

CONFERENCE REPORT

Gender and Post-Conflict: Promoting the Participation of Women in Post-Conflict Reconstruction

22 June 2011

International Conference organised by the Université de Paris 8 – CRESPPA-GTM in collaboration with UNESCO, the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Européennes, the CNRS, the Region Ile de France and the Institut Emilie du Chatelet

Context:

Despite women's activities in peace building, they are too often excluded from formal structures of decision and policy-making in post-conflict situations. This means that the specific experiences of women are not taken into account into the elaboration of projects of reconciliation and reconstruction and that their competences are not fully utilised in the quest for a lasting peace. In 2000 the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security which engaged the UN and its Member States to include women in all negotiations and agreements concerning conflict resolution and peace building. More than ten years later, and following the adoption of three supplementary Security Council Resolutions concerning the situation of women in conflict and post-conflict, the situation remains unsatisfactory. Only 21 of the 192 Member States of the United Nations have so far elaborated a National Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325. On the grounds, in countries in situations of post-conflict, women are still excluded from decision-making and public participation, whilst sexual and gender-based violence remain important problems.

Objectives:

The objectives of the conference were as follows:

1. To identify the obstacles to the participation of women in processes of post-conflict reconstruction and to propose strategies to better support their participation.
2. To identify measures to be taken by governments to formulate and to implement effectively a National Action Plan on Resolution 1325
3. To elaborate strategies to support the fight against sexual and gender-based violence in countries in periods of post-conflict.

Opening Speech by Pilar Alvarez-Lazo, Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences

Good morning and welcome to this conference on Promoting Women's Participation in Post-Conflict Reconstruction. On behalf of UNESCO's Director-General, I am delighted to welcome you to discuss this issue, which forms an integral part of our programmes on promoting gender equality.

During recent conflicts around the world women have continued to endure unprecedented levels of sexual violence and assault, leading to severe health consequences as well as possible stigmatisation and exclusion from their communities. Women who are made refugees as the result of conflict experience intense insecurity that comes both from being isolated from their habitual support systems and from the additional physical insecurities often present in situations of forced displacement. In conflict and post-conflict situations, many women suffer economic insecurity that comes from not having an adequate means of livelihood, and also from the fact that many find themselves heads of households, responsible for the survival of their children and elderly relatives.

However, despite the horrific consequences of conflict for many women, it would be wrong to see women only as "victims" of conflict and to ignore their very important role in peacemaking and conflict resolution. Paradoxically, it may be argued that it is women's marginalization from power and distance from the perpetrators of violence that may place them in a unique position to challenge the status quo, and to call for a new political order and for peace building. Although it would be wrong to assume that women are inherently or essentially "peaceful" (or more peaceful than men), the socio-economic and political situation of women in many societies where gender inequalities prevail, may put them in a position where they have high incentives to push for peace settlements and to try to negotiate with other women from different political, class or ethnic groups. Women have been at the forefront of efforts to build peace in countries all over the world, as many examples have shown. In many instances women have come to the peace negotiations united across party, class and ethnic differences. Their unity and determination to make peace may come from their everyday experiences and concerns: protecting their children; finding food, clean water or shelter, protecting themselves from the violence and particularly sexual and gender-based violence associated with conflict. Although their ideologies may differ, their vision and demands for the future often converge in demands for freedom from violence, access to safe housing, employment and education for them and for their children, equality and a full enjoyment of their human rights as women. In many countries women have created local and national organizations to highlight the importance of peace initiatives. These organizations may also have become part of transnational and global networks which offer support and mobilize solidarities among women to promote peace.

Women have clearly made massive efforts in many conflict-affected countries to advance peace processes and conflict resolution. But these efforts are still too often overlooked or marginalised in peace-making and post-conflict reconstruction processes. Unequal gender relations and systems of domination mean that women are excluded from formal negotiation processes and full political participation. Women who have been so active in organising for peace may well be kept away from the negotiating table. Grassroots and local organising by women is also too often overlooked.

Despite women's activities in peace building, they are too often excluded from formal structures of decision and policy-making in post-conflict situations. This means that the

specific experiences of women are not taken into account into the elaboration of projects of reconciliation and reconstruction and that their competences are not fully utilised in the quest for a lasting peace. In 2000 the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security which engaged the UN and its Member States to include women in all negotiations and agreements concerning conflict resolution and peace building. More than ten years later, and following the adoption of three supplementary Security Council Resolutions concerning the situation of women in conflict and post-conflict, the situation remains unsatisfactory. Only 21 of the 192 Member States of the United Nations have so far elaborated a National Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Today's conference forms part of UNESCO's strategy for promoting women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations, and for advancing gender equality. The experts gathered from around the world - both women who have participated in peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities, and experts from leading organisations intervening in these countries and setting the policy agenda - will share with us their experiences to enable us to understand better how we can intervene to support women's participation in the situation of post-conflict.

One of the obstacles that has been identified to women's full participation in conflict resolution is their lack of adequate knowledge of their rights and of strategies to enforce these rights. Accordingly, UNESCO's work in capacity-building in conflict and post-conflict situations endeavours to make an important contribution both to advancing the implementation of Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security and to advancing the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, particularly MDG3 namely to "Promote gender equality and empower women". UNESCO's programme of creating and supporting research centres on women in conflict affected regions promotes the human security and rights of women in these regions and ensures that there is a base of knowledge and policy-oriented research produced which will empower women to participate in conflict resolution and also in post-conflict reconstruction. UNESCO has already helped to establish two such centres – the Palestinian Women's Research and Documentation Centre in Ramallah, and the Regional Centre for Women, Gender and Peacebuilding for the Great Lakes Region, located in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo. The establishment of the Regional Centre in Kinshasa has also been accompanied by the creation of a Regional Forum of Ministers of Women's Affairs and Gender, which has already met on three occasions.

The work of these Centres in producing and diffusing original research, networking with women peace activists, researchers, policy-makers, and members of civil society, and in lobbying and advocating for women's rights, will ensure that research and new knowledge feeds into policy-making on gender equality in these regions, and that women throughout the regions are empowered with knowledge of their rights and of how to advance these. Research supported by UNESCO has also examined the role of men and masculinities in conflict and conflict resolution during an international conference held in Kinshasa in March 2011. We thus strive towards a holistic approach to gender relations in conflict affected societies. Likewise, a new project on prevention of sexual and gender-based violence through the involvement of students as "ambassadors" in violence prevention will be launched in the Democratic Republic of Congo this year. These activities provide important lessons and information for other regions affected by conflict or by natural disaster. UNESCO is also launching activities in Haiti, which help to empower women to participate in the reconstruction process and to plan strategies for the prevention of gender-based violence, and

we also work with the University of Kabul in the establishment of a Pilot certificate course on “Gender, Conflict and Development”.

Today’s conference should help to move us in this direction by providing concrete recommendations for policy-makers to enable them to better support and incorporate women’s participation in post-conflict reconstruction activities. We thank you again for joining UNESCO and its partners in these efforts.

Thank you!

Yaliwe Clarke, African Gender Institute, South Africa

Yaliwe Clarke began her intervention by showing an extract from a video produced by ISIS-WICCE which documents women’s experiences of armed conflict in South Sudan. The film shows the extreme hardships suffered by women during and after this conflict, in which they were active participants. In her comments Clarke addressed the difficulties in talking about different periods of conflict and post-conflict, especially when various forms of violence, including violence against women, continue well into the so-called “post-conflict” period. She suggested instead the term “post peace-agreement” for talking about the periods in which a peace agreement has been signed.

Clarke then went on to detail major obstacles to women’s full participation in this post peace-agreement period.

1. The nature of peace processes. Nearly all peace processes are in themselves gendered and embedded within systems of patriarchy and male domination. This means that gender analysis is silenced or absent. Peace processes speak to masculine identities, and when women are mentioned in these processes, they are linked to issues of bodily sexual violence. Women are seen as victims of such bodily sexual violence, they are not represented in other ways.
2. The post-peace agreement phase tends to reinforce patriarchal processes, and men’s dominant positions. Women who may have had important roles and challenged gender norms during conflict can find themselves returned to pre-conflict positions of subordination. The men who take positions of power are those who have been present as leaders of armed forces or have taken lead roles in formal peace negotiations.
3. Lack of recognition of abilities of women leaders. Women need better educational opportunities to get them into positions where they can participate in peace building processes. Their skills need to be more recognised.

Nana Pratt, Mano River Women’s Peace Network, Sierra Leone

Nana Pratt argued that women’s movements should continue to intensify and modify collective actions undertaken during conflict. The speaker gave examples of actions by women’s movements in the Mano River Union Sub-region of West Africa during the conflict period, and particularly between 1989 and 2003. She emphasized the importance of regional networking. For example, whilst it was impossible for Liberian women to meet Charles Taylor during the conflict in that country, women from Sierra Leone and Guinea sent delegations to lobby him and to call for an end to the violence. It is also important to be able to mobilize women of all ages. Often elderly women are more respected because of their age, so they can be very useful in lobbying activities.

In the aftermath of the conflict in the MRU, women played and continue to play key roles in peace building. Nana Pratt gave some specific examples of women's contributions in post-conflict reconstruction in Sierra Leone, for example through community radios to provide women with information about their rights, and to teach them how to anticipate and moderate potential violence, or through mobilization as electoral observers.

However, women remain largely excluded in formal structures and institutions of governance in post-conflict situations.

The question is how can women mobilize to change the prevailing scenario of exclusion? According to the speaker, women should intensify concerted actions and popularize the content and the critical message of UNSCR 1325 that-“women too are peace builders; include them”. These popularization activities should target all stakeholders and beneficiaries at all levels, with messages that stress the positive value of including women. These messages should convey both the quantitative arguments for including women ie that they are half the population, and the qualitative arguments that they will bring different experiences to the peace building process. It must be highlighted that without women's inclusion peace processes will not be complete. Strategic advocacy and lobbying for full application of UNSCR 1325 at all levels (national, regional, district and chiefdom) should be undertaken. There is a need to intensify collaborative work with government and International Organizations on women, peace and security related areas, especially on capacity building initiatives using UNSCR 1325 as the tool.

One of the challenges is disseminating the critical message of UNSCR 1325. Another problem is the inadequate funding support to women's peace building initiatives particularly at community levels.

The speaker made the following recommendations:

- Direct more funding support for the women, peace and security agenda to information, education and communication activities, and to capacity building, strategic lobbying and advocacy, and team/coalition building for peace;
- Provide institutional funding support to women-led peace building networks and organizations to enable them sustain and intensify their initiatives in the stated areas.

Yvonne Matuturu, FAWE, Burundi

The speaker began her presentation with a short history of Burundi. This country has been undermined, since its independence, by sociopolitical crises. The massacres of 1972 led to the exile of thousands of Burundians. The crisis of 1993 threw the country into a devastating civil war. Peace agreements were signed in the year 2000 and led to the adoption in 2005 of a new Constitution, a new President, a Parliament and local administrators. These elections as well as those of 2010 were validated by the International Community. However, for the most recent elections, part of the political class has questioned their transparency. Peace remains fragile in the country, especially because of weakened national institutions and security system, and continuing human rights' violations.

According to the speaker, the strengthening of peace requires: the restoration of state legitimacy towards the people, national institutions able to carry out recovery and development policies, and the continuation of the international community's commitment.

The Pact of security and stability signed in 2006 by the countries of the Great Lakes Region reinforces hope of stability and prospects of economic growth for Burundi.

The speaker then presented the contribution of Burundian women to the peace process. For some time, women were excluded from peace processes in Burundi. However, during the Arusha peace negotiations, they succeeded in obtaining observer status. This status enabled

them to advocate and lobby in order to influence policy-making. During the Pretoria negotiations in South Africa in 2004, a hundred Burundian women from different political parties and civil society were invited to participate in a conference in Johannesburg during which the President promised to introduce a 30% quota of women in policy-making institutions. This was implemented in 2005 with an amendment to the new Constitution and introduced in the electoral laws of 2005 and 2010.

Resolution 1325 has been used by women's organizations as a tool of advocacy and negotiation with the Government and the United Nations in order for the specific rights and needs of women to be taken into account in post-conflict programmes.

Throughout the strategic framework and the priority plan for strengthening peace, the Burundian government involved itself in the implementation of Resolution 1325. However, more than 10 years after its adoption, efforts and measures taken to implement the Resolution remain inadequate. Despite some initiatives of civil society and international organizations, the delay in adopting a National Action Plan shows the gap in the implementation of the Resolution. A steering committee has been created: it suggested to the Government a National Action Plan for implementation of the Resolution; the plan is the result of a collaboration between all partners and now has to be considered as a priority in the 'cadre stratégique de lutte contre la pauvreté et de relance économique CSLP II' (strategic framework for the fight against poverty and for economic revival) which is currently being drafted.

The establishment of a true peace requires inclusive and lasting political, economic and social institutions. Sexual violence suffered by women during the war is the result of unequal gender relations. Social upheavals due to conflict are an opportunity for a redefinition of these relations. During the conflict, women were in charge of the household, they had new responsibilities, and yearned after the war for a new status. The peace-building process should include the objective of gender equality, which is important to prevent new conflicts. In Burundi, women as pillars of the family, played and continue to play a key role in the connection of communities, especially through local organizations. They even succeed in entering in the 'Conseil des sages', which settles conflict within families, previously exclusively reserved for men.

Using Resolution 1325 as a basis, local women's organizations and some international organizations advocated for the gender dimension to be taken into account in the drawing up of peace-keeping programmes in Burundi. Advocacy has mostly been done at local level by a coalition of 37 organizations led by the organization Dushirehamwe, and at international level, by the NGO International Alert. This has led to the involvement of women's organizations as real parties to the peace process and the taking into account of the gender dimension in the process at a certain level.

Dushirehamwe and International Alert have carried out a preliminary study on the lessons learnt as regards gender integration in peace-building programmes in Burundi. The contribution of the organizations in the follow-up to the various peace-building mechanisms has been significant. For example, they created gender integration indicators.

Resolution 1325 is the legal basis and entry point of Dushirehamwe's action. The strength of the organization is that it belongs to a network of national and international organizations as well as its flexible accompanying fund from International Alert and UN Women. The organization has played an accompanying role for all peace-building mechanisms and has monitored to ensure that women's interests were taken into account. The speaker also mentioned the community radio project of Dushirehamwe, financed by UNESCO. Besides, the organization FAWE/Burundi has a key role in women's and girls' education, many are illiterate and thus cannot claim their rights as they ignore their existence.

The speaker underlined the contribution of UNESCO to the support of women's participation in Burundi. A Research and Documentation Centre on Women, Gender and Peace Building

for the Great Lakes Region has been set up in Kinshasa, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The aim of this Centre is to promote protection and respect for gender equality and women's rights in the Region.

The speaker cited other projects of UNESCO in Burundi to promote women's participation such as the action with UNFPA to strengthen young women's capacity for an active participation to the peace building process and a successful economic insertion.

To conclude, the speaker established a mitigated assessment of women's situation in the Region. Their living conditions are not getting better; they are still under-represented in most policy-making structures, despite some improvements. Women's interests are not often taking into account in post-conflict reconstruction process. This has been recognized by government chiefs during Dar-es-Salaam Declaration on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes Region in 2004. Resolution 1325 is a key instrument. The role of Burundian women in the reconstruction is unquestionable. Burundi has made efforts to take into account the gender dimension in the defense and security sector reform but many things remain to be done.

Luz Piedad Caicedo, Centro Regional de Derechos Humanos y Justicia de Género, Columbia

The speaker began her presentation wondering about how it is possible to define what is 'conflict' and the 'post-conflict', especially when political leaders do not want to admit that there is a conflict in their country. She gave the example of Colombia where it was only in May 2011 that the Colombian President, Juan Manuel Santos, admitted that Columbia is in a situation of conflict. The former President always refused to admit it. In 2003, he denied the armed conflict and spoke about a terrorist threat against the State.

The speaker reminded us that the current President was Minister of Defence in the former government of Alvaro Uribe.

This change of opinion can be explained for two reasons: the first one is pragmatic, the new bill for victims and for the restitution of land requires it. The difference must be able to be made between a victim of an ordinary crime and a victim who is one as a consequence of an armed conflict. The second reason is a political one, President Santos wants to begin peace negotiations with insurgent groups, but a negotiation cannot be carried out without a conflict. A legal framework is being drafted.

The problem, upon which the speaker insisted, is the will of the current President to lead the peace process excluding the participation of civil society.

The speaker recalled the Colombian context: 46% of the population is considered as poor, and 18% as extremely poor, poverty is even greater in rural areas. Economic growth was 7,5% in 2007.

In November 2009, 93 members of the Congress were investigated by the justice system over their possible links with the paramilitaries. Today, 13 have been condemned, for 9 of there was a lack of evidence and 5 were declared innocent. There are 249 investigations that have been opened against 12 governors, 166 mayors, 13 departmental authorities and 58 local councilors.

Military forces have increased a lot, there were 279 000 in 2002, and are 373 000 three years later. In Colombia, there are 3 700 000 displaced persons, more than 50% of displacement occurred between 2003 and 2010.

The presence of armed groups considered by the Government of Alvaro Uribe as criminal groups is each time more recognized as children of paramilitarism.

Social leaders who demanded the redistribution of land, among whom were various women, were persecuted and assassinated.

The speaker continued to talk about the context of peace movements:

The peace process led by President Andrés Pastrana caused disappointment among Colombians. There has been a criminalization of peace and a division of the movement.

In the 80s and 90s, various armed groups were demobilized. However, the demobilization of the FARC and the ELN failed.

Uribe's government and the negotiations with the paramilitaries:

The women's peace movement is splitting: Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres (Women's Peaceful Road), Organisation Féminine Populaire (Women's popular organization), Red Nacional de Mujeres (National women's network), Initiatives des Femmes pour la paix (Women's Initiatives for peace), Mouvement national de Femmes auteurs et actrices pour la paix, ASFAMIPAZ (mothers and family of public force's members held prisoner and released by groups of guerrilleros), Ecumenical national women's network for peace.

Resolution 1325 is not known and not considered as compulsory in Colombia, which explains the actions which do not reflect the spirit of the Resolution. There is no political participation, no promotion of peaceful resolutions of conflict.

Follow-up of the impacts of the conflict and of peace initiatives. The positive points: women are organized and have knowledge of their rights, movement of resistance. The negative points: the division of the movement and persecutions.

Important dates of the peace movement:

- 1987: First 'Week for peace' which is now organized each year : reflexion space for civil society
- 1993: creation of Redepaz (Red Nacional de Iniciativas ciudadanas por la Paz y contra la guerra) – National Network of Citizens Initiatives for Peace and Against War
- 1995: importance of the Catholic Church: the Episcopal Conference convenes the National Commission of conciliation in order to find pacific solutions to the Colombian armed conflict.
- 1996: creation of la Ruta pacifica de los mujeres
President Samper creates with a law, the National Peace Council which has 30 members: 15 from the government and 15 from civil society
- 1998: Andrés Pastrana is elected President.
General meeting of civil society for peace: coalition between human rights organizations and peace organizations
- 1999: the year the most significant in the process
40 marches in the country with about 2,5 million people (between April and September) : the slogan is simple : 'No más' ('No more'). More than 8 million people mobilized on 24th October 1999. This is the starting point of the peace movement's splitting.
'Redepaz' and 'Viva la ciudadana' joined the Foundation 'País libre' for a march against kidnapping in the middle of the year. 10 million people marched in four cities.
On 24th October, this march led to a division because if the purpose was to protest

against dialogues without outcome, it was finally interpreted as criticism of the guerillas.

President Pastrana engaged a dialogue with FARC leaders in the demilitarized area of Caguán in order to try to put an end to the armed conflict.

Regarding these dialogues, some are optimistic whereas for others it is two groups without representative legitimacy who negotiate the future of the country, highly decreasing the possibility for civil society to make its voice heard. Peace coalitions came out divided.

Attempts of dialogue between the government and the FARC failed.

In 2000, 'Plan Colombia' was adopted, it is an American financial aid to fight against drug trafficking. The military solution seems preferred, seriously affecting a negotiated outcome to the conflict.

Sandrine Amer, Palestinian's Women Research and Documentation Centre, Ramallah

The speaker started with a brief historical background of the region. The UN Partition Plan of 1947 gave part of historical Palestine to the Jewish people. Today, because of the wars and Jews' settlements, Palestine territory is largely reduced and fragmented. The two wars of 1948 and 1967 led to a huge number of refugees (1,4 million in UNWRA camps). The situation in West Bank and Gaza Strip is critical. In Gaza, 70% of the population is living below the poverty line. Palestinian mobility is very restricted, especially by checkpoints, bypass roads and the Separation Wall. Permits are required to move outside municipal boundaries. Palestinian houses are destroyed for administrative and punitive reasons.

Palestinian women have been taking decision-making positions since the beginning of this century; however their participation is still limited. According to Sandrine Amer, 4 stages can be identified:

- Stage 1: pre-1948: From 1917, women participated in demonstrations against the Balfour Declaration. In 1921, the Palestinian Women's Union (PWU) was founded. They undertook social and charitable work, and ensured the survival of their families after the mass exodus of Palestinians from Israel.
- Stage 2: 1948-1967: the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964. A new era in women's activism began. PWU participated in the founding meeting of the Palestinian National Council. The General Union of Palestinian Women was founded in 1965. However, there were no dramatic shifts on perception of gender issues among women in Palestine until the 1970s.
- Stage 3: 1967-1987: Women participated in political activities which led to the arrest and detention of many women. Women were better organized so they could participate in the nationalist cause.
- Stage 4: 1987-to present: Popular mobilization during the first Intifada provided real potential for change. Independent NGOs and women centres were founded in the 1990s to address issues such as domestic violence, honour killings, etc.

During the 2nd Intifada, Palestinian women's political participation was the lowest it had ever been. The Oslo Platform brought recognition of the occupation which became the only issue on the agenda with the hope of a Palestinian state (which was never delivered). At the request of GUPW to President Yasser Arafat, articles about gender equality were finally included in the Palestinian Law.

According to the speaker, achievements have been made regarding the participation of women in political life, particularly through gender quotas. The Palestinian National Council adopted a 20% minimum representation of women in the local councils, due to women's committees lobbying. In the PLC electoral system of 2006, women had to be included in electable positions on electoral lists. However, this was only implemented in the national lists, not for local elections. Women participated effectively in the first and second PLC elections (1996 and 2006). Women were appointed Ministers, president of Stock Exchange Authority, governor for Ramallah. There is an increase in the number of women lawyers and judges as well as an increase in the number of women in decision-making bodies of political parties (Fatah, PFLP, DFLP). There is no data regarding Islamic parties. In November 2004, the Ministry of Women's Affairs was established. Since 2008 there have been gender units in all ministries.

Resolution 1325 is very important for Palestinian women who suffer from violence and brutality of occupation, and male oppression. According to the speaker, to implement the Resolution, there is a need for organized action with the creation of a coalition of women's organizations, which could report to UN bodies.

Other achievements have been made such as: women are able to give their nationality to their children and their husbands, they can obtain a passport without the permission of the family or male guardian. In 2009, a national committee to combat gender based violence was established. In 2010, the Cabinet approved the national strategy on combating violence against women.

However violence against women in the Occupied Palestinian Territories is widespread and chronic. Women have difficulties in reporting abuses because there is no legal framework to protect them and the 'honour' of their families prevails. Furthermore, there has been a surge in 'honour killing' and domestic violence in Gaza linked to the level of conflict there. However, in 2011, Mahmoud Abbas directed the judiciary to award "the utmost punishment" to perpetrators of honour killings, whereas before they were often given light sentences. In 2005, the International Women Commission for just peace between Palestinians and Israelis was established.

As the Palestinian Authority is pushing the General Assembly to obtain the recognition of a Palestinian state, Palestinian women have hopes and worries regarding the future state (its form; their role and representation as well as the hope to live in equal rights).

Catherine Odimba, University of Kinshasa, DRC

The speaker focused her intervention on the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. She underlined the fact that armed conflicts provoked the reshaped (apparent or real) of social gender relations at a given time in the Congolese history. As of today, it hasn't been established that this reconfiguration of gender role in period of conflict and post conflict has been the result of a social change process. Thus, it could be considered as a punctual reconfiguration of gender relations that doesn't imply a mechanism of perpetuation of the "emergent statues" of women, created by the conflicts, the peace building process, and the establishment of a new political order in the DRC. The new fields revealing questions on gender have been built by the needs generated by the different conflicts in both of the public and private area.

As far as households are concerned, there was a need to answer the necessary needs for their survival. Women answered to the norm of social reproduction; the maintenance of every

member of the household (children, men, sick, old people). Because of the belief, that “body of the women, sacred body; sexuality in time of war = malediction on the battle field for the soldiers”, women have been protected of being victims of all kind of forms of violence. It was an interpretation of the culture that tended to make sacred the women’s body in time of war. It was the case during the Mulele War (1964), and during the 80 days War (1977). During these conflicts sexual violence were not used against women as a weapon. However this culture of respect does no longer exist in the “new culture of war”. In this new culture, the woman’s body isn’t seen as sacred anymore and the practice of sexual violence seems to have become a real weapon in the context of war. The new conflict has brought a new perception of the woman’s body and new weapons. However the risk concerning sexual violence during conflicts generated the fact that women took their role of protector of the household even more seriously by sacrificing their body in order to protect the lives of their husbands and children. “Life is worth more than rape”: this perception has been legitimated by women themselves. At a household level, women have played a specific role which its foundation can be found in the communitarian management of conflicts, which happens to be the traditional model of conflict management. In this model, men and women have very differentiated roles. The woman stays the conciliating figure of the family. It is within this framework that many female communitarian actions were directed exclusively towards men participating in an interethnic conflict with the hope that they would disengage from the conflict in question. The masculinization of the conflicts justifies this female role in many Congolese communities. The reproduction of this culture translates through the fact that there is nearly no women in the authorities that take decisions within the rebel movements.

The speaker underlined that if at the level of the household as well as at the community level, the roles of women reflect in Congolese cultures, we can however notice that at a macro level of the society, the seek for peace and the establishment of a new political order have been true opportunities towards social change, as far as gender is concerned. In spite of the weak results recorded by women during the 2006 elections, a real learning of the electoral competition as well as political marketing was established for Congolese women. Indeed when we focus on the political trajectories of these women, the big political moments of the past hadn’t had positive impacts on them. During the colonial period, they had no political rights, after the independence, all women evolved within the State-Party: the MPR, with little and non-democratic access to areas where they could exercise power. The economic crisis of the 70’s generated the reconfiguration of the social relations between genders, but only in the economic area. It was crucial to answer to the needs that would insure the survival of families. This is when women decided to get involve in the activities linked to this survival, mainly in the informal sector. It was an answer to the economic context.

Toward the 90’s, the announcement concerning democratization as well as the freedom of the associative field allowed more openings for women, especially within the civil society, thanks to the signature of the Cotonou agreement, that implied that civil society had to be considered in the management of the national life.

During the years of armed conflict (1996 to 2003), many tasks were entrusted to women in management of conflicts, in the survival of households and in gender related issues. But these conflicts were also the opportunity to impulse a real social change at a macro level within the society. The involvement of women in the peace process and in the electoral process remains an asset in the emergence of a new gender bases system in DRC.

Antonia Potter, independent consultant to the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

The speaker said that her presentation was intended to show the progress and pitfalls on implementing norms for women, peace and security through some insights from the Asia Pacific region. The insights are taken from a current publication of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue: “Peacemaking in Asia and the Pacific: Women’s participation, perspectives and priorities”.

The speaker started by a brief presentation of international norms for women, peace and security, among them:

- The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women ;
- The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action
- Millennium Development Goal 3 which seeks to promote gender equality
- UNSCR 1325 and the other four resolutions which followed (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960)

To this list, some organizations and agencies can be added such as UN Women as well as civil society networks and organizations at local, national, regional and international level who are focused on ensuring these norms are respected. Last year, the 10th anniversary of Resolution 1325 was the occasion to highlight some progress such as the development of indicators, and the adoption of twenty-four National Action Plans. However, words had yet to be translated into action.

The objective is to ensure that women participate in legislative processes and planning decisions. For example, in Tunisia and Egypt, women played an active role in the popular protests but have been largely excluded from transitional decision-making.

Insights from Nepal:

As usual, women were active at track two and excluded from track one peace making process. However, some achievements have been made:

- a 33% quota for women in Nepal’s Constituent Assembly was introduced and fulfilled in the 2008 elections;
- in October 2010, Nepal was the first Asian country to launch its UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan, a High Level Steering Committee lead by the Deputy Prime Minister was created;
- The Swiss Special Adviser for Peace Building in Nepal (2005-7) trained 24 selected women in negotiation techniques and political issues. The ‘Charter for Equality’ developed by the group was adopted by the Constituent Assembly. The Swiss Adviser also sponsored a South Asian Conference on Violence Against Women in politics, and workshops for male and female participations on engaging women in federalism and the reform of Nepali State.

Insights from Philippines:

The country is well known for its female leaders but the Muslim areas remain heavily patriarchal. However, in the Mindanao conflict, women have been present in the talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front which itself asked for women to be included in the panel. Filipina women used UNSCR 1325 to be included in the panel. A National Action Plan was launched in March 2010.

The speaker gave also the example of Irene Santiago, a Filipina peace activist whose work contributed to a “Mothers for Peace” campaign to demand a ceasefire. The ceasefire was negotiated and Irene Santiago and her colleagues ensured the follow up in order for the ceasefire to “stick”. Women were trained in conflict prevention, resolution, etc. For Irene Santiago, the NAP provided the mandate and the means to a better gendered peace process and outcome.

Insights from Timor Leste:

There is an active women’s movement in the country. Since the independence, there have been five UN missions which have had gender units with high ranking staff. The country has

a 30% quota for female parliamentary representation. Among other achievements, there is the adoption of the first law on domestic violence (2010). Furthermore, women represented 19% of the police force. However, during political violence upsurges, women have never been involved in the negotiations to find solutions. The participation of women in the higher tracks of conflict resolutions remains a key challenge.

The speaker ended her presentation with some recommendations made in the HD publication:

- Include gender linked to other technical expertise ;
- Mediators should refer to International Law and norms on women, peace and security to build credibility and confidence;
- Safe spaces for women to prepare for participation should be created in order for them to meet and organize themselves before peace talks begin
- Ways have to be found to include a critical mass of women
- Document and publicize experience (best practice and challenges)
- The international community has to practice what it preaches by setting an example and appointing women to higher positions.

Mairi MacRae, Womankind Worldwide and GAPS, United Kingdom (UK)

Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS) was established in 2006 to implement UNSCR 1325 and include a gender perspective in all aspects of the UK policy and practice on peace and security. It is an expert working group which reunites peace and development NGOs, academics, and grassroots peace builders. Its aim is to bridge the gap between the reality of women at local level in conflict-affected countries and the UK decision makers. GAPS gives support to policymakers within the UK. It is also doing collaborative research and advocacy around key policy instruments such as UNSCR 1325 and the UK National Action Plan.

Womankind is an international woman's human rights and development organization which is working with thirty-seven women's organizations in 15 countries. Its aim is to eliminate violence against women as well as to promote women's civil and political participation.

In 2004, Kofi Annan called upon UN member-states to develop National Action Plans to ensure implementation of Resolution 1325. A first UK NAP was launched in 2006 but it was not effective and a revised one was adopted in November 2010 thanks to civil society lobbying. The revised NAP includes a bilateral section. The NAP has three country-specific plans for Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Nepal. The NAP contains new commitments such as monitoring and evaluation of WPS commitments including formal reporting to Parliament, and further civil society engagement.

The speaker addressed some concerns regarding the NAP:

- Lack of consultation with civil society and on the ground in post conflict countries including bilateral countries;
- No ministerial representation in the ministerial Open Debate in UNSC on 26th October 2006;
- Some institutional barriers to implement the resolution haven't been addressed such as the lack of senior level leadership and cross-departmental coordination;
- It is not a foreign policy priority (no word about Resolution 1325 during the Arab Spring);
- It lacks ambition; the NAP mainly pulls together existing work.

The Associate Parliamentary Group on Women, Peace and Security is a parliamentary forum on how to promote Resolutions 1325 and 1820. It is a unique opportunity for Parliamentarians and civil society to debate on such issues on the basis of expert information. Regarding APG-WPS, it is important to maintain relationships between the different stakeholders as well as increasing Parliament awareness.

GAPS launched in 2010 a “No Women, No Peace” campaign with artwork competition, and campaign actions around Afghanistan. The campaign calls for:

- Leadership – A Minister mandated to actively advance government action on WPS;
- Coordination - A high-level taskforce of senior government officials was mandated to drive forward this work across departments;
- Investment - within existing budgets, clear funds must be allocated for women;
- Accountability - Government should report on progress to Parliament and civil society every year.

GAPS obtained the commitment from the Government to create focus groups with civil society experts to lead into the review of the first year of the revised UK NAP. There are 3 focus groups mainly led by civil society, now part of formal reporting mechanisms. GAPS is trying to secure an oral statement from minister at annual review.

The speaker gave the example of Nepal’s experience. Before 2004, there was general ignorance of Resolution 1325. Then civil society started advocating on UNSCR1325, and considered it as a relevant tool to use to speak to the government and policy makers. They started advocating for a NAP in 2008 because women’s participation was negligible.

The speaker highlighted the positive process of Nepal’s experience: a Ministry of Peace was formed in 2007 as the focal ministry for Resolution 1325 and the Government formed a high-level steering committee. The 10th anniversary was the occasion to push the government to work with civil society to develop a plan on time. There was a strong collaboration between all the different partners, which allowed the NAP to be developed within 10 days

However, results have yet to be seen as the NAP is only a first step, awareness is still very low. The speaker highlighted the key role of civil society in capacity building, and that they should be given a role in monitoring. Civil society should be a partner at every stage. The Government has to be pushed to implement it: especially creating workshops with ministries on how to incorporate the NAP into existing programmes budgets and activities. There is no formal reporting process for government.

To conclude, the speaker underlined the importance of wide stakeholder ownership, of relationships between government and civil society, the coordination between ministries and high level of representation, and finally the resources.

Karen Barnes, OECD, Paris

The speaker focused her presentation on the following question: how aid can support gender equality in fragile conflict-affected states?

Women’s participation is important for the processes to be legitimate and effective. Specific barriers to women’s participation have to be removed, otherwise processes will not be held accountable to women. If gender-differentiated needs are not taken into account, processes are unlikely to be responsive to the complex needs of both men and women on the ground. The speaker listed the kind of questions international organizations need to ask:

- What capacity needs are identified and prioritised? What skills are needed to ensure gender issues are effectively addressed in post-conflict and peacebuilding processes?
- How are aid instruments allocating resources to gender-related issues, including to support of gender-responsive budgeting? Is financing reaching women’s organizations?
- Who is involved in planning processes? What issues are being prioritized? How will results be measured?
- Political dialogue: who sits at the table? Is there political will to address gender issues? Are gender issues part of the discussion about state-society relations?

The speaker highlighted some statistics from analysis carried out by the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC). DAC’s gender equality policy marker assesses aid allocations to decide whether gender equality is: the “main” objective of the aid activity, or a

“significant” objective, or “not targeted”. For example, a project to provide easily accessible drinking water, which ensures that women too have access to clean water, could be considered as aid activity in which gender equality is a “significant objective”. On the other hand, a literacy project for girls would be marked by the donors as targeting gender equality as its main objective. The policy marker applies only to aid allocated by sector. Thus, it can be analyzed that the total aid by sector and by year to fragile states, in 2007-2008, was 12,9 billion USD. One third of all aid (4,4 billion USD) targets gender equality.

The speaker underlined the repartition of aid to gender equality in fragile states depending on the sectors. Three quarters of the aid that supports gender equality go to the social sectors (governance, civil society, health and education). One quarter is allocated to economic and productive sectors. Donors’ focus on social sectors in fragile states may hamper opportunities for women’s economic empowerment in these situations.

The social sectors:

Regarding the share of gender equality focused aid in each social sector: the gender equality focus of peace and security, and of the governance sector in fragile states is lower than in all developing countries combined. On the other hand, aid to education and health in fragile states has a stronger focus on gender equality than in all developing countries combined. For example, 82% of aid to population policy and reproductive health in fragile states targets gender equality (only 48% in all developing countries).

The governance sector and its sub-sectors:

38% of aid to the governance sector in fragile states targets gender equality.

As regards to the sub-sectors, 42% of aid to legal and judicial development targets women, 57% for democratic participation and civil society, 62% for human rights. However, only 24 % of aid in the sub-sector of public sector policy and administrative management targets gender equality. According to the speaker, donors could do better and focus more of their aid to public sector policy on gender equality.

The peace and security sector and its sub-sectors:

Only 20% of the aid to peace and security sector focuses on gender equality which is not enough to implement the UNSC Resolutions. As regards to the sub-sectors, for demobilization of child soldiers, there is a high focus on gender equality, but only 10% of the aid to security system management and reform targets gender equality. The focus on gender equality is also low on post-conflict peace building and civilian peace building. According to the speaker, these sub-sectors, especially aid to civilian peace building represent quite a lot of money and it’s a shame that so little seems to support gender equality.

To conclude, the speaker made some recommendations. There is a need for better data on women’s needs, priorities and entry points for action (WPS indicators, etc.). There should also be: an increase support for integrating gender into economic recovery and access to security and justice, more analysis of funding allocation and reorientation of funding priorities, improved coordination between actors working on gender issues in conflict-affected contexts and those who are responsible for the programming/budgeting decisions in peace building processes.

Megan Bastick, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

The speaker focused her presentation on security sector reform and two questions: are both women and men consulted and involved, including men and women from civil society? Are the different security needs of women, men, boys and girls being identified and addressed?

The speaker highlighted that women’s security concerns shouldn’t just be left to NGOs, although civil society organizations should be key partners, they are not sufficient. The state security services should be involved. The speaker also opposed the idea of parallel security policy and structures for women’s needs.

Security Sector Reform (SSR) notably includes the police, the judiciary, the armed forces, the penal system, and border services. In conflict-affected countries, this sector is often weak and under-resourced that's why SSR is aimed to improve the management and performance of security institutions, which is in turn essential to meet women's security needs. The speaker described SSR as a process aimed at ensuring that security and justice providers:

- deliver effective and efficient security and justice services that meet people's needs;
- are accountable to the state and its people;
- operate within a framework of democratic governance, without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law.

DCAF has worked on SSR and gender issues since 2003. It has regional programmes in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, Bosnia and Serbia, and works with UN agencies, NATO as well as states, and civil society partners. The speakers quoted an anecdote from *Cité Soleil* in Haiti to show that there can be different points of view on security threats and the solutions to resolve them depending on whether you are chief of police or a local women's NGO. One would recommend more police officers and prosecutors, the other, more schools and teachers. In consequence, for building security, different points of view have to be taken into account, hence the need to work with a broad range of social actors. Efforts have to be made to involve women as they speak for the whole community with a different perspective.

The speaker recommends four ways to ensure that women are consulted and involved in SSR processes:

- Organization of consultations with women's groups
- Representation of women on national and local security bodies
- Male and female members of key committees and bodies dealing with security should have gender expertise

The speaker also highlighted the importance of having female personnel in police services, prisons services and the armed forces. This is widely recognized but the difficulty is that concrete barriers remain in recruiting and retaining female personnel and having them advance to senior positions. Four strategies are given to resolve this difficulty:

- To provide extra-training and education to female recruits
- To enact family-friendly policies to allow male and female officers to combine career and family duties
- Support female staff associations, mentoring programmes, etc.
- Transform the institutional culture: too often women who have received special training are then relegated to administrative tasks. All security sectors institutions across the world are concerned by discrimination and sexual harassment. Efforts in policy and training are necessary to change this culture.

DCAF are currently developing a "Gender Self Assessment Guide" in order for security sector institutions to assess their gender responsiveness. The guide was tested with the Dutch armed forces and is currently being tested with the Sierra Leone police.

As regards the second question: are the security needs of women, men, boys and girls being identified and addressed?

UNSCR 1889 encourages concrete strategies for gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice. Reform policies of every institution of the security sector, local or national, should refer to the need for security services to be gender-responsive. National Action Plans should recognise the importance of SSR.

According to the speaker, specialised services to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence (whether against men, women, boys or girls) are also necessary: having female

staff is a key requirement. To this end, the speaker highlighted the importance of mechanisms for collaboration between civil society and the security sector, and between the security sector and state agencies (health, legal services). The second idea underlined is the importance of traditional, non-state security providers as many people are beyond the reach of institutions and use their community-based structures, hence the need to engage with them to encourage good practice.

The speaker insisted on gender mainstreaming: specialized skills should not be limited to a small number of specialized judges and prosecutors: all legal personnel, all security sector personnel should have the skills to meet gender-related security needs.

Assessment tools such as the one developed by DCAF can help in identifying institutions' needs and resources to be gender-responsive. The aim of SSR is to transform weak institutions that have marginalised women's needs and excluded women's participation, to capable institutions willing and able to protect all members of the community from violence.

Fanny Benedetti, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France

The speaker presented the National Action Plan (NAP) adopted in October 2010 to implement UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. The Plan is divided in two parts; the first defines the four main objectives which are:

- Women's protection against violence and mobilization for the respect of their fundamental rights
- Women's participation to the handling of conflict and post-conflict situations
- Awareness for the respect for women's rights in training programs;
- Development of policy and diplomatic action.

The plan has been conceived for three years, in collaboration with the civil society throughout the Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme, CNCDH (National consultative commission for human rights). The implementation of the plan will be done through twice-yearly meetings. The first has been held on Thursday, 10th March around four topics: gender and asylum, creation of training programs, women's participation to external operations and global assessment of funding.

On the first topic, two commitments have been taken: the integration of HCR's guidelines and the follow-up of indicator F (gendered data on applications for asylum). Following a discussion with OFPRA (Office française de protection des réfugiés et apatrides- French Office for protection of refugees and stateless persons), it has been highlighted that the integration of a gender-module in the training could be offered by the 2012/2013 training plan.

In the implementation of training programs, the Plan organizes the integration of gender issues in security trainings, especially for pre-deployment training. To this end, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAEE) works in partnership with the Ministry of Defense (Ministère de la Défense) and the Home Office (Ministère de l'Intérieur), as well as with DCAF, its institutional partner, that has expertise in the area. For the Home Office, a training plan is being draft and a gender-module could be introduced in 2012.

Regarding women's participation to exterior operations (6%), this one is not insignificant but is twice inferior to the proportion of women in the armed forces. The Ministry of Defense would like to identify in a mission the operational needs which need women personnel to

carry out the mission, in a worry of efficiency and results. Regarding the Home Office, there is a problem of resources because out of the 700 persons of police personnel for external missions, only 40 are women. This phenomenon explained by the short delay of departure and the length of commitments. Necessary arrangements have to be made in order to encourage an increasing women's participation.

Regarding the setting up and evaluation of financial engagements: it is difficult to identify the resources allocated by the various ministries, to women-targeted programs in conflict areas. The speaker underlined the problem of a lack of dedicated funding, which prevent from fulfilling the indicators defined by the Plan.

The speaker said that an internal meeting cycle as well as one with NGOs is launched. She reminded the key role played by the EU and the importance of lessons learned by passed experienced. Fanny Benedetti highlighted also France's key role in the EU on this topic.

As regards to the obstacles, the speaker identifies the difficulty to maintain gender issues in the agenda among all the other priorities and the need for a political will.

Women should be included as soon as the first step of peace negotiations begins. The topic includes actors without the same language and which could meet difficulties to set around a table.

One of the progresses is the recognition of the relevance of the topic, which is not questioned anymore. There are objectives of representation in the post conflict constitutional reforms regarding political representation (30%). However, pitfalls remain such as the use of women and women movements as well as variable application laws (including in France).

Recommendations:

1. Greater support for women's organisations, including grassroots organisations. These organisations need support, including financial support, to be able to continue their campaigns and to achieve more presence and visibility in peace building and post-conflict reconciliation processes. Current funding frameworks, from bilateral and multilateral donors often penalise or exclude smaller organisations, such as these women's organisations. It is necessary to find funding mechanisms which can provide small grants and which are accessible to women's groups from conflict affected countries. Funding also needs to be sustainable and ongoing and not ad hoc. A constant level of basic funding will enable women's organisations to be functional and prepared to seize the opportunities for involvement and for launching larger projects when these opportunities arise.
2. Create safe and secure places for women to organise. Women may need support for childcare, spaces to breastfeed and adequate bathroom facilities. Safe spaces should also be understood beyond the merely physical characteristics in creating spaces where women feel secure to speak and to express their needs and experiences, to participate actively in public space.
3. Create networks of women involved in peace building and reconciliation activities. Women have a lot to learn from each other in terms of best practices, good strategies for accessing positions of power etc. Effective networking could help to better share these best practices and would strengthen women's initiatives in various countries. Regional networks have been important in supporting national women's lobbying and advocacy. These networks need to be supported and financed on an ongoing basis.
4. Develop incentives for men to engage in the promotion of gender equality and women's rights in peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. Focusing on women only in efforts to implement UNSCR 1325 will lead to only partial solutions. Men need to be involved and to support women's participation. Male champions or role models who publicly support gender equality and women's rights and who encourage other men to do the same are an important resource for this reason.
5. Provide support to Ministries of Women's Affairs and Gender for both elaboration and implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. These Ministries are usually amongst the weakest and most poorly financed in governments and thus need additional support from outside to be able to develop and implement National Action Plans for UNSCR 1325. A message should also be reinforced that NAPs for implementation of UNSCR 1325 are not solely the responsibility of Ministries of Women's Affairs or Gender, and that the responsibility for this should be taken on board by the whole government. It could be suggested that a government task force or inter-ministerial committee be established to ensure that a NAP is adopted and implemented.
6. Document and publicise successful experiences and practices for increasing women's involvement in post-conflict reconstruction. Countries which have successfully elaborated and implemented NAPs for UNSCR 1325 should, for example, be encouraged to provide examples of best practice for other countries. A database of good practice examples could be established as a reference for policy-makers and civil

society groups hoping to promote gender equality and women's rights in post-conflict situations.

7. Provide adequate education for mediators and negotiators. This involves both training for male and female mediators and negotiators.
 - The majority of mediators in peace processes are usually male, and they usually do not undergo any form of training, but rather are picked for their previous political positions and experience. It would be useful for these men to be provided with training and information on how to incorporate gender-sensitivity into peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction processes.
 - For women, the question of training is more often raised as it assumed that one of the reasons for women's absence from peace building and reconstruction processes is their lack of necessary knowledge and negotiation and mediation skills. It is important to provide this training for women to give them the confidence and skills to empower them to participate actively in mediation and negotiation processes. Training for women mediators should not focus exclusively on gender issues but should provide them with a wide range of skills necessary to success in this area. The training should, for example, provide women with the necessary skills to engage with security sector reform and interact with male-led security forces.
8. Link training and deployment of gender expertise to technical expertise. When gender expertise and analysis is provided in isolation it tends to get marginalised, but linking this expertise to other forms of technical expertise will allow gender expertise to be better valued and more visible.
9. Collect and diffuse adequate baseline data related to implementation of UNSCR 1325, including data on gender-based violence and women's participation in peace building and reconstruction processes. Baseline data is necessary to analyse how far implementation of international resolutions is successfully transforming post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction processes, and to identify areas where more efforts are needed to promote gender equality in post-conflict.

UNESCO'S Activities

In pursuit of the recommendations outlined above, UNESCO will continue its programmes and activities to promote the participation of women