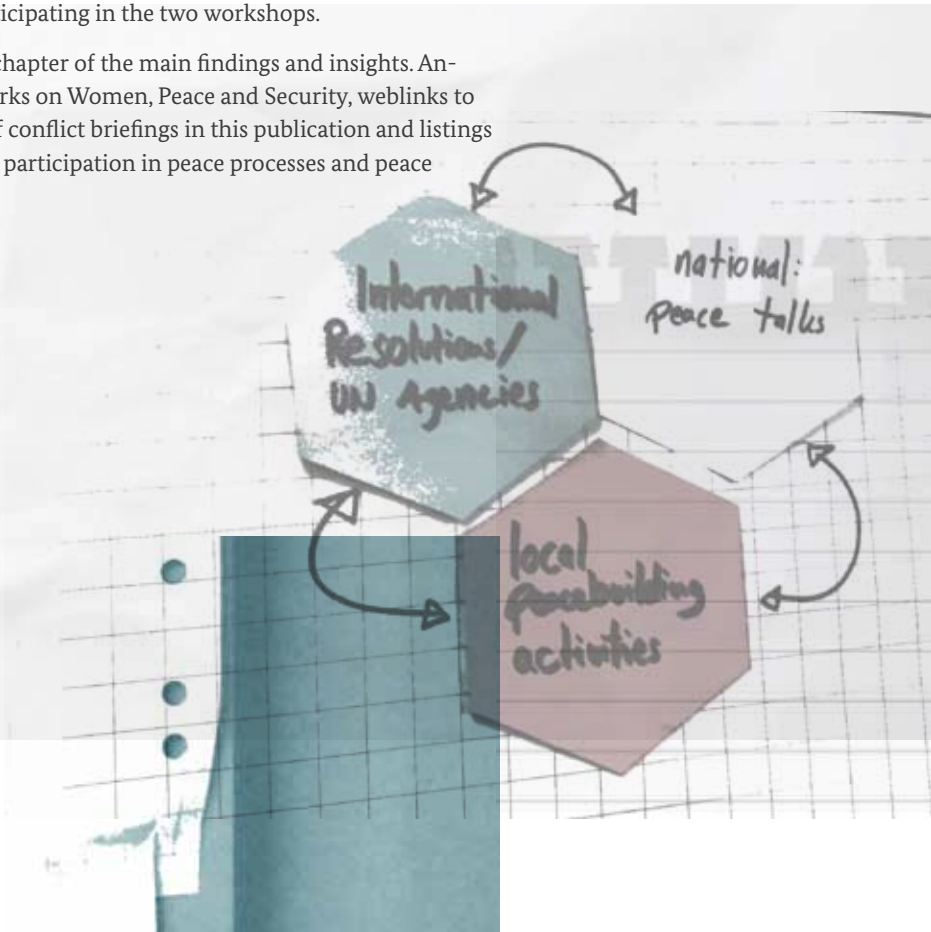
The underlying understanding of women's participation is based on a continuum of women's agency: their access to, the roles they play in, and their impact on peace processes and peace negotiations. The analysis is structured in three clusters:

- Women's access to and participation in official peace processes.
- Women's influence on the dynamics of peace negotiations.
- Implementing gender-specific provisions of peace agreements or demands for gender equality in the post-settlement phase.



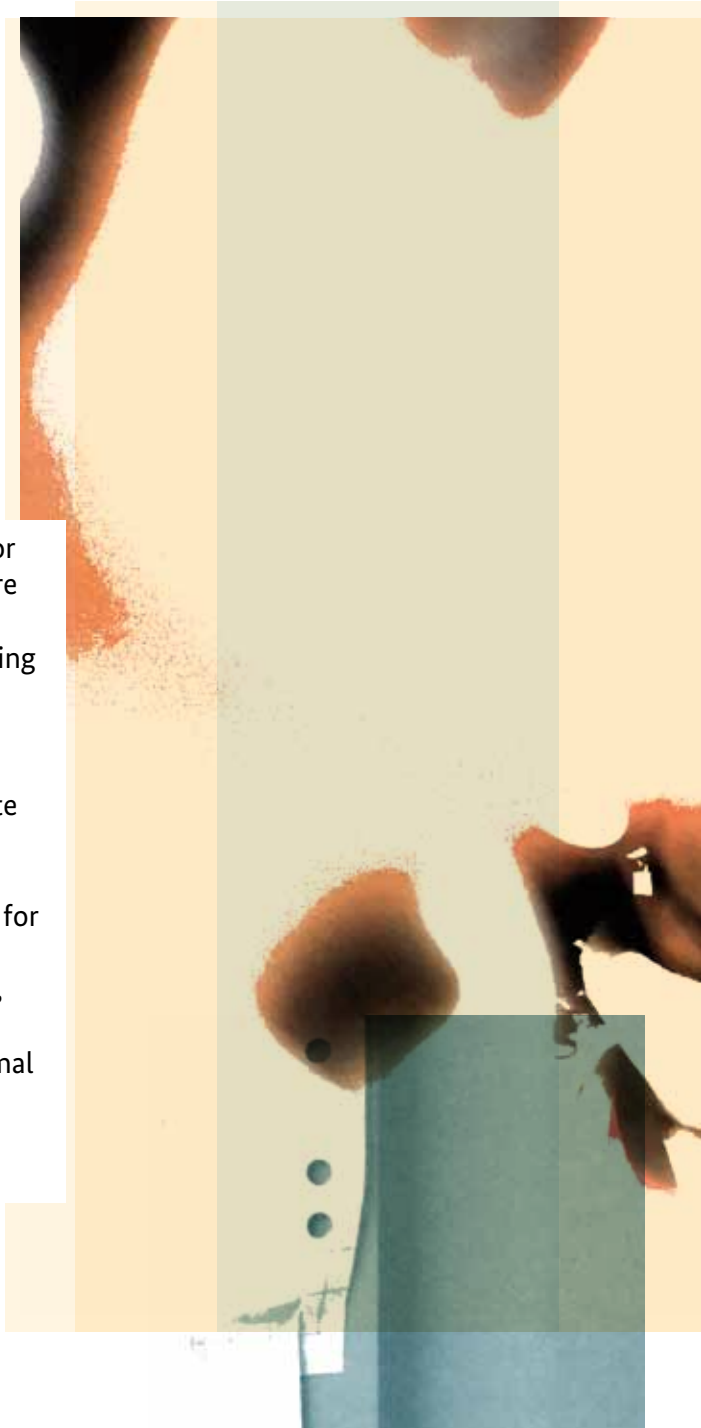
The three clusters, which should be understood as dynamic and overlapping, are individually unpacked through a structure of key questions. Using concrete examples from peace processes in Africa, Asia and Latin America, each cluster discusses and illustrates key obstacles, opportunities, lessons learned and best practices, and provides recommendations for German and international development agencies. Illustrative examples are taken from two interim reports on GIZ's 2012 workshops mentioned above, the latest international publications and research, and additional interviews with GIZ personnel and women peace activists participating in the two workshops.

The toolkit concludes with a summary in the final chapter of the main findings and insights. Annexes also provide the main international frameworks on Women, Peace and Security, weblinks to important and relevant organisations, a selection of conflict briefings in this publication and listings of the latest international publications on women's participation in peace processes and peace negotiations.



1 — Obstacles to women's access and participation

- Women often have no direct access to the mediator or the official mediation and negotiation teams and there is no official, standardised mechanism for accessing information about the peace process and for developing women's interests.
- Patriarchal socio-cultural stereotypes of women as victims and uncritical advocates for peace, combined with a strict division of labour in the public and private spheres, prevent women from entering official peace processes.
- There is a high level of insecurity and personal threat for women participating in official peace negotiations.
- There has been a lack of political will in international, regional and national organisations and mediation teams to promote and include women as local, informal mediators and as capacities for peace.



I.

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO AND PARTICIPATION IN OFFICIAL PEACE PROCESSES

2 — Opportunities for women's access and participation

Women gaining access to official peace processes through international support

In 2000, UNIFEM (now UN Women) convened an 'All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference' in Arusha, Tanzania, where women drafted specific recommendations for the peace process. Women's organisations approached and lobbied the conflict parties and Nelson Mandela – one of the chief mediators – to include women in the peace negotiations. Mandela publicly stated his support for women's equal participation in the peace negotiations. Furthermore, women's representatives urged the Ugandan President (who also participated in the peace negotiations) to make their voices heard. The president received a delegation of 100 women and subsequently asked the former president of Tanzania and other chief mediators to push for the participation of women in Arusha. Consequently, seven women attended the talks. These women were not members of any political party; they were representatives of women's rights organisations.

During Kenya's post-electoral violence in 2008, the mediator Kofi Annan, Chair of the Panel of Eminent African Personalities, along with his fellow panel member, Graça Machel, facilitated women's access to the negotiations. They encouraged women to draft recommendations for the peace process, which were subsequently presented to the Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation Committee charged with negotiating the terms of the peace agreement.

Women setting up their own peace fora to get access to the official peace process

When excluded from official peace processes, women can set up their own unofficial peace fora. A striking characteristic of these separate women's peace platforms is that they work across class, caste and ethnic divides – often playing by and subverting established rules.

Although Somali women were participating in informal peace activities, they remained excluded from the formal and official peace negotiations in 2002. Only representatives of Somalia's five clans were allowed as official representatives and, traditionally, only men represent the clan. This being the case, Somali women created the so-called 'Sixth Clan' – the women's clan. By coming together as the Sixth Clan, these women were able to participate in the Somali Peace and Reconciliation Conference in Djibouti.
In Burundi, women were initially denied access to the official peace process taking place in Arusha, so they set up the All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference, which brought together women from the 19 negotiating parties, observers, refugees and internally displaced persons.

Strategic alliances and links among actors from tracks I, II and III facilitate women's participation in peace processes

The cases of Guatemala and the Philippines[6] highlight the strategic importance of building strategic alliances between civil society and women's groups on track II and III and official actors on track I. In the 1990-1996 Guatemalan peace process, Luz Mendez[7] – one of the two women taking part in

[6] *For further information about the conflicts in the Philippines and in Guatemala, see page 67/68.*
[7] *In 2004, Luz Mendez was elected to represent the women's movement in Guatemala's national commission to oversee the implementation of the peace accords. She currently sits on the advisory council of the Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas (National Union of Guatemalan Women).*

the formal peace negotiations – tabled proposals put forward by local women's rights organisations. During the negotiations, Luz Mendez met with indigenous leaders from Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) to enlist their support for the inclusion of paragraphs in the peace agreement that favour indigenous women.
In the Philippines, civil society organised on tracks II and III backed the official track I process, with women's organisations and peace activists running public campaigns and initiatives to support the official peace process.

Securing the buy-in of the wider population for women's participation by means of an open and transparent communications strategy
In Burundi, women – unlike the male participants at the negotiations – kept the community informed about the dynamics and process of the negotiations. This is one of the reasons why the community supported women's participation and gave them a strong mandate to discuss their experiences during the peace negotiations and to represent their interests. As a consequence, party leaders became aware that they had to take women seriously in the process.

Women's experiences in informal peace processes are highly relevant for official peace processes and peace negotiations
Even when local women are denied access to formal structures, they can gain experience as 'change agents' in informal peace processes and local peace activism. In general, women tend to be underrepresented among peace and human rights groups.

The above examples of Kenya, Somalia, Burundi and the Philippines show how women, with the support of regional, national or international networks, can transfer their experiences from the local to the national level and influence official peace processes. These four examples also show how many official peace processes are initiated, influenced or complemented by unofficial initiatives. For example, the peace process in the Philippines illustrates how local women gained extensive experience as capacities for peace and change agents. For a long time, civil society organisations, including women's peace organisations and human rights activists, had been advocating for peace and social justice. Indeed, in September 2009, a large group of women and peace organisations submitted the Mindanao Women's Framework for Civilian Protection, invoking UNSCR 1325 and proposing, among other strategies, the establishment of a Joint Civilian Protection Authority with a 70% female membership. Additionally, most of the government negotiators for the peace talks in 2008-2012 came from civil society, namely the peace and human rights movements (Reimann et al. 2012).

example from german development cooperation

In Colombia, the GIZ Programme CERCAPAZ supports women's organisations and local and regional government institutions to integrate the contents of UNSCR 1325 into regional and local peace agendas.

Political campaigns to promote women's rights and their participation in official peace processes
Local and national campaigns that mobilise widespread support and bring together women from different ethnic, educational and religious backgrounds lend more weight to women's voices in the peace process. Actions may include: nationwide peace walks and writing public letters to the government, as happened in Burundi; or national media campaigns and informal campaigns like the 'We are not giving birth to men for war' campaign in Colombia or the above-mentioned national campaign in the Philippines for the NAP.

UNSCR 1325 as a mobilising force for women's participation
Early findings suggested that UNSCR 1325 acted as an important starting point for the mobilisation of women outside the formal peace process (Bell & O'Rourke 2010). The peace process in the Philippines reflects how UNSCR 1325 can be used as a mobilisation tool both outside and inside formal processes.

3 — Lessons learned and best practices in women's access and participation

LESSON 1 — Prepare the ground for women's participation by offering open and secure spaces for women activists and peacebuilders to exchange information and share experiences.
The All-Party Women's Peace Conference in Burundi and the Sixth Clan in Somalia were open spaces for women to meet and exchange ideas and concerns, as well as to develop their recommendations and a joint vision for peace in their respective countries.

LESSON 2 — Enhance and foster synergies between the processes, actors and strategies of tracks I, II and III.
As illustrated by the cases of Guatemala and the Philippines, international practices suggest that women active in track I, who have experience from tracks II and/or III and who are engaged in promoting gender equality, will be widely accepted by women and the wider community (UN Women 2012; Reimann et al. 2012).

LESSON 3 — It is essential to identify and enhance national institutional mechanisms and 'homes' for women's participation.
The Burundi All-Party Women's Peace Conference and the Somali Sixth Clan mentioned above institutionalised women's roles in the peace process. While taking a very different approach, the

Philippines' Office of the Presidential Advisor for the Peace Process (OPAPP) also provides a prominent institutional home for supporting women's participation in the peace process. The Office is the main government agency coordinating the implementation of the NAP on UNSCR 1325.[8]
The above examples suggest that, while different institutional models may be appropriate in each case, women's participation also needs to be effectively institutionalised (Reimann et al. 2012).

LESSON 4 — Prepare the ground for women's participation by supporting coalition building.
Women per se are a highly heterogeneous group and differences in opinion mirror wider societal, political, economic and conflict divides. The creation of community-level networks should be the starting point for enhancing solidarity and building trust and support among women (GIZ 2012, p. 9). Building united "women's agendas" requires support for consensus- and coalition-building that acknowledges and works with this diversity. Irene Santiago, a long-standing women's rights activist from the Philippines, sees in women's ethnic and religious diversity 'a germ which needs to be protected' (GIZ 2012). It is important that these women's networks or platforms are broad-based and represent diverse women's needs and interests, rather than just those of a minority of elite, urban women (UN Women 2012, p. 6).

example from german development cooperation
In order to influence the peace process (track I) between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Philippine Government, GIZ supported the multi-religious and multi-ethnic Mindanao Women's Peace Conference (2003).

[8] *OPAPP also funds Women, Peace and Security (WSP) projects to foster and improve collaboration among government agencies, local government units and civil society organisations by strengthening partnerships in project implementation (Moser 2010, p. 30).*

LESSON 5 — The legitimacy, credibility and leadership of women participants in peace processes are key to their successful inclusion.
The peace processes in the Philippines and Guatemala underline how crucial the legitimacy and leadership of women negotiators are. Legitimacy and leadership are both the result of women's rootedness in their wider networks, such as civil society organisations, political groups or social groups. This also means women negotiators can effectively draw on these local networks so as to link them into formal processes.

LESSON 6 — Identify and enhance early, strategic alliances with men.
It is strategically important and effective for women to identify common peacebuilding needs with men, such as security and economic development issues, at the beginning of a peace process.

LESSON 7 — Make robust and effective connections between local and international interventions.
The peace processes in Kenya and Burundi provide powerful examples of how international pressure for local women's advocacy messages, and building strong relationships between local and international efforts, can support and promote women's participation.

LESSON 8 — Information about the technical and logistical procedures and content of the peace process is key.
Women's activists and women's organisations have to know what themes are under discussion, and when and where formal and informal talks are taking place. Information is power and, if women are not kept informed, local women's activists and organisations have difficulty influencing the formal agenda.

4 — Recommendations for German and international development agencies on women's access to and participation in official processes

RECOMMENDATION 1 — Strategically and effectively link up actors and strategies from tracks I, II and III.
Support and convene exchanges, dialogues and consultations on peacebuilding issues between governments, non-state armed groups, women peace activists and non-governmental organisations. Through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, support local and regional initiatives working to develop and implement regional 'road maps' for peacebuilding processes that include women human rights activists and peace organisations.

RECOMMENDATION 2 — Identify qualified women operating on track II and track III as (future) mediators and negotiators.
Build up a pool of women's mediators in a given country to create a 'critical mass' effect and set up special programmes to train women in mediation. This should include tailor-made capacity building and training in, among other things: leadership, conflict analysis, negotiation, the technicalities of peace processes, Security Sector Reform (SSR), and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR). These short- to medium-term measures should be embedded in a long-term strategy for promoting women's participation in peace processes.

RECOMMENDATION 3 — Support local women's organisations or individual female peace activists and their 'institutional homes'.

GIZ country managers and the German Civil Peace Service should go further in creating and supporting open spaces for exchange and mutual learning among women peace activists, international female and male gender experts, and peace activists in their programmes. Support should be given to fora and institutions that mirror women's multiple and heterogeneous perspectives and interests (McGhie & Njoki 2010, p. 25) – and where these do not exist, help should be provided to set them up. These 'open spaces' give women the opportunity to meet in spite of their political and ethnic differences and to build trust among each other.

Particular preference should be given to women peace activists and organisations that have strong backing at the grassroots level and in the wider male and female community. These individual activists and women's organisations should be supported through tailor-made capacity building in leadership, conflict analysis, negotiation, and communication skills.

RECOMMENDATION 4 — Support women's access to information on peace processes via community and social media, such as radio, Twitter, Facebook and information hubs, and support those media that promote the participation of women in peace processes and questions of gender equality related to peacebuilding.

example from german development cooperation

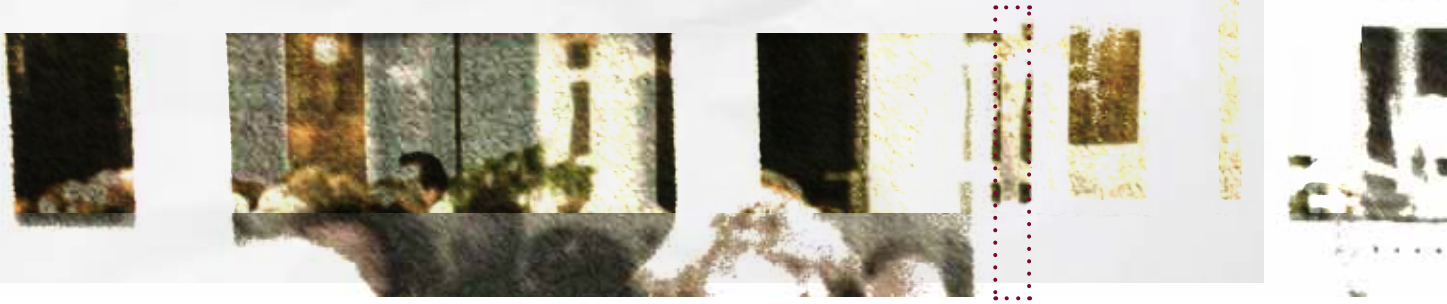
In Rwanda, Burundi and Nepal, the Civil Peace Service (CPS) supports and advocates gender-sensitive mediation training and the role of women as mediators in Local Peace Committees.

RECOMMENDATION 5 — Use UNSCR 1325 in bilateral and multilateral discussions as a lobbying and advocacy tool to promote women's increased and active participation in peace negotiations.

RECOMMENDATION 6 — Assess the training needs of organisational and national senior staff and policymakers on UNSCR 1325 and other national, regional and international instruments on Women, Peace and Security (WPS).
Based on this assessment, offer tailor-made training and follow-up coaching and supervision on monitoring and implementing the WPS instruments.

RECOMMENDATION 7 — Support and help to establish mentor/mentee programmes.
Deliver mentoring programmes where 'older', experienced female and male mediators mentor younger, less experienced women peace activists and local mediators.

RECOMMENDATION 8 — Support informal peace fora and peace negotiations hosted by women and men.
Guarantee financial and logistical support for women's full participation, covering childcare, travel and logistics.



RECOMMENDATION 9 — Support regional organisations to monitor and implement women's participation in peace processes.
Some regional organisations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC) or the African Union (AU) play an increasingly important role in regional and national conflict resolution and mediation efforts. At the same time, they have a track record of gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment (see also Annex II).

RECOMMENDATION 10 — When funding women's civil society organisations, be flexible with funding periods, amounts of money, overheads and cash flows.
Newly established or small women's organisations may find it difficult to manage large amounts of money. It is therefore important to make smaller grants available. The size of a grant does not necessarily correspond with the importance of the work to be performed. Offer 'rapid response funds' to support women's initiatives seeking involvement in peace negotiations.

RECOMMENDATION 11 — Support the documentation of 'success stories' related to women's participation in peace processes and of good practices in initiatives to build trust among women and men.

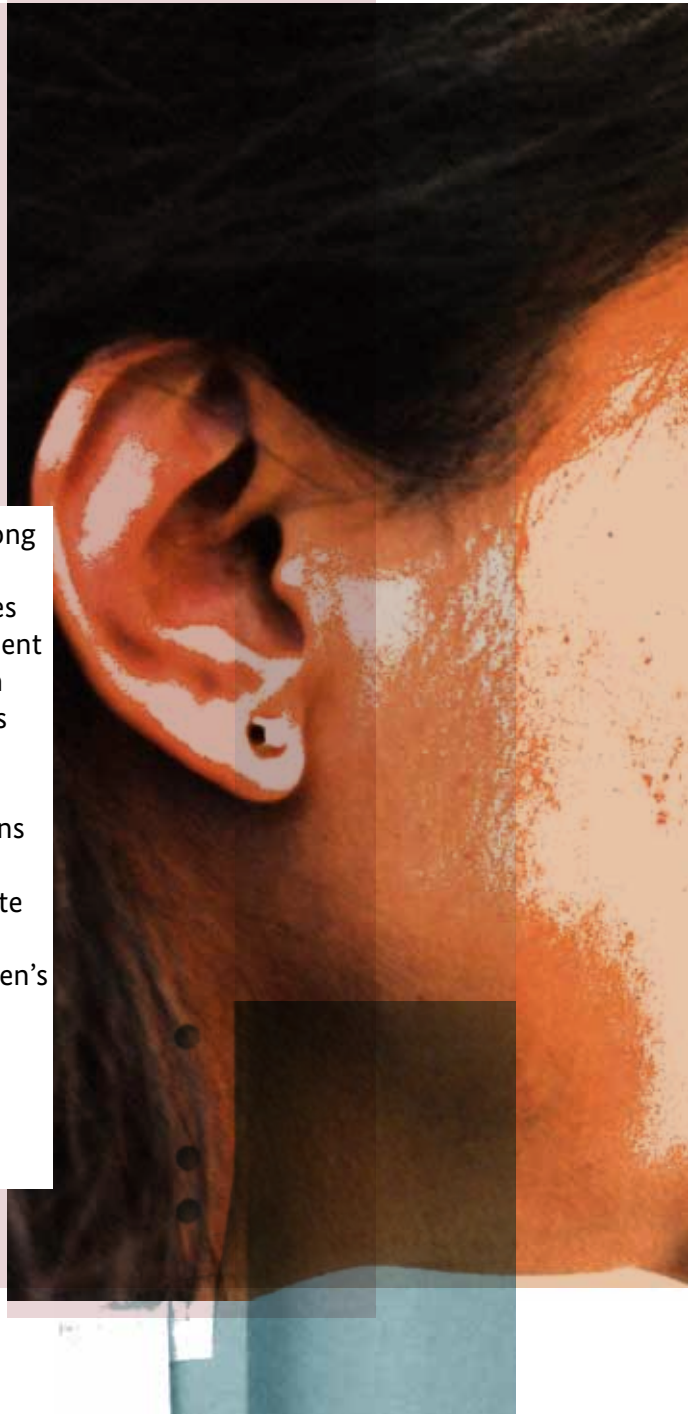
RECOMMENDATION 12 — Support capacity building for men.
The German Civil Peace Service should develop and support gender training that specifically targets local male peace activists. Useful exemplars might be existing training programmes like IFOR WPP's train the trainer programme called 'Overcoming violence – exploring masculinities, violence and peace', which works exclusively with male peace and human rights activists.[9]

RECOMMENDATION 13 — Support capacity building and training in gender awareness and conflict, peacebuilding and mediation.
The German Civil Peace Service should develop and support mediation and gender-awareness training for local women peace activists, female and male activists, and grassroots women's organisations.

[9] *A pilot training programme was delivered in 2009-2010 to 19 male activists from 17 different countries. The programme focused on: gender-sensitive active non-violence; the theory of masculinities and its relation to violence; and participatory and gender-sensitive facilitation. For the training reports, see: www.womenpeacemakersprogram.org/ToT-2010_web-final.PDF and www.womenpeacemakersprogram.org/Report_ToT2009_web.pdf.*

1 — Obstacles to securing women's influence on peace negotiations

- There is lack of gender knowledge and awareness among mediators and negotiators.
- The pressing 'deal-making ambitions' of conflict parties and the 'tyranny of the urgency' to come to an agreement and end the violence often prevent gender issues from being raised. The inclusion of gender-specific concerns would – in the eyes of the negotiation teams – further weaken any ceasefire agreement reached, as conflict parties might differ on the relevance of gender concerns for ending violence and reaching a settlement.
- The obvious technical matters of negotiations dominate the negotiation process and sideline more complex, less obvious matters like gender issues, including women's roles and needs.



II.

WOMEN'S INFLUENCE ON THE DYNAMICS OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

2 — Opportunities for securing women's influence on peace negotiations

External expertise facilitates women's inclusion and influence

In Burundi in 2001, UNIFEM (now UN Women) invited an international expert team on gender to accompany the peace negotiations in Arusha, Tanzania. The team consisted of three women and one man from Guatemala, Uganda, South Africa and Eritrea who participated in peace negotiations and/or were former members of liberation movements in their countries. Although they were not officially part of the negotiation teams, they were given access to the peace-negotiating table. Their background gave them credibility and enabled them to convince the negotiators to convene a women's conference and give women a platform to formulate their recommendations. As one of the principal mediators, Nelson Mandela also encouraged the official delegations to incorporate the recommendations of the All-Party Women's Conference in the peace accord. More than half of these recommendations can be found in the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi (GIZ 2012, p. 10).

Current international practices also suggest that including a gender advisor in mediation teams is useful and strategic, as it helps to ensure women's perspectives get taken into account in the actual peace negotiations and to secure WPS provisions in peace agreement texts (UN Women 2012; Reimann et al. 2012).

In the Somali peace process, including the Djibouti peace agreement signed in 2008 and consequent agreements signed in the period 2008-2011, no women were recorded as participating as representatives of conflict parties, mediation members or signatories.[10] The gender dynamics changed when the then gender advisor of the UN Mediation Support Unit's (UN MSU) Standby Team of Mediation Experts had the opportunity to participate in the 2011 negotiations and to ensure quotas for women in the subsequent peace talks (Reimann et al. 2012). According to local Somali women, the gender advisor played a crucial role in the 2011 peace talks (ibid.). Her role as gender advisor to the UN MSU allowed her to move among women and take forward their critical concerns. Her expert advice shaped the technical use of language in the peace agreement:

> 'It was a lot about structuring the conversations and about knowing what is important, and what represents a priority' (ibid.).

[10] *As far as the mediation team was concerned, only one woman was involved in the whole process: the United States observer to the Djibouti peace agreement (2008).*

The gender advisor also ensured that the quota for women in all political structures of the roadmap was part and parcel of the negotiations. Local Somali women present at the peace talks got 140 signatures for their petition overnight – from almost all of the participants of the negotiation process – for 30% women's participation. The UN had the petition translated into English and submitted it to the international community as one of the key commitments.

Building women's networks and influencing formal peace processes and negotiations

The example of local women's groups in Liberia staging mass demonstrations in 2003 and demanding an end to the war and killing is perhaps the best-known case of this occurring (see, for example, UNMIL 2008 and Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Scheub 2012, pp. 27-32). The women's groups were able to

use their 'women power' to force a meeting with President Charles Taylor and to extract his promise to attend peace talks in Accra. A delegation of Liberian women went to Accra to put pressure on the warring factions during the peace talks. Here they staged a sit-in outside the venue for the negotiations, blocked all the doors, threatened to strip naked[11], and prevented anyone from leaving the peace talks without a resolution being reached.

In the Philippines, female representatives of different sectors of society, including Moro and indigenous women, formed the Women's Peace Table in July 2012. Its members are well connected, have strong grassroots support and active international connections. The Women's Peace Table lobbies for the participation of women and is considered an important think-tank and political actor in the peace process. The Peace Table has the capacity to connect up the formal peace table and the women active at the grassroots of various strategic sectors, such as human rights, health, ecology, politics and education. Its high credibility and effectiveness is deemed to be the product of its longstanding role in leading and organising women's movements like the national Mothers for Peace movement.

Connecting grassroots women with the formal peace process and influencing the peace negotiations

In Guatemala, Luz Mendez tabled proposals from local women's rights organisations that influenced the content and wording of the peace accords. The negotiation processes that led to the 1996 signing of the Guatemalan Peace Accords, known as the Agreement for a Firm and Lasting Peace, were characterised by their extraordinary human rights orientation. The peace process is considered one of the most inclusive and participatory worldwide. Entry points for grassroots movements and women's political activism evolved through a civil society platform, which contributed to both the official and civil society-led parallel negotiations.

[11] *To strip naked in public is a powerful weapon for West African women because, had they done so, the women would have embarrassed and humiliated the negotiating men.*

Changing the tone and dynamics of the peace negotiations

In the Philippines, the participation of four female government negotiators in the 2008-2012 peace processes had a substantial impact on, for example, the dynamics and atmosphere of the negotiations (Nario-Galace & Piscano 2011). Their participation in the peace talks created a more personal and energetic working environment, which gradually reduced the atmosphere of intimidation and competition present among the different conflict parties and negotiation teams.

"The presence of women peacekeepers may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces, thereby helping to build a security sector that is accessible and responsive to all, especially women." (UNSCR 1888)

Linking gender to other diversity issues such as religion and ethnicity

In the Philippine peace processes, matters of both gender equality and women's participation were consistently packaged with other social markers, such as religion and ethnicity.

This suggests that there is greater openness to discuss women's participation and gender equality through more general terms like 'social justice' or 'equality' (which avoids focusing on loaded terms like gender and/or women).

Opening spaces for social change and women's influence: employing women civil society actors as track I negotiators

The peace process in the Philippines impressively illustrates how local women's rights and peace activists can become formal negotiators. Traditionally, civil society organisations played a crucial role in advocating for social change, democracy and peace. They also helped to overthrow the Marcos regime and substantially participated in the consultation process to draft a national peace policy. A large group of women and peace organisations submitted the Mindanao Women's Framework for Civilian Protection in September 2009, invoking UNSCR 1325 and proposing, among other strategies, the establishment of a joint civilian protection authority with 70% female membership (Reimann et al. 2012; Nario-Galace & Piscano 2011). Women's organisations created the 'We act 1325' network, which led the discussion on the NAP. In the current peace process, the government negotiators come from the peace and human rights movement[12].

[12] Jurgette Honculada, veteran labour and women's rights advocate, and Maria Lourdes Tison, civil society peace and environment advocate, participated in the peace talks with the Communist Party of the Philippines, New People's Army and National Democratic Front (Philippines). Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, an academic and human rights expert, and Yasmin Busran Lao, a peace and gender justice advocate, took part in the negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

3 — Lessons learned and best practices in women's access and participation

LESSON 1 — Women's participation does not guarantee gender-sensitive peace agreements.
The participation of women and their influence on peace negotiations do not follow an easy logic. Women may be involved in formal and informal peace processes, yet there are only a few – if any – references in the agreements to women and gender equality.
The processes of El Salvador, Guatemala and the Philippines highlight that having a large number of women participating in an official peace process does not necessarily guarantee that they will succeed in tangibly influencing the peace negotiations (or secure a gender-sensitive agreement). In El Salvador, 12% of the signatories to the 1992 peace agreement and 13% of the negotiating team were women. Even though a total of 25% of participants in the negotiations were women, the resulting agreement contained no gender-specific provisions and did not differentiate between the needs and interests of women and men.
In Guatemala, the gender-sensitive provisions in the 1996 peace accords were the result of Luz Mendez's participation, the influence of local women's rights organisations through the Civil Society Assembly, and the influence of the Fourth World Conference on Women, which took place during the Guatemalan peace negotiations.
In the Philippines, despite a high level of women's involvement, the three peace agreements reached in 2008 and 2009 did not refer to gender issues or women's needs and rights (Moser 2010, p. 11).
In a critical self-assessment on the question of gender issues in peace agreements, Jurgette Honculada, one of the government negotiators, referred to the sequencing and timing of raising gender issues during a negotiation process. She said that the women's agenda should not be sidelined or forgotten, but that technical matters of mediation need to be settled before contentious and deeper issues, such as gender and women's rights, can be addressed (Nario-Galace & Piscano 2011, p. 253).
The latest research looking at questions of implementation in different peace agreements before

and after the adoption of UNSCR 1325 indicates that the presence of women does not necessarily automatically translate into a more gender-sensitive peace agreement text (Bell & O'Rourke 2011; Reimann et al. 2012). If increasing the number of women participants does not guarantee women's influence at the table, then the question arises as to what favourable conditions are required to enable women to wield a positive influence on the negotiations. The most relevant prerequisites are discussed below.

LESSON 2 — The earlier gender issues and women's participation are raised in a peace process, the easier it becomes to incorporate them into the peace agreement.

While gender references in the text of a peace agreement cannot ensure that gender equality is actively implemented afterwards, their incorporation is the one strategic window of opportunity to argue for the inclusion of women and their needs and interests. The earlier gender issues are raised, the more likely that resistance to gender issues will be reduced and that gender issues will be included and implemented right from the outset (GIZ 2012a).

LESSON 3 — Gender advisors can significantly influence the language of peace agreements and the themes raised during negotiations.

Including a gender advisor in mediation teams is an effective strategy to promote women's participation in peace processes and negotiations, and to include women's perspectives (see UN Women 2012; Reimann et al. 2012). Gender advisors' technical knowledge about mediation processes, such as formal procedures and language, as well as their empathy, excellent intercultural communication skills and solid understanding of the needs of local women, are of prime importance. Ideally, local and international gender advisors should work closely together and effectively combine expertise in peace process design with the substantial knowledge possessed by gender and local women's activists and organisations.

LESSON 4 — Reframing and moving beyond track I-dominated peace negotiations, and ensuring inclusive 'larger peace' processes.

Female peacebuilders and their mainly track III activities – such as informal advocacy with community elders and armed groups, alongside their work on climate change/environmental protection, food security and education – are vital contributions for creating a 'culture of peace' and the 'larger peace' (for many illustrative examples of how women's work impacts on achieving the 'larger peace', see Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Scheub 2012). This may explain why many local women demand the demystification and relegation in importance of the 'peace negotiating table'. This way, the peace process is not just about ending the direct violence, but also about transforming the entire political system and building 'real democracy', social justice and equality.

LESSON 5 — Strategic linkages between tracks I, II and III are key to women's influence on the negotiation agenda.

The peace processes in Guatemala and the Philippines show how important horizontal and vertical peace alliances[13] are for enabling women to wield a tangible influence at the peace table and in negotiations. Women's influence on peace negotiations comes into play in three different dimensions:

- First, women's effectiveness in formal peace negotiations is increased by the degree of connectedness with unofficial and informal grassroots initiatives.
- Second, women engaged in grassroots and informal peacebuilding have greater chances of being heard at the peace table if they have strong links and communicate well with official and formal processes and actors.

[13] *Horizontal alliances refer to forms of cooperation and networks among actors and strategies on the same level of decision-making and power, whereas vertical alliances focus on the synergies between different actors and strategies on different hierarchical levels.*

- Third, the strategy adopted by Luz Mendez and the women involved in the Philippine peace negotiations highlights the importance of having both links: formal links to official negotiation teams and informal links to different stakeholders and parties, as well as the wider community.

LESSON 6 — The way gender issues are framed and formulated affects how they are addressed in the peace negotiations.

Gender issues should be raised not as "women's issues" but as structural questions of social justice that confront society in general. They should be discussed in the context of the specific legal, social and economic questions of the negotiations – for example, women's access to land rights should be discussed when land rights are negotiated and not just in terms of women's rights in general. This, in turn, requires substantial knowledge of the gender-specific dimensions of the different subject areas and a thorough understanding of the process and technical issues involved so these matters can be raised in negotiations in a timely and appropriate way.

LESSON 7 — The strategic use of the language and terminology of peace agreements.
With a few exceptions, such as the Guatemala Peace Accords of 1996, most peace agreements lack gender-sensitive language and are formulated in a gender-neutral fashion. The Guatemalan basic codes, for instance, remained incompatible all along with the constitutional principle that men and women, whatever their civil status, have equal opportunities and responsibilities (Article 4). Sexual abuse was classified as an incidental assault only. As such, it was imperative for the 1996 Peace Accords to refer to sexual harassment as a criminal offence and de facto and de jure discrimination against women, and demand the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. Most specifically, Article 11 of the Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and the Agrarian Situation claims the revision of national legislation and regulations to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women regarding economic, social, cultural, and political participation, and to make effective government commitments deriving from the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
In contrast, the October 2012 annual report of the United Nations Secretary General on WPS stresses that the

> '... analysis of past peace agreements shows [...] that gender-specific references often are worded in general terms and limited to the preamble or annexes. Specific provisions on issues such as sexual violence, inclusive power and wealth sharing, and the representation of women on implementing bodies almost never appear in the text of a peace agreement.'

This raises the general question of how to best increase women's participation and gender-specific issues in the language of formal peace negotiations and agreements.

International practice suggests that it is best to have a joint process in place that involves women's organisations, gender experts and negotiators and that facilitates gender-sensitive language. With this combination of factors, the resulting agreement is more likely to be concrete and implementable, and to reflect the needs and priorities of the peace process in question (Buchanan et al. 2012). This also implies that efforts to ensure women's participation and gender equality in peace agreements must go beyond the use of gender-sensitive language.

Evaluations of the Philippine peace process stress the importance of identifying a common language and terminology among women's organisations and women negotiators. In the Philippines, this common understanding helped to identify the 'strategic handles' or catalysts that constitute the points of reference when implementing agreements. Irene Santiago, government peace panel member in 2001-2004 and senior adviser to the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process in 2006-2008, puts it this way:

> '... we decided that, instead of loading every provision with gender language, we would go for only a few strategic provisions that we would flesh out during the implementation. Instead of lobbying for too many details, we opted for a few strategic things and focused our energies on those.'[14]

The priority 'strategic handle' was the 'meaningful political participation of women', which all women and peace groups can now use as a point of reference in their lobbying and advocacy activities and in the creation of institutions and mechanisms.[15]

[14] *Email to author on 19 February 2013.*
[15] *Ibid.*

LESSON 8 — It is important but challenging to address gender-based violence (GBV) during peace negotiations.

While gender-based violence remains a striking feature of all violent conflicts, only a few peace agreements include references to GBV and/or its prevention. One such agreement is the Guatemalan Peace Accords of 1996.[16]

[16] *From 2008, the issue of GBV featured ever more prominently at the international stage with 1325's subsequent resolutions condemning sexual and gender-based violence as a tactic of warfare in armed conflict, and stipulating that SGBV can constitute crimes against humanity, war crimes, or constitutive acts with respect to genocide (UNSCR 1820). In 2009, Resolution 1888 reiterated that GBV is an impediment to international peace and security, while Resolution 1960 of 2010 established the institutional framework for the prosecution of SGBV in order to combat widespread impunity.*

"Noting that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding." (UNSCR 1889)

4 — Recommendations for German and international development agencies on women's access to and participation in official processes

RECOMMENDATION 1 — Support female peacebuilders and their mainly track III activities to link into track II and official track I negotiations as vital contributions to delivering a 'culture of peace' and the 'larger peace'.

While the wider population of women and men shares a common concern for the increase in violence and armed conflicts, female perspectives, experiences and capacities, especially at the local level, remain widely underutilised and marginalised in peace processes. Support programmes tailored to redress past imbalances and to accelerate women's capacity building should also aim to go beyond the difficult task of creating gendered text in peace agreements. The challenge is to ensure capacity exists, based on synergies between women on tracks I, II and III, in order to accelerate women's chances to seize all opportunities, which are available at different levels.

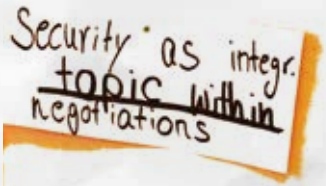
RECOMMENDATION 2 — Assess how far the current country portfolios satisfactorily and effectively address war-related GBV.

Development cooperation actors should enhance general, local and international awareness of GBV and should, for example, support: local women's organisations in their fight for gender justice and against impunity for war-related GBV, including rape, forced marriage and forced prostitution; and local governmental actors and duty holders in exercising 'due diligence' to prevent and investigate

violence against women. To this end, the UN standards for GBV and mediation, such as those found in the UN DPA's Guidance for Mediators (UN DPA 2012), should be promoted.

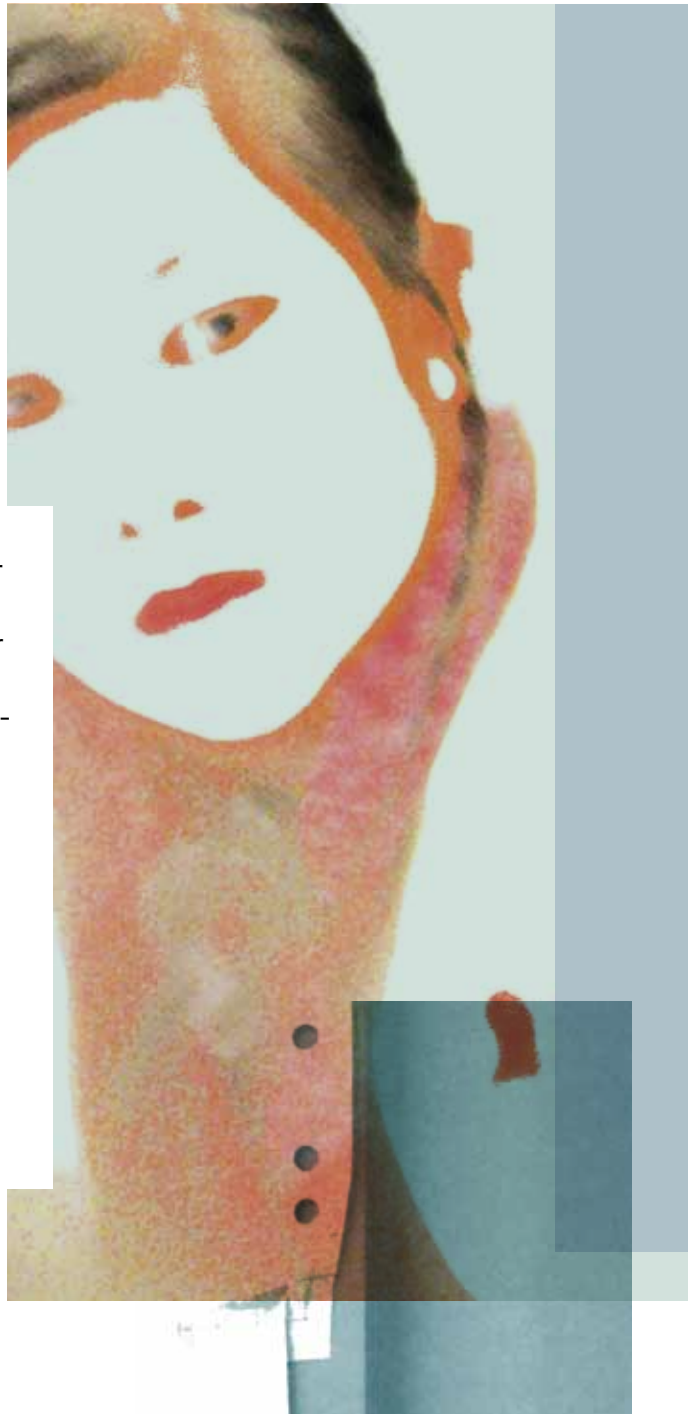
RECOMMENDATION 3 — Support capacity building on the technical knowledge required for peace negotiations.
It is important to focus on the efforts of regional organisations in this domain and to support initiatives, activities and capacity building around the gender, mediation and peacebuilding efforts of regional organisations – these include the mediation support structures as well as the early warning and crisis prevention mechanisms of the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities in Africa (ECOWAS, IGAD and others). They are key stakeholders in facilitating regional peace processes and serve as important dialogue forums on the continent.

RECOMMENDATION 4 — Advocate for and support the deployment of local and international gender advisors in regional organisations to support mediators, facilitators or delegates in securing adequate gender-specific provisions in peace agreements.
Use the gender expertise of the Civil Peace Service and deploy gender experts in women's and peace organisations who possess deep, technical knowledge of peacebuilding and peace processes.



1 — Obstacles to implementing gender-sensitive provisions or demands for gender equality

- The ruling political elites at the local and national levels are resistant to any change in the existing power structures, including gender relations (GIZ 2012a).
- Women have little access to formal institutions, power structures, monitoring mechanisms and funds and remain largely excluded from the implementation of the peace agreements.



III.

IMPLEMENTING GENDER-SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF PEACE AGREEMENTS OR DEMANDS FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN THE POST-SETTLEMENT PHASE

2 — Opportunities for implementing gender-sensitive provisions or demands for gender equality

Creating permanent structures at the national and regional levels

Based on the provisions in the Guatemalan Peace Accords of 1996, the National Women's Forum (NWF) was set up to promote the political participation of women.[17] NWF has both national and municipal representatives[18] and an indigenous woman currently heads the organisation. NWF's documents are being translated into both national and indigenous languages so they are accessible to all women and the wider community. The forum has also had some successes, such as the publication of several documents on equal rights and the increased participation of women at all levels. In the Philippines, the Women's Peace Table was set up in 2012 to promote women's participation and brings together women of different religious, social and ethnic backgrounds.

Introducing quota systems

One opportunity to enhance women's political representation in the post-agreement transition phase is the introduction of quotas, like those instituted in Burundi, Kenya and Somalia. Campaigns to introduce quotas for women in these countries were led by local women activists, whose demands were then leveraged by key actors in the international community. These efforts have gradually given a voice to women in the different peace processes. In Burundi, for example, laws were passed that set a quota of 30% female representation in the higher levels of decision-making.

Ensuring legal and political improvements for women

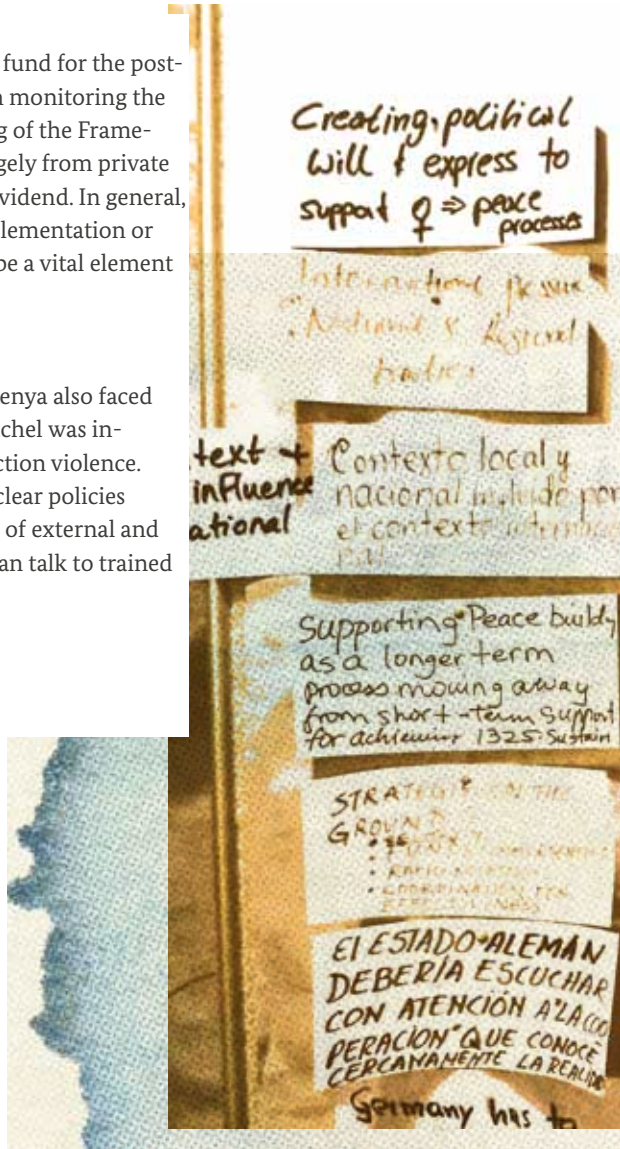
The 2000 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi led to legal and institutional improvements for women. Burundi adopted and ratified the most relevant reference texts that recognise the right of all citizens, without discrimination, to participate in the public life of their country (GIZ 2012a, p. 8; Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Scheub 2012, pp. 43-46). Furthermore, Burundi passed laws and provisions that aim to improve the integration of women into political and economic life by, for example, setting the above quota of 30% female representation.

[17] *See: www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/guat10.pdf.*

[18] *NWF has 10 representatives at the national level: five from civil society organisations and five individuals. At the municipal level, the 22 districts each have ten representatives: five women of mixed background and five indigenous women.*

Monitoring the implementation of peace agreements
In the Philippines, local women's organisations have been lobbying for a women's fund for the post-conflict reconstruction and recovery period, and for the participation of women in monitoring the implementation of the comprehensive peace agreements. In 2012, after the signing of the Framework Agreement, a fund was initiated, mainly directed at women and financed largely from private contributions, enabling families and communities to enjoy an immediate peace dividend. In general, funding along the lines of gender budgeting secures women's participation in implementation or monitoring of peace agreements. In the Mindanao peace process, it has proved to be a vital element in reinforcing follow-through and accountability (GIZ 2012a).

Combining international pressure with highly personal and local commitments
During the process to find a political solution to the 2008 post-election violence, Kenya also faced pressure from the international community to implement UNSCR 1325. Graça Machel was instrumental in securing women's participation and addressing GBV in the post-election violence. She lobbied the Kenyan government to take affirmative action and come up with clear policies that would safeguard the rights of women, children and young persons. As a result of external and internal pressure, gender desks were set up in every police station where women can talk to trained female police officers.

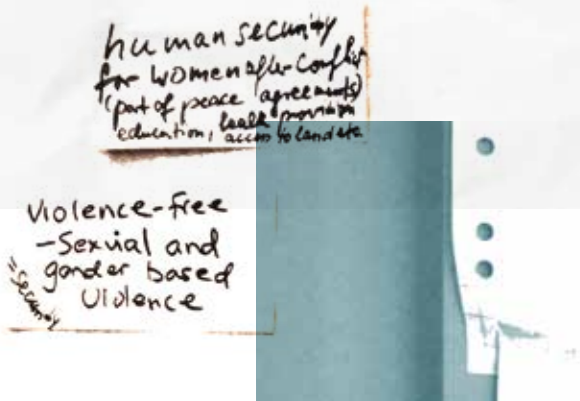


Awareness raising and knowing your rights

Whilst in many post-conflict countries women's land rights become enshrined in the new constitution, the reality does not always bring about feasible outcomes in terms of equitable access and control over land. This is largely due to poor implementation and enforcement of the laws, which is fostered by increased pressure on land in the form of returnees and displaced population. The post-conflict setting is increasingly characterised by the perpetuation of a traditional system of inequitable land distribution, leading to rural poverty, with a disproportionate number of the victims being women, especially amongst returnees and refugees.

Returnees to South Sudan, for instance, access land primarily through the customary system. The concept of ownership by a woman, who is not associated with a family, elicits resistance in many areas of the country. Traditionally, land is considered to be used, not owned by the individual. However, land is often passed down along patrilineal lines. This means that displaced women become particularly vulnerable as they lose access to family land. In a South Sudan village women were denied access to land despite clear references to women's rights in the constitution (GIZ 2012). Measures to raise awareness about their individual property rights granted in the constitution, including their right to pass the land down to their daughters, have led women to challenge earlier rulings of customary courts.

This example illustrates how important it is to empower women at the grassroots level so they understand their rights and are able to claim them. Capacity building to promote the participation of women in local land management, including in land dispute resolutions, is vital to further consolidate their empowerment and an essential element in tracking the implementation of peace agreements.



3 — Lessons learned and best practices in implementing gender-sensitive provisions or demands for gender equality

LESSON 1 — It is important to understand the implementation of a peace agreement not only as the end of violent conflict but also as a strategic window of opportunity to initiate structural, socio-cultural changes such as those illustrated below.

LESSON 2 — Achieving gender justice takes time. It is a long-term process of social and political transformation, which requires political will, stamina, patience and strong commitment.
Although the Guatemala Peace Accords of 1996 criminalise sexual harassment, gender-based violence is still endemic in the country. In fact, Guatemala has some of the highest numbers and most alarming cases of femicide and domestic violence in the region today (with some commentators pointing out that more people are being killed today than during the war).[19] Advances in fighting GBV and impunity are slow but promising. Women's organisations are protesting the increases in gender-based violence, demanding gender justice and an end to impunity (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Scheub 2012, pp. 73-76). There are success stories, like that involving Rios Montt, a former general who, along with three other former generals, has been indicted for genocide and crimes against humanity (2012a, p. 14).

[19] *For more information, see the Armed Violence Map and its different indicators on the website for the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development:*
www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/monitoring-armed-violence/armed-violence-map.html.

LESSON 3 — Having a strategic look at the themes of the peace agreements and identifying 'strategic handles' for women's participation.

Women's peace organisations should be supported to strategically approach negotiation topics. The issue of GBV, for example, should be clearly raised and addressed as a challenge to public security, rather than as a "women's issue" (GIZ 2012, p. 8).

The learning from the Philippine peace process emphasises the importance of identifying 'strategic handles' or catalysts that act as key points of reference when implementing agreements. The strategic handle 'meaningful political participation of women' is now widely used by local women and peace groups in the creation of institutions, bodies and mechanisms.

LESSON 4 — Access to information is key to women's participation in the post-peace-agreement phase.

Women's access to information is a crucial prerequisite for their participation. It is therefore important to translate agreements and relevant documents into languages commonly spoken in the countries in question (for example, into indigenous languages). It is also important to provide information in these languages on the implications of this translated material for women's rights and participation.

example from german development cooperation

GIZ's German Civil Peace Service working in Guatemala through different local partner organisations offered dialogues with men about masculinity and machismo in the context of pre-existing gender roles, stereotypes and gender-based violence.[20]

[20] *See the German-language fact sheet Gender im ZFD. Gleichstellung der Geschlechter und Stärkung derRolle der Frau, (no date) and, in particular, the section Guatemala. Gender im ZFD.*

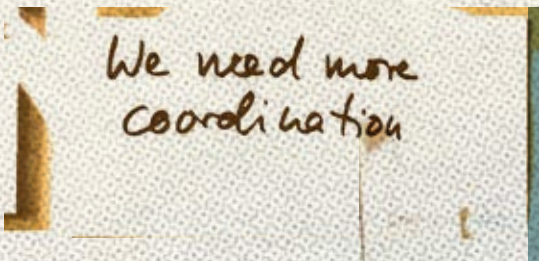
LESSON 5 — Gender-sensitive Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) processes and programmes are key opportunities for transforming gender relations.

In the conflicts mentioned above, both women and men performed numerous combat, combat support, and noncombat roles. Their contributions are as vital to the action of fighting as that of the actual combatants, thus blurring the critical line between combat and non-combat functions. In cases where women were not active combatants, they still occupied regular and irregular functions, such as domestics, 'bush wives', health workers and 'sex slaves'.

DDR programmes should always assume that women and girls are present in armed forces and groups, although they generally remain less visible. In transitions from combat to community, gender-blind DDR programmes run the risk of reinforcing gender inequalities. Successful DDR programmes take into account the different roles and vulnerabilities of women and men and facilitate the transformation of gender stereotypes. Effective DDR programmes support men to find new forms of non-violent and non-aggressive masculinity and support women to claim their rights to land, housing and education as female heads of households. DDR programmes are effective in transforming gender relations when the deep psycho-social needs of female and male ex-combatants are taken into account. For example, many male ex-combatants abuse drugs and alcohol and commit violence against themselves or others in the form of domestic violence or male rape. Many female ex-combatants are stigmatised and ostracised by the wider community for being 'bad girls', and women who have been raped or become infected with HIV face even higher levels of discrimination.

LESSON 6 — Transforming aggressive, militarised masculinity is vital for ensuring successful socio-cultural change processes.
Media and advertising campaigns in local dialects can play a pivotal role in portraying alternative non-military/non-violent social roles for men that, slowly but surely, break long-held and deep-rooted gender stereotypes. In Zimbabwe, the Padare Men's Forum on Gender adopts the traditional Zimbabwean 'Padare' decision-making institution for elderly, high-ranking men, and uses it to invite men to discuss gender issues. The idea is to foster discussions that critique and challenge patriarchal thinking. The organisation promotes non-violent behaviour in both the public and private domains (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Scheub 2012, pp. 87-92 and 83-86).

LESSON 7 — Concrete proposals and steps on how to ensure gender-sensitive follow-up mechanisms must be developed during the negotiation process.
Institutions and mechanisms for implementing and monitoring peace agreements are needed at the local and national levels. The learning from all the above-mentioned peace processes emphasises the real need and political necessity of having mechanisms in place to implement the gender-sensitive provisions of agreements or demands for gender equality.
Additionally, national action plans (NAPs) on UNSCR 1325 constitute important policy frameworks and points of reference for national policy. At the same time, programmes and activities based on NAPs are required to address the real and specific needs and interests of local women and men on the ground. Translations of NAPs into local vernaculars can increase local buy-in, helping to mobilise women's organisations and the wider community to implement the key demands for gender equality in the local context and setting (GIZ 2012a, p. 14).



LESSON 8 — 'National machineries' for gender equality, such as ministries for women's affairs, struggle to implement the gender-sensitive provisions of agreements.
The reasons these 'national machineries' often fail to deliver are usually manifold: they often enjoy little status and/or have little political power; they are poorly funded; they are insufficiently aware of the importance of working with men as allies; and many ministries are forced to wear several hats, such as taking charge of family and children's affairs alongside the remit for women.

LESSON 9 — Introducing quotas sends a powerful and important political signal to political decision-makers, women and the wider community.
Introducing quotas for women can give a strong voice to local women, political elites and decision-making bodies in the post-settlement phase. It is still too early to be able to assess and know the long-term effects of quotas introduced during or after peace negotiations in changing in gender roles and socio-political power inequalities in post-war transformation processes (Buchanan et al. 2012, pp. 36-37). It is crucial to note that quotas do not replace a long-term strategy on social justice and equality and must always be adapted to the specific cultural and socio-economic situation at hand and to the levels of gender inequality. Otherwise, enforcing quotas when gendered structures are highly rigid and deep-rooted can do more harm than good and provoke a serious backlash against women, women's participation and rights. Keeping the socio-cultural context in mind is essential, so it is important to work with men as allies and change agents, and to listen to local gender and women's activists, gender experts and the specific needs and interests of local women and men.

4 — Recommendations for German and international development agencies on implementing gender-sensitive provisions or demands for gender equality

RECOMMENDATION 1 — Support newly set up or existing 'national machineries' for women's empowerment or gender equality.
This can involve help with drafting new laws, monitoring existing laws or implementing legislation on women's rights.

RECOMMENDATION 2 — Support local women's and peace organisations with their monitoring of the gender-sensitive implementation of peace agreements and lobby for the implementation of demands for gender equality.

RECOMMENDATION 3 — Allocate and earmark funds and budget lines for implementing the gender-specific provisions and gender-specific monitoring of agreements.
Set up special funds for women and local women's organisations and make sure that financial resources are kept in women's hands.

RECOMMENDATION 4 — Identify potential obstacles to the successful implementation of peace agreements for women.
For example, run scenario-building workshops or, if needed, offer or develop tailor-made capacity building.

RECOMMENDATION 5 — Offer capacity building for local women and men on human rights, with a particular focus on women's and men's rights to land, participation and education.
Special attention should be given to: widows; female refugees/internally displaced persons; female and male ex-combatants; female and male survivors of GBV; homosexual women and men; and members of ethnic, sexual and other minorities. The special focus should ensure that these women and men do not suffer 'double discrimination' by being excluded from formal and informal peace-building processes and activities.

When running women-only capacity-building activities, make sure men are informed about the rationale for this and about how they will benefit from women's involvement and learned skills and knowledge. This is particularly important in highly traditional, patriarchal societies.

RECOMMENDATION 6 — Support awareness-raising and sensitisation campaigns through decentralised, local women's and civil society networks, which inform about the aims of DDR processes and address social stigmas and gender stereotypes on female combatants and militarised masculinity (UNMIL 2010).
Support peace and disarmament education that seeks to identify 'new', non-stereotypical identities of masculinity and femininity.

RECOMMENDATION 7 — Translate national action plans into local vernaculars.
Support the translation of UNSCR 1325 into local languages and vernaculars. In accordance with the culture and needs of a given country or region, support the production of visualisations of UNSCR 1325 to reach and inform illiterate audiences and the general public about the content of UNSCR 1325 and its local and national implications.

RECOMMENDATION 8 — Support in-country portfolios and use the Civil Peace Service community and social media to promote the concept of their role as change-makers in gender relations (GIZ 2012, p. 16).
Programmes that challenge traditional, patriarchal stereotypes and promote gender awareness and women's participation should be prioritised.

"Sustainable peace requires an integrated approach based on coherence between political, security, development, human rights, including gender equality, and rule of law and justice activities." (UNSCR 2122)

Conclusion

Peace processes and post-settlement transformation processes are highly complex processes of social change. There is no single most important factor that ensures the effective participation of women in peace negotiations and processes. However, combining the different lessons learned and recommendations mentioned above can help to increase the numbers of women participating and to ensure the gender-sensitive implementation of peace agreements.

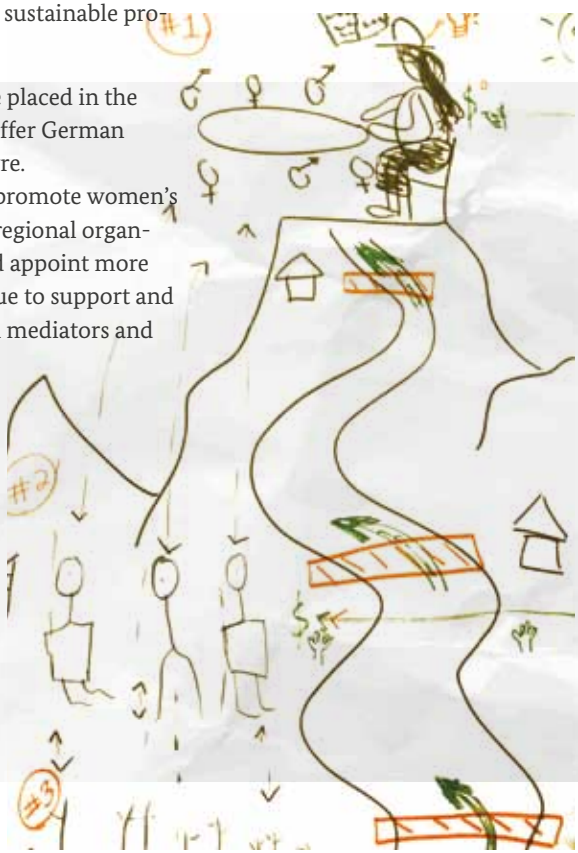
This toolkit underlines the importance of a multi-layered and multi-track approach to promoting and increasing women's participation in peace negotiations and processes. To this end, German development cooperation should focus on its key mandates, its resources for supporting local and regional structures, and its processes for information sharing, awareness raising and capacity building in peacebuilding and reconciliation processes.

International cooperation's great variety of instruments should more strategically and systemically target and empower women as official and unofficial local capacities for peace, mediators and negotiators on tracks I, II and III. Men and their organisations that can act as potential allies in promoting women's participation and gender equality should be identified and further strengthened. Where possible and politically desirable, local and regional government structures should be supported to increase the number of women in decision-making processes and to enhance the capacities of local female peace activists. Donors and organisations who are committed to women's participation in peace processes should invest financial resources to cover women's travel and subsistence expenses,

childcare, security, and capacity building. When these logistical and practical matters are addressed, it is much more likely that women will be able to participate in formal and informal peace processes. Funds for women's activists and grassroots organisations should be made available at short notice and non-bureaucratically.

In any case, all the above findings and recommendations stress that the nature of track-I-dominated peace negotiations needs to be reframed. Peace negotiations should be redefined as the political starting point for a root-and-branch transformation of society that seeks to deliver sustainable processes and structures of gender justice.

That said, all the lessons-learned and recommendations discussed above have to be placed in the context of the other diverse mechanisms of official and unofficial diplomacy that offer German diplomatic services in Germany and abroad additional strategic room for manoeuvre.
Germany's NAP aims to deliver a coherent strategy involving several ministries to promote women's participation in peace processes. Germany, as a member state of international and regional organisations like the UN, OSCE, EU and NATO, should furthermore lead by example and appoint more women as mediators and advisors to mediation processes. Germany should continue to support and spearhead regional, national and local initiatives for databases and pools of women mediators and peacebuilding experts, and female and male trainers on mediation and gender.



Annex I: Conflict Briefings

Burundi

The conflict in Burundi is rooted in the artificially exacerbated divide between the Hutu and the Tutsi under colonial rule. In essence, the Belgian colonial administration delegated the colonial administration to the centralised Tutsi monarchy, relegating the Hutu majority to inferior status. From the early days after the declaration of Burundi independence in 1962, militant insurrections of the Hutu majority challenged Tutsi predominance. However, Hutu rebellion and dissent was violently suppressed by the Tutsi-dominated army and military regimes until the 1990s. In their attempt to maintain their power and privileges, Tutsi regimes committed massacres of the Hutus, while at the same time denying the very existence of separate ethnic groups in the country. Incipient democratic developments were stifled with the assassinations of the Hutu presidential candidate and his successor in 1993 and 1994. In subsequent violent clashes between the two ethnic groups, over 50,000 people were killed. These clashes culminated in a prolonged civil war between Hutu militias and the Tutsi army for supremacy in Burundi. Attempts to negotiate a peace agreement between the government and rebel factions started in the early 2000s in Arusha, Tanzania. However, it took another eight years for last remaining rebel faction to enter the peace process, and agree to wide-ranging reforms of the army and society and a return to democracy through elections.
Between 1994 and 2008 the conflict claimed about 250,000 lives. At the height of the fighting about 1.3 million people were internally displaced or fled abroad.

El Salvador

Since independence from Spain in 1856, Salvadorian society was dominated by the military and agricultural bourgeoisie. Large parts of the population were excluded from participating in the political process and the economy. The developing socio-economic crisis exacerbated these trends from the early 1970s onwards and led to the growing impoverishment of the population. In March 1972, a military faction staged an unsuccessful coup against the regime of President Fidel Sanchez Hernandez, which escalated into a minor intra-state conflict. While popular support for radical leftist groups expanded rapidly, government repression prevailed. From 1979-1980, five leftist rebel groups turned to armed resistance and engaged in an intra-state conflict. The guerrilla coalition FMLN subsequently fought the government in the years 1980-1991, but could not achieve a military victory despite several major offensives. Sustained U.S. assistance to the government forces counterbalanced the forays of the FMLN. Consequently, the FMLN opted for a political solution through negotiations. The conflict was terminated when the UN-brokered Chapultepec Peace Accords were signed in 1992.
An estimated 75,000 people died during the conflict - mainly due to the brutality of the security forces.

Guatemala

Since independence in 1838 Guatemalan politics and economics had been dominated by the quasi-aristocratic landholding class. Up until well into the 20th century, this societal divide created an unstable political climate with military coups and conflicts mainly along class lines. After the Second World War, a series of attempted government coups brought Guatemala to the verge of civil war. The assassination of the rebel leader Carlos Castillo Armas in 1957 marked the beginning of an era of elected conservative governments and anti-Communist dictatorships. From the 1960s to the 1980s, resistance from leftist militias and guerrilla forces was countered with state repression resembling genocide. Human rights abuses were rampant and government-affiliated death squads killed thousands of political dissenters. Guatemala formally returned to democratic rule in 1986 but state repression and civil uprisings remained prevalent. International pressure brought the guerrilla front URNG (Unidad revolucionaria nacional guatemalteca, Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity) and the government to the negotiating table in El Salvador between 1992 and 1994. The peace process suffered several setbacks through a military coup and a popular uprising in response. Nevertheless, negotiations continued, and in early 1994 a framework agreement was signed. In the course of 1994 and 1995, the UN brokered the signature of further partial agreements and deployed the United Nations Human Rights Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) to monitor the agreement. In November 1995, Alvaro Arzú was elected President, and made the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement one of his political priorities. The December 1996 signature of a comprehensive peace agreement by the government and URNG ended 36 years of civil war.
The civil war claimed about 100,000 lives and led to the lasting militarisation of Guatemalan society. About 40,000 people disappeared, and 250,000 Guatemalans fled across the border into Mexico. About a million people were forcefully displaced.

Colombia

For much of its history since independence from Spain in 1813 Columbia has had a democratically elected government, but it has also suffered two civil wars, the most recent of which lasted from 1948 to1953. From the 1960s, American companies controlled 80-90% of banana production and mining and more than 95% of Columbia's energy production. By 1964 several guerrilla movements appeared – the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and later the April 19 Revolutionary Movement (M-19). Although President Betancur arranged a ceasefire with M-19 and FARC in 1984, the agreement did not last.
The FARC guerrillas declared an independent republic in the remote province of Tolima and rose up against the Colombian army. The conflict escalated when large landowners organised private paramilitary armies and hired mercenaries to fend off the guerrillas. Both the paramilitaries and, later, FARC became involved with increasingly powerful drug lords.
The paramilitaries attacked FARC and ELN forces, operated death squads to kill and intimidate local civilians to undermine support for the guerrillas and also became deeply involved in the drug trade. It is often alleged that paramilitaries are also associated with and supported by the Colombian army.

In December 2003, the largest paramilitary force, the AUC, entered into a peace agreement with the government that led to the demobilisation of over 31,000 AUC members. In addition, more than 20,000 members of the FARC, AUC, ELN, and other illegal armed groups individually surrendered their arms. In July 2005, President Uribe reduced punishments for the demobilised if they renounced violence and returned illegal assets. The continued fighting weakened FARC substantially. Between 2002 and 2008, Colombia saw homicides decrease by 44%, kidnappings by 88%, terrorist attacks by 79%, and attacks on the country's infrastructure by 60%. Since 2000 FARC has increasingly turned to asymmetrical attacks and as of May, 60 hostages are still being held. Peace efforts with the FARC in 2010 stalled and no final end to the conflict is in sight.

Liberia

The Republic of Liberia has a unique history. Founded in 1847 by freed Black slaves from the Americas, Liberia is one of the few African states never to have been dominated by a foreign colonial power. It was also Africa's first republic. The state was founded with the help of the U.S. government, whose constitutional model Liberia adopted. Since its foundation, Liberia's political life has been dominated by Americo-Liberians (freed slaves or free-born Blacks from the U.S.) whose mother tongue was English. Indigenous tribes were initially excluded from state power. Even when the rights of indigenous Liberians were later acknowledged, power continued to be dominated by a small minority. The Americo-Liberian elite governed Liberia through the True Whig party until it was toppled by a bloody military coup in 1980, when Samuel Doe took over. Doe 'ethnicised' the politics of Liberia further, exacerbating tensions between Liberia's ethnic groups. Armed conflict erupted in 1989, to some extent along ethnic lines, when the Gio and Mano-dominated National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) attacked the Krahn-dominated government which they deemed autocratic.
In addition to the violence surrounding the 1980 coup, two episodes of armed intra-state conflict followed in 1989-1996 and 2000-2003, characterised by extreme violence and loss of life

Philippines

Despite continuous colonisation of the Philippines by Spain and the U.S. and comparative resource wealth, the Mindanao region enjoyed relative autonomy from the Christian majority up until independence in 1946. An influx of Christian peasants and the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship beginning in 1965 heightened the resistance campaign for self-determination. Although the Mindanao conflict is perceived as a religious conflict between Christians, Muslims and indigenous people, it has its roots in indigenous resistance against political, economic, and cultural assimilation. Four years later, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was founded to demand self-determination for the Moro people – consisting of Islamicised and ethno-linguistic groups – from President Marcos. The ensuing armed conflict killed over 120,000 people, the majority during the 1970s when the worst disturbances took place. The Tripoli Agreement in Libya in 1976, brokered by the UN-backed

Organisation of Islamic Conference - later called the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, failed to hold. In 1996 another peace agreement between the MNLF and the government granted autonomy to the western part of the island. However, the peace agreement was never fully implemented. Violence flared up again in 2001 after Nur Misuari, the founder of MNLF, and first appointed governor of Mindanao led a failed uprising. Tension with MNLF has declined since 2007 following compromises between the government and Misuari. Nevertheless, the armed conflict continued with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a MNLF splinter group that demands the restitution of ancestral lands in one part of the island. A ceasefire agreement from 2003 and a number of rounds of negotiation have been largely unsuccessful. In 2008, more than 700,000 people were displaced after fighting broke out again when an agreement, which gave the MILF control over more than 700 areas in the south, was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The recent signing of an interim peace agreement between the Philippine government and the country's largest Muslim insurgent group is no less fraught with uncertainty.
As a result of the ongoing conflict, nearly three million people have been forced to flee their homes since 2000. Mindanao is heavily militarised and characterised by a high level of small arms proliferation. The region is awash with an estimated 1.3 million arms.

Annex II: Important frameworks on Women, Peace and Security

The most important international and regional frameworks are set out below. Their relevance to peace processes and international development is briefly explained. Some of the most relevant international frameworks are described first, followed by region-relevant frameworks.

International frameworks

- The Geneva Conventions – the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) and additional Protocols (1977)
  Both the convention and protocols stress the need for the special protection of women in warfare, including against rape and enforced prostitution.

- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court
  www.legal.un.org/icc/statute/romefra.htm
  The Rome Statute declares rape and other forms of gender-based violence to be war crimes and if these acts are knowingly committed as part of a systematic and widespread attack on civilians, they constitute 'crimes against humanity'. Rape in war was highlighted and condemned as a serious breach of international humanitarian law.

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, December 1979)
  www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm
  Often considered as a 'women's human rights charter', CEDAW requires states to adopt legislation and specific legal and political measures to fight discrimination against women and to protect women and their rights.

- The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693, May 2000)
  www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf
  The declaration and plan call for gender mainstreaming and the stronger participation of women in all phases of peace support operations and peacebuilding, with a special emphasis on training and curricula for peace support operations.

- UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 – Women, Peace and Security (October 2000)
  www.peacewomen.org/translation_initiative/security-council-resolution-1325
  UNSCR 1325 was the first UNSCR to be passed highlighting the different roles and needs of women and men in conflict and post-conflict settings. UNSCR 1325 calls for the greater participation of women, the prevention of gender-based violence, and the gender mainstreaming all activities and programmes of peace support operations and peacebuilding. The resolution is available in various languages.

- UNSCR 1820 (June 2008), UNSCR 1888 (September 2009) and UNSCR 1960 (December 2010)
  UNSCR 1820 (in various languages)
  www.peacewomen.org/translation_initiative/security-council-resolution-1820
  UNSCR 1888 (in various languages)
  www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-1888-the-text
  UNSCR 1960 (in various languages)
  www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-1960-the-text
  UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1960 address gender-based or sexualised violence in violent conflict and highlight the need to protect women and prosecute sexual violence. UNSCR 1820 is the first such resolution to explicitly link sexual violence used as a tactic of war with the maintenance of peace and security, and it categorically prohibits amnesties for war crimes involving gender-based violence. This also means that the UN Security Council now has a clearer mandate to intervene through, for example, sanctions and the empowerment of field staff. Adding on to UNSCR 1325, UNSCR 1820 stresses the importance of equal participation in all processes related to ending sexual violence in conflict, including peace talks. In fact, UNSCR 1820 links the prevention of sexual violence with women's participation in peace processes and stresses the role of women's leadership and participation.
  UNSCR 1888 and 1960 reinforce and specify 1820. UNSCR 1888 calls for more target measures and indicators, like a database on gender-based violence, a UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and Women Protection Advisers (WPAs) assigned to UN operations. UNSCR 1960 reinforces 1888, calling for an end to impunity and the establishment of monitoring and accounting systems on gender-based violence.

- UNSCR 1889 (October 2009)
  www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-1889-the-text
  UNSCR 1889 reinforces UNSCR 1325 by calling for concrete steps to improve the implementation of 1325 and to increase women's participation in post-conflict processes, such as indicators and proposals for mechanisms to monitor 1325.

- UNSCR 2106 (June 2013)
  www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-2106-the-text
  UNSCR 2106 stresses that women´s participation is essential to any prevention and protection response. Significantly, for the first time, UNSCR 2106 explicitly calls for UN entities and donor countries to provide "non-discriminatory and comprehensive health services, including sexual and reproductive health". It also explicitly refers to the International Criminal Court (ICC) as one of the few available options to sanction perpetrators of sexualized violence.

- UNSCR 2117 (September 2013)
  It is the first-ever UNSCR on the significance of small arms and light weapons in conflict and impact on violence against women and girls[17].

- UNSCR 2122 (October 2013)
  www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-2122-the-text
  UNSCR 2122 stresses - like UNSCRs 1325 and 1889 before - the need for the increased participation of women in peacebulding activities and explicitly calls for the full and equal participation of women at all decision-making levels in peace talks.

Regional frameworks

European Union (EU)
- European Parliament Resolution on 'Women in armed conflicts and their role in post-conflict reconstruction' (2005/2215[INI], June 2006)
  www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P6-TA-2006-0245&language=EN
- European Parliament Resolution on participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution (2000/2025[INI])
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  www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news187.pdf
- General Secretariat of the Council of the EU, Indicators for the comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security, 11948/10 (July 2010)
  www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news272.pdf

[17] *See www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/sc11131.doc.htm.*

African Union (AU)

- African Union Gender Policy, Rev 2/Feb 10, 2009
  www.usip.org/files/Gender/African_Union_Gender_Policy_2009.pdf

  The AU Gender Policy, adopted together with a Gender Action Plan, offers a policy framework and guidance for gender mainstreaming in general, particularly in matters of peace and security. The African Union Gender Policy summarises all existing AU documents and policies on gender and women's empowerment. In July 2010, under the AU Gender Policy, the Fund for African Women was set up to ensure AU-member investment in activities to increase women's participation.

- The African Union's Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa (2004)
  www.kubatana.net/html/archive/resour/040704au.asp?sector=RESOUR&year=2004&range_start=1
  The Solemn Declaration is an empowerment instrument for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. It has six key areas of engagement: governance, peace and security, human rights, health, education, and economic empowerment.

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

- The Dakar Declaration & the ECOWAS Plan of Action for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 in West Africa (September 2010)
  www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/Academic/dakar_declaration.pdf
  In ECOWAS, this plan of action is the point of reference for women's participation and peace processes and on regional actions to be taken. ECOWAS's Prevention Framework (ECPF) of January 2008 refers to UNSCR 1325 and in Articles 82-84 on Women, Peace And Security (WPS) it stresses the need for preventing GBV, increased women's participation, and gender-sensitive policies and programming in security-sector reform and development. Article 83 provides benchmarks for assessing progress on WPS, such as affirmative policies, and adopting national, regional and international frameworks for addressing GBV.

  With the Dakar Declaration, heads of state and governments in the ECOWAS region have committed to report annually on progress towards implementing 1325 and 1820. The Declaration offers specific measures to ensure the effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 in each member state. These include, for example, the nomination of national and regional focal points in various institutions, as well as the publication of periodic reports and regular coordination meetings.

Annex III: Important online resources

- The PeaceWomen Project (www.peacewomen.org), hosted by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, monitors and works towards the rapid and full implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. This excellent website offers rich and up-to-date information and is the ideal complement to UNIFEM's Portal on Women, Peace and Security.

- WomenWatch (www.un.org/womenwatch) is an inter-agency website and gateway to information and resources on the promotion of gender equality throughout the United Nations system, including the United Nations Secretariat, regional commissions, funds, programmes, and specialised agencies.

- UN Women's portal on Women, Peace and Security (www.womenwarpeace.org) contains an excellent and highly recommended homepage covering the latest in international debate on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, as well as a wealth of case study material.

- UN DPA's Peacemaker website (www.peacemaker.un.org/) is an online mediation support tool that offers an extensive database of peace agreements and guidance on the UN's mediation support services.

- Visionews (www.visionews.net) publishes positive stories about peace, the environment and gender justice from around the world, and showcases the achievements of exemplary women and men. Visionews also collects examples of good practice from different countries looking at how they have nationally implemented UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

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