Beyond Conflict Prevention:
How Women Prevent Violence and Build Sustainable Peace

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It is hoped that this presentation of women's views, knowledge, experience, and recommendations assists advocacy efforts to promote women's participation in conflict prevention. Although the following examples were obtained through interviews and desk research, the analysis and findings reflect the perspective of the authors alone and do not necessarily represent the views of the Global Action to Prevent War or the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY |

As government representatives, leaders of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists, students, and mothers, women worldwide mobilize to deter the escalation of conflict and prevent a resurgence of violence through both operational and structural activities. They come together to prevent violence that indiscriminately impacts their constituencies and communities. Despite the relatively slow implementation of commitments by the United Nations (UN) system and the international community at large, women continue to engage in conflict prevention activities. Undeterred by repression and intimidation by authoritarian regimes and warring parties, women's groups are highly organized and use deliberate strategies to promote peace and democracy at local, national, and international levels.

Women are increasingly active in operational prevention—short-term, targeted mechanisms to contain or reverse escalation during a crisis—and particularly in early warning and response efforts. Women's organizations have distinct knowledge of the situation on the ground and are in key positions to not only gather information and design scenarios but to actually implement responses. They are at the frontlines of negotiating and maintaining peace agreements and through their work, women are expanding the definition of "security." Women have traditionally been much more active in structural prevention, advancing longer-term solutions to reduce the potential for violence, such as human rights, justice, good governance, development, and human security. They are

particularly invested in ensuring armed conflict does not recur because women shoulder a huge burden of responsibility in destroyed communities— rebuilding infrastructure, restoring and developing traditions, laws, and customs, and repairing relationships. In government and through civil society, women worldwide are contributing to all four pillars of post-conflict reconstruction: security, governance, justice and reconciliation, and socio-economic development.[1] Indeed, a growing body of research has shown that capitalizing on the activities of women peace-builders not only advances women's rights, but leads to more effective programs and, ultimately, to a more sustainable peace.[2]

The goal of this report is to present the diverse and innumerable contributions of women to conflict prevention—as traditionally defined by global policy-makers and creatively framed by advocates and researchers of peace, feminism, and human security. At great personal risk, women are taking steps daily to provide early warning of impending violence, to negotiate with armed factions, to create accountable governance structures, to reconcile warring parties, and to promote the health, education, and welfare of the most vulnerable in society.

INTRODUCTION |

In 1945, United Nations (UN) member states pledged to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" in the opening lines of its founding Charter.[3] For the most part, international interventions have sought to address the consequences of violent conflict once it has begun, providing humanitarian aid, deploying peace-keeping troops, facilitating negotiations, and conducting post-conflict development programs. Only recently has the international community returned to a discussion of the need and practical possibility of preventing the escalation of crises before they occur. Meanwhile, through advocacy and programming, members of civil society—including large numbers of women—are leading efforts to prevent the outbreak of war, address the root causes of conflict, and meet the security and development needs of all members of the global community.

As international awareness of the impact of war on women has increased, so have the tools and policies to protect women and ensure their participation in conflict prevention and peace-building. Chief among them is UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), which mandates the participation of women and the inclusion of a gender perspective in conflict prevention, resolution, and peace-building. Since the adoption of Resolution 1325 and subsequent instruments, awareness of the importance of including women in peace and reconstruction processes has grown enormously. UN bodies, donor organizations, national governments, and civil society are taking steps to ensure women's participation

and support their preventive efforts. Overall, however, the implementation of these mandates remains sporadic and ad hoc.

Whether or not women are explicitly drawing on international commitments, they are enhancing all aspects of the peace process—from prevention to sustainable development—fulfilling the spirit of Resolution 1325. The goal of this report is to present the diverse and innumerable contributions of women to conflict prevention—as traditionally defined by global policy-makers and creatively framed by advocates and researchers of peace, feminism, and human security. From the local to the international level, women are taking steps daily—at great personal risk—to provide early warning of impending violence, to negotiate with armed factions, to create accountable governance structures, to reconcile warring parties, and to promote the health, education, and welfare of the most vulnerable in society.

This project combines desk-based research with a series of interviews with women peace-builders from around the globe. Eager to share their experiences and insight, women responded by phone and email to a call for information regarding their conflict prevention activities. Many also participated in the civil society-led conference on conflict prevention at the United Nations in July 2005. It is hoped that our presentation of their views, knowledge, experience, and recommendations assists advocacy efforts to promote women's participation in conflict prevention.

This report is divided into four chapters. Chapter One provides an overview and framework for women's role in conflict prevention. In Chapter Two, women's contributions to operational conflict prevention, specifically early warning and response, are presented. This analysis includes a discussion of gender-sensitive indicators of conflict. Chapter Three details women's activities for structural prevention, framed around the pillars of post-conflict reconstruction. In Chapter Four, brief "best practices" and specific strategies to support and enhance women's efforts in all types and phases of conflict prevention conclude the report. The annexes provide a reference guide for the tools, policies, and implementation activities of relevant actors to promote the role of women in conflict prevention at international, regional, and national levels.

CHAPTER 1: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT PREVENTION

While it is widely recognized that women are among the primary victims of internal conflict, they are also the backbone of communities and bear the major burden of reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. Women are often the strongest voices for peace, nonviolence, and the promotion of human rights in unstable societies.

As government representatives, leaders of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists, students, and mothers, women worldwide mobilize to deter the escalation of conflict and prevent a resurgence of violence through both operational and structural activities. They come together from all backgrounds and across conflict lines to prevent violence that indiscriminately impacts their constituencies and communities. Undeterred by repression and intimidation by authoritarian regimes and warring parties, women's groups are highly organized and use deliberate strategies to promote peace and democracy at local, national, and international levels.

In recognition of this fact, the Security Council mandated women's participation in conflict prevention activities in Resolution 1325 (2000). The Council reaffirmed the "important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stress[ed] the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-

making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution."[4] This landmark decision called upon all parties to take action in four areas:

1) to promote the participation of women in decision-making and peace processes,
2) to integrate gender perspectives and training in peace-keeping,
3) to protect women in armed conflict, and
4) to mainstream gender issues in UN reporting systems and programs related to conflict and peace-building.

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THE CONFLICT PREVENTION FRAMEWORK

Stunned by the eruption of genocidal warfare in Bosnia and Rwanda in the early 1990s—and the woeful response of global institutions—experts, academics, and policy-makers began seeking out the means and modalities to prevent violent conflict. In 1994, the Carnegie Corporation of New York convened a research project to identify the causes of war and offer strategies and recommendations at international, national, and local levels to prevent the escalation of armed conflict.[5] The 1997 *Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict* was widely circulated and outlined a framework for conflict prevention that is remains widely used.

Based on the premise that violent conflict is not only inevitable but that preventing it is possible, the Commission outlined three goals for preventive action:

1) to prevent the emergence of violent conflict;
2) to prevent the spread of ongoing conflict; and
3) to prevent the re-emergence of deadly conflict.[6]

The report also distinguished between two types of prevention efforts—operational prevention and structural prevention.[7] **Structural prevention** refers to long-term steps that reduce the potential for violence over time by

addressing human rights, justice, good governance, development, and human security. **Operational prevention** refers to short-term, targeted mechanisms to "contain or reverse escalation" during a crisis.[8] Strategies for operational prevention include early warning and early response, preventive diplomacy, economic measures, and the use of military force.[9]

Drawing on the Carnegie Commission's framework and noting the failures of the international community to prevent violence in the 1990s, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented a report in 2001 demanding the global community turn rhetoric into preventive action. The report recalled that "conflict prevention is one of the primary obligations of Member States set forth in the Charter of the United Nations…[and] an effective preventive strategy requires a comprehensive approach…in cooperation with national and regional actors."[10] He offered 29 specific recommendations, including one related to gender issues and women's participation.[11] The Secretary-General advised member states to "assist local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict prevention, and to involve women in peace-building efforts, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1325 (2000)."[12]

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In response to the Secretary-General's report, the Security Council committed itself to "take early and effective action to prevent armed conflict" in Resolution 1366 (2001).[13] Furthermore, the Security Council explicitly recalled the mandates of 1325. In Resolution 1366, member states recognized "the role of women in conflict prevention and request[ed] the Secretary-General to give greater attention to gender perspectives in the implementation of peace-keeping and peace-building mandates as well as in conflict prevention efforts…"[14]

GOVERNMENT-CIVIL SOCIETY PARTNERSHIP

Following the adoption of these resolutions, the UN established various internal mechanisms to enhance conflict prevention efforts, and the Secretary-General released a progress report in 2003. While noting that the UN system has made initial strides toward improving its capacity for conflict prevention, the report stated that more must be done: "We are only at the beginning of a fundamental process of mobilization and of building partnerships in order to ensure that conflict prevention is made the cornerstone of the collective security system of the Organization in the twenty-first century."[15]

It is increasingly recognized that these partnerships must include civil society. For as governments and multi-lateral institutions discuss the importance of preventing conflict, individuals in unstable countries around the globe are daily confronting the dire consequences of a failure to do so. NGOs at local, national, and international levels are actively preventing the escalation, emergence, and recurrence of violent conflict. Civil society is driving efforts from the grassroots in countries as diverse as Nepal, the Solomon Islands, and Zimbabwe. Local leaders have mobilized, and networks have been formed to link actors cross-sectorally and at the regional and sub-regional levels.

The knowledge, networks, resources, and skills that civil society brings to peace-building at local, national, and international levels have been praised by UN organs and agencies. Security Council Resolution 1366, for example, explicitly recognized "the role of non-governmental organizations, civil society actors, and the private sector in the prevention of armed conflict…"[16] And, in June 2004, the Security Council held an Open Debate on the role of civil society in peace-building in conjunction with the release of the report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations. These experts noted that "enhancing dialogue and cooperation with civil society…will make the United Nations more effective."[17]

In an effort to strengthen UN-civil society partnerships in conflict prevention, the Secretary-General called for an international civil society conference in his 2001 report. NGOs worldwide welcomed this opportunity and spent three years preparing for the event. Leading up to the conference, the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) conducted regional and international consultations—with all sectors of civil society, including women's groups—to develop a Global Action Agenda for civil society participation and partnership in conflict prevention.[18] In July 2005, over 900 local, national, and international civil society groups from 118 countries convened in New York, challenging the international community—including the UN, regional organizations, national governments, and civil society itself—to move from reaction to prevention, both operational and structural. Based on principles of human security, the agenda offered measures and strategies to achieve such a shift in the conflict prevention paradigm through effective institutions, adequate resources, and strategic partnerships with all relevant actors.

Women peacemakers at the GPPAC conference noted progress and key challenges in integrating a gender perspective and promoting women's roles in conflict prevention and peace-building. They also developed priorities for action by governments, UN agencies, and civil society. Their recommendations included the creation of national action plans to implement Security Council Resolution 1325, the establishment of a comprehensive system-wide UN strategy to increase attention to gender perspectives in conflict prevention, and the construction of a civil society community of practice and knowledge network.

IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

Despite the legal foundation and numerous policies and tools to promote women's role in conflict management, examples of activities and practical implementation are scarcer. Still, implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 and other instruments is occurring at international, national, and local levels by UN agencies, donor organizations, and civil society groups—often in partnership with each other.

At the UN level, the adoption of Resolution 1325 was followed by several Arria Formula meetings in the Security Council to mark the resolution's anniversary, as well as various Open Debates on the issue and references in subsequent Security Council resolutions.[19] The activities of various agencies, particularly the Department for Peacekeeping Operations and the UN Development Fund for Women, are significant. For the most part, however, implementation efforts remain sporadic and somewhat ad hoc. As of 2005, preparations were underway to develop a system-wide action plan for Resolution 1325.

Governmental institutions are promoting women's participation in conflict prevention through their own programs as well as by funding UN or civil society-led efforts. Canada has formed a national tri-partite committee of parliamentarians, civil society representatives, and government officials specifically to implement Resolution 1325 and has led the New York-based Friends of 1325 group. The United Kingdom's activities have also been exemplary; the government has adopted a strong national action plan to fulfill its commitments under Resolution 1325.[20] Sweden, while still developing a national action plan, supports women's role in conflict prevention through numerous activities of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and is a critical advocate for gender and conflict-sensitive development assistance.

Often serving as an impartial third-party mediator to negotiations, Norway promotes women's participation in a unique way, directly influencing parties at the peace table to include women and a gender perspective in official talks.
Several countries in conflict or emerging from conflict are actively taking steps to implement Resolution 1325. Azerbaijan, for example, has outlined specific programs in its national action plan to raise awareness and undertake measures to promote women's role in conflict prevention and peace-building.[21] The Colombian Presidential Council for Women's Equity and the Ministry of Foreign Relations launched an initiative in 2002 to disseminate Resolution 1325 throughout the government and raise awareness of the issue nationwide.[22]

Non-governmental organizations at all levels are the primary implementers of Resolution 1325. Internationally, PeaceWomen.org, a project of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is recognized as a centralized repository of information on Resolution 1325. The organization monitors and tracks its implementation in the UN system and by civil society. One way that PeaceWomen.org advocates for the broad implementation of the resolution is through its translation initiative. It is currently available on their website in 70 languages.[23] At the national level, women have used creative means, including mobile radio and workshops, to disseminate Resolution 1325 to local populations,[24] while other women's groups lobby their governments to guarantee women's participation.[25] In Israel, the women's NGO Isha l'Isha achieved a major success in July 2005 when the Israeli parliament passed a new law mandating the inclusion of women in negotiating teams.

WOMEN ADVANCING BEYOND TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CONFLICT PREVENTION

Despite the relatively slow implementation of commitments by the UN system and the international community at large, women continue to engage in conflict prevention activities. They are increasingly active in operational prevention—short-term, targeted mechanisms to contain or reverse escalation during a crisis—and particularly in early warning and response efforts. Whether protesting unconstitutional governmental actions, directly engaging potentially violent actors, facilitating dialogue and awareness raising in communities, or developing capacity for early warning, women are working to prevent violence before it occurs.

Women have traditionally been much more active in structural prevention, addressing longer-term issues to reduce the potential for violence. Women are particularly invested in ensuring armed conflict does not recur, because women shoulder a huge burden of responsibility in destroyed communities. Women begin the process of rebuilding infrastructure, restoring and developing traditions, laws, and customs, and repairing relationships. In government and through civil society, women worldwide are contributing to all four pillars of post-conflict reconstruction: security, governance, justice and reconciliation, and socio-economic development.[26] Indeed, a growing body of research has shown that capitalizing on the activities of women peace-builders not only advances women's rights, but leads to more effective programs and, ultimately, to a more sustainable peace.[27]

After the international community and ruling parties determine a country is at "peace," women's lives very often continue to be fraught with tension and violence. In some cases, this may be due to the legacy of armed conflict, which may include the widespread accessibility of small arms and light weapons (SALW) or ongoing trauma and instability that manifests itself in domestic violence. In other cases, in countries long at "peace," the reality for many, particularly women and children, is far from the UN Millennium Declaration principles of freedom from want and fear and a life of dignity.[28] Women continue to experience sexual and gender-based violence, struggle against HIV/AIDS, and personally encounter the "feminization" of poverty.

These are forms of violence but are not addressed by the traditional framework of structural or operational conflict prevention. Women worldwide, however, are tackling them every day, frequently defining their work as "conflict prevention"—even in societies that are not recognized as being "in conflict." To these women, their lives are a battleground and support is desperately needed.

Their voices are being heard by some in the international community. At the 2000 Millennium Summit, the Secretary-General called for a world free of want and fear, and in 2001, the UN convened a Commission on Human Security, which called for an expanded definition of global security. The Commission determined that—in response to twenty-first century challenges—rather than focus on the security of the state, collective action should center on the security of individual persons: **human security**. Their final report concluded that

Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and

choices to fulfill his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict.[29]

> ***"Human security…encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth, and preventing conflict.."***
> –UN Commission on Human Security, 2003

This report represents a convergence of official forums and formal frameworks with on-the-ground realities. It brings together the traditional definitions and activities of conflict prevention and the broader goals and umbrella of human security. It furthermore illustrates how women worldwide are contributing to both conflict prevention and human security as they seek to prevent and end violence in their societies, communities, and households.

CHAPTER 2: OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES— HOW WOMEN CONTRIBUTE TO TRADITIONALLY DEFINED CONFLICT PREVENTION

The following section presents examples of women's contributions to conflict prevention—narrowly defined as "operational prevention"—focusing primarily on early warning and response.

WOMEN AND GENDER ISSUES IN OPERATIONAL PREVENTION

Operational prevention refers to "strategies and tactics undertaken when violence appears imminent."[30] These include early warning and early response, preventive diplomacy, economic measures (including sanctions), and the use of military force.[31] As noted by the Carnegie Commission, "the responsibility for taking these measures falls both to those closest to an unfolding crisis and also to those more removed."

In recent years, the international community has increased its prevention efforts, primarily on early warning that, in theory, triggers early planning and response. Early warning involves information collection, analysis using indicators of potential conflict, mapping of key actors and stakeholders, and the development of scenarios. Indicators of potential conflict include:

- **Systematic (long-term) indicators**, such as military rule, political oppression, or economic disparity;

- **Proximate (medium-term) indicators**, such as the formation of militias, heightened popular discontent, and a rise in unemployment; and

- **Immediate catalysts**, such as election fraud, political arrests, or crackdowns on peaceful demonstrations.

Provided with information from early warning mechanisms, UN response strategies have included assessment missions, humanitarian contingency planning, facilitation of dialogue and consensus building, deployment of facilitators, donor engagement, and partnership with civil society.[32]

While women in civil society have traditionally been active in structural prevention, women are increasingly involved in operational prevention. NGOs "are often the first to be aware of and to act in crisis areas, and they have a wealth of information regarding the conditions and grievances that give rise to violence."[33] From a policy perspective, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and several NGOs have undertaken research (not yet published as of October 2005) on gender-based indicators of conflict. Often overlooked in analysis of potential conflicts, gender-based indicators for early warning are being tested to explore whether they provide a more comprehensive picture of the situation, thereby contributing to a more effective response. Examples of gender-based indicators of potential conflict currently being piloted include:

- gender-specific human rights violations (rape, trafficking, domestic violence,
- random detention of men, killings and disappearances of women);
- sex-specific refugee migration;
- forced recruitment into militias;
- increased rates of forced or voluntary prostitution due to military presence; and
- a "feminization of poverty" due to the increased economic burden on women during instability and conflict.[34]

Gender-based indicators should be incorporated in the analysis of information, and women's networks must be utilized during fact-finding missions, preventive visits, and other information gathering mechanisms. During the design of scenarios and development of responses, understanding and addressing women's needs and concerns is critical to the overall success of the mission. Women's organizations have distinct knowledge of the situation on the ground and are in

key positions to not only gather information and design scenarios but to actually implement responses.

EARLY WARNING

In many geographic locations and contexts, women are raising awareness of growing tensions, documenting and gathering information for conflict early warning, analyzing the situation, and connecting local events to relevant national and international bodies.

Zimbabwe: Raising Awareness of Escalating Instability[35]

Tensions remain high in Zimbabwe following the March 2005 parliamentary elections, in which the ruling party, headed by President Robert Mugabe, won a majority of seats in a process viewed by many in the international community as "seriously flawed" and "rife" with electoral abuse.[36] As the president is able to appoint 30 additional parliamentarians, Mugabe and his party now hold the two-thirds of seats necessary to amend the constitution. Amidst international outcry, Mugabe has cracked down on opposition leaders and placed severe restrictions on civil society, media, open expression, and freedom of assembly.

In response, the women of Zimbabwe are leading protests against the violence and corruption of the current government, but not without cost. Due to political violence, the number of women parliamentarians decreased between the 1995 and 2000 elections. This can be interpreted as a sign that women shifted to the relative safety of civil society—which is also no longer outside the government's reach. Experts note that "a large number of women in Zimbabwe are pre-eminently the silenced victims of politically motivated violence," as rape and sexual violence against women leaders is often undocumented.[37]

Despite such efforts to quell their activism, women continue to lead the movement for peace, democracy, and human rights. The non-governmental organization Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) has gained increasing attention as its members mobilize for an end to violence and corruption through street protests, media, and publications.[38] WOZA has mobilized itself into community teams throughout the country—each with six elected members to serve as leader, mobilizer, outreach advisor, security advisor, representative of youth (women under 17 years old), and representative of the elderly (women over 80 years old).[39]

Their network mobilizes quickly and has also proven effective in winning male champions. Some men have requested membership and expressed a desire to form their own chapters. In a recent march for peace and human rights, men and women in villages shouted: "Wonderful WOZA! Keep doing what you are doing!"[40]

WOZA works to raise awareness of the tension, instability, corruption, and oppression of the government of Zimbabwe—from the local to the international level. Their activities were recently strengthened when Studio 7, a branch of the Voice of America, recognized their campaigns and identified them as a group willing to speak out despite violent repression.[41]

Solomon Islands: Partnering to Develop Early Warning Systems

In the Solomon Islands, women have advocated for peace since 1998 when economic hardship in the region led to escalating tensions between ethnic groups. Despite the signing of a tentative peace agreement in 2000, violence continues to flare up, and at the request of the government, a military assistance force from countries across the Pacific was established in July 2003. The mission has incrementally decreased the number of troops on the ground following the establishment of an amnesty and disarmament program in August 2003.

Participants at a Meeting of the Early Warning Initiative, White River, Solomon Islands (Source: UNIFEM/Pacific. Used with permission.)

In partnership with UNIFEM and national government agencies, civil society organizations are conducting early warning efforts in the Solomon Islands. Local women and men are applying a gender lens to instability in the country, collecting information in the categories of governance,

economics, land, public security, and peace building. The project identifies indicators that reflect the experiences of both men and women and evaluates the potential of men and women to reduce conflict. In addition to a broad range of political and economic considerations, the indicators for the Solomon Islands capture aspects of the long-term effect of unresolved land disputes; examine women's role in "gun-free village" programs that address excessive militarization; and monitor media content reflecting women's experiences and concerns. Local groups track changes in levels of conflict, as perceived by community members, and transfer this information to relevant national and international actors to facilitate appropriate and time-sensitive preventative action.[42]

The first early warning report of the program was jointly issued in August 2005 by UNIFEM, the government of the Solomon Islands, and other women's and civil society groups. Drawing on information from 20 trained participants—equal numbers of men and women—in five communities, the report presented a "moderate risk level for armed conflict in the Solomon Islands with 12 out of 44 indicators in the high risk level."[43] High-risk indicators included corruption, lack of women's participation in governance, lack of trust between political groups, frequency of disputes concerning land, incidences of domestic abuse, and lack of employment opportunities for both men and women. Positive elements in the early warning analysis included public security and peace-building.

Ferghana Valley: Documenting Events in a Conflict-Sensitive Region

In 1991, with the fall of the Soviet Union, countries in Central Asia became independent, initiating a border dispute between Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in the contested region of the Ferghana Valley. Governments of these countries and residents of neighboring communities compete for scarce resources, including arable land and water, which heightens tensions in an already poverty-stricken region.

As individuals and in partnership with the international community, women in civil society are working to mitigate tensions, facilitate disputes, and maintain peace throughout the Ferghana Valley. Foundation for Tolerance International (FTI), currently the largest NGO in Central Asia—with established programs in conflict prevention—was founded and directed by a woman, Raya Kadyrova.[44] She conducts the Early Warning for Violence Prevention Programme, which is supported by the OSCE, UNDP, and several bilateral governments. The project offers a weekly online analysis with alerts and updates on conflict-sensitive issues and events in the region.[45] FTI has facilitated various women's peace forums,

bringing women across borders to collaborate on peace-building efforts. At a forum in April 2005, Kadyrova noted that "the presence of women in the negotiating process [in the Ferghana Valley] greatly decreased the risk of political deadlock, and resulted in more positive solutions to the benefit of all concerned sides."[46]

> ***"The presence of women in the negotiating process [in the Ferghana Valley]… resulted in more positive solutions to the benefit of all concerned sides."***
> –Raya Kadyrova, Foundation for Tolerance International, April 2005

UNIFEM has begun supporting women's organizations in the Ferghana Valley in the collection and analysis of information, including sex-disaggregated data. The project also promotes knowledge sharing among the partners and advocates for gender-sensitive approaches and solutions to the conflict. As the root cause of tension centers on land and water management in the Ferghana Valley, the project places a special emphasis on the relationship between gender, land rights, water management, and conflict. Reports will be produced biannually and made available internationally through UNIFEM's Women, War, and Peace Web Portal. This will provide time-sensitive, critical information to governments, civil society, and international organizations for the enhancement of crisis prevention and peace-building activities.

Fiji: Building Local Capacity for Early Warning[47]

In the tiny Pacific Island nation of Fiji, women nonviolently intervened to protest a civilian-led coup in 2000 that saw the prime minister and 30 others held hostage in the parliament complex for 56 days.[48] Women's organizations immediately mobilized across ethnic lines and party affiliations to publicly denounce the coup and gathered daily for a candlelight vigil that offered a sense of calm and hope to the general Fijian population. Since the crisis ended and elections were held in 2001, women have conducted a broad spectrum of activities to prevent a return to violence and to continue the path to democracy and peace.

With regard to operational prevention in particular, women's organizations are training local leaders to recognize early warning signs of conflict and are publicly monitoring the political and socio-economic life of the country. To ensure all Fijians are involved, the NGO Fem'Link Pacific designed a project to bring mobile radios to rural communities so that women can share information, strategies, and

testimonies of peace-building activities. As Sharon Bhagwan Rolls of Fem'Link Pacific noted: "Women in the countryside detect trouble, but have no way to communicate it to the government or relevant civil society groups."[49] Her organization therefore produces a quarterly report on women's peace-building activities in Fiji and throughout the region.[50]

To support women's efforts throughout Fiji, UNIFEM partnered with the women's ministry and women's NGOs to establish the Women, Peace, and Security Committee. Together, they subsequently conducted trainings on conflict prevention and early warning for government and civil society leaders in 2003. UNIFEM continues to support women's organizations in Fiji as they gather and analyze data at national and local levels for conflict early warning.

EARLY RESPONSE

As armed conflict threatens to erupt or recur, women's groups are taking early action through fact finding and reporting, direct intervention and mediation, and diffusion of escalating tensions at the local level.

Mano River Region: Defusing Tensions at the Local Level

In May 2000, a group of women from Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia came together to advocate for their formal participation in the process of managing conflict and restoring peace in West Africa. This group of women became the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) and were recognized for their contributions to peace-building by the UN General Assembly with the 2003 UN Prize for Human Rights. As peace agreements are at various stages throughout the region, MARWOPNET is currently combining traditional and modern methods of conflict prevention to ensure violence does not recur.

Women's groups are active in rural and urban areas, working with political, traditional, religious, and civil society leaders to resolve inter-ethnic disputes. At the regional level, MARWOPNET intervened through intense lobbying and awareness raising to pressure their governments to end *la guerres des ondes*, the "media wars," which were used to project aggressive propaganda. At the same time, at the local level, MARWOPNET discouraged the local population from listening to such messages, saying "don't listen to those people…You have been living there with your parents for centuries. Don't take up guns now to solve your problems—you can sit and talk."[51] Despite the decline in such propaganda, the founding president of MARWOPNET, Saran Daraba, notes: "if we don't keep the pressure on, they'll do as they like…[we must] continue to keep things moving forward."[52]

To do this, MARWOPNET distributes pamphlets throughout the countryside containing information on international instruments on human rights and conflict prevention as well as regional documents, such as the Economic Community of West African States' Moratorium on Small Arms and Light Weapons. MARWOPNET conducts fact-finding missions to areas of emerging tensions and brings this vital information and grassroots knowledge to the national, regional, and international level. Members lobby military leaders, government representatives, and the international community to ensure an official early response.

MARWOPNET members also resolve countless inter-ethnic and communal disputes at the local level. In Faranah, Central Guinea, for example, women apply traditional conflict resolution techniques to prevent disputes from escalating into violence. Partnering with village and religious chiefs, traditional leaders, and family members, MARWOPNET helped resolve over 30 conflicts in this area from May to July 2004 alone.[53] MARWOPNET also responds to cross-border disputes. Women from Guinea, for example, often travel to Liberia as part of their commercial activities. In March 2005, they were targeted by Liberian police who requested bribes or fees once they realized the women were from Guinea. This incited counter-activities by Guinean authorities against Sierra Leonean women in the markets, which threatened to escalate into a serious matter. MARWOPNET has taken reports of their experiences and is seeking to lower tensions between women of the three countries, informing them of their rights and conducting cross-border workshops on conflict resolution.[54]

In recognition of the critical importance of MARWOPNET's work, the UN Department for Political Affairs made a significant grant from the Trust Fund for Preventive Action to bolster their efforts, particularly in Guinea.[55] MARWOPNET has used the funds to train "peace messengers" in local areas to ensure vital information on emerging tensions is captured. They also organize workshops in rural areas on conflict prevention techniques and conduct peace education media programs through film and radio. Members meet with high-level officials, including the prime minister, in order to obtain assurances that dialogue among political parties and civil society will continue.

Nigeria: Intervening to Facilitate Nonviolent Solutions[56]

Nigeria is one of the world's top 10 oil producers, and its $250 billion in revenues is distributed primarily to the government.[57] Unfortunately, funds have been largely squandered through governmental corruption and have not reached the poverty-stricken Niger Delta region in which the oil is produced. Severe poverty, combined with pollution, frequent oil spillage, and social disruption, has led to heightened tensions and human rights abuses in the area. In 2004, armed militias fought amongst themselves in competition for scarce resources and illegal oil revenues, leading to the deaths of hundreds—mostly young men—and the displacement of thousands.[58] Although a peace agreement was signed to disband the militias in October 2004, tensions remain high between the local population and the oil companies, as well as between competing communities and ethnic groups.

Throughout the violence in 2004, local women insisted that "only dialogue can resolve the Niger Delta question."[59] In an effort to find a peaceful solution to the brewing conflict, women have turned to strategic, non-violent actions to negotiate with foreign oil corporations, garnering international attention.[60] Women in various communities of diverse ethnic background have held sit-ins, conducted demonstrations and campaigns, and negotiated creative solutions to issues of concern to the community that have the potential to break into violence.

In July 2002, for example, 150 women conducted a peaceful sit-in at Chevron Texaco's Escravos oil station in southern Delta state, halting the production of approximately 500,000 barrels of oil a day for over a week.[61] To resolve the conflict, Chevron Texaco sent high-level executives to meet with the women; their negotiations led to a five-year agreement to build a town hall, fund community-based programs to generate income and employment, and support local schools, clinics, and water and electricity systems. The *Christian Science Monitor* subsequently reported: "observers say that protests by women are becoming the most effective tool to force social improvements by US multinational oil companies doing business in Africa."[62]

> ***"…Protests by women are becoming the most effective tool to force social improvements by US multinational oil companies doing business in Africa."***
> –The Christian Science Monitor, August 2002

Women are also working within their communities to find solutions that will avert violence. Organizations such as the Niger Delta Women for Justice offer training

in human rights and women's empowerment in conflict-affected areas. They have established a Community Peace Leaders Corps to train women and create a standing network for dialogue, negotiations, and conflict resolution. Women's groups have reached out to male youth, in particular—those who most often initiate violent action—to provide them with alternatives. They have encouraged and helped young people to report their grievances to elders for mediation, peacefully protest, write letters to the authorities, and seek audiences with other key parties.

Nepal: Empowering Local Women to Prevent Conflict

The most violent period of the insurgency in Nepal began in 2003 following a brief ceasefire between Maoist rebels and the royal government. In only four months, over 1,000 were killed.[63] The king consolidated his power early in 2005, declaring a state of emergency, firing the prime minister, and suspending constitutional rights. A September 2005 announcement by the Maoists for a unilateral ceasefire offers some hope for the current situation.

When the armed conflict began to spiral out of control in 2003, the woman-led NGO Institute of Human Rights Communication (IHRICON) began establishing local mechanisms to alleviate tensions. In five districts, IHRICON established Community Women Peace Volunteer groups, each with five peace volunteers at the district level, 25 peace volunteers at the community level, and 25 community peace groups (five in each district) with 15-50 members. IHRICON provided financial support and training to these groups on human rights, women's empowerment, the impact of small arms, conflict resolution, and Security Council Resolution 1325.[64]

The impact of this initiative is being felt months and years later, and *The Kathmandu Post* reported on women's efforts in November 2004.[65] In several cases nationwide, the women's peace volunteers are mediating between local security forces and the general population. When someone is falsely arrested, the women come to a consensus on a way forward and approach the security forces when they believe a violation of human rights has occurred, holding them accountable to human rights standards. Their interventions protect villagers and keep the violence from escalating. IHRICON has produced a film to document human rights abuses and the actions of the community peace groups. As noted by one volunteer, "Women can resolve the conflict. The only thing required is more of such groups which can empower us to manage conflict effectively."[66]

CHAPTER 3: STRUCTURAL PREVENTION AND BEYOND—HOW WOMEN PREVENT VIOLENCE THROUGH PEACE-BUILDING

The following section outlines women's contributions to structural prevention organized around the internationally recognized four pillars of peace-building—security, governance, justice and reconciliation, and socio-economic development.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN STRUCTURAL PREVENTION

Structural prevention refers to long-term steps that reduce the potential for violence over time, addressing human rights, justice, good governance, development, and human security. As noted by the Secretary-General in his 2001 report on conflict prevention, "An investment in long-term structural prevention is ultimately an investment in sustainable development…Effective conflict prevention is a prerequisite for achieving and maintaining sustainable peace, which in turn is a prerequisite for sustainable development."[67]

The international community has identified four areas in which progress must be made in order to realize these goals: security, governance, justice and reconciliation, and socio-economic development.[68] Women worldwide are demonstrating their capacity for preventing violence and consolidating sustainable peace through the design and implementation of programs locally and nationally in each of these areas. As detailed in the case examples below, women in government and civil society are exhibiting their commitment to

enhancing security, ending corruption, increasing transparency and accountability, fostering reconciliation, and transforming society. Indeed, a growing body of research has shown that capitalizing on the activities of women peace-builders not only advances women's rights, but leads to more effective programs and, ultimately, to a more sustainable peace.[69]

ESTABLISHING SECURITY

This section is subdivided into two parts: first, how women work to end ongoing violence; second, how they promote and establish security to ensure conflict does not recur.

Negotiating and Maintaining Peace Agreements

Peace-building is often completely interrupted during periods of violent conflict. Women around the world are therefore working first to end violence through mediation, negotiations, and monitoring of peace agreements.

Colombia: Mitigating Violence at the Local Level

Colombia has endured forty years of civil war and numerous failed peace processes. Armed actors, including the Colombian military, government-supported paramilitaries, and multiple rebel insurgencies, are infamous for attacks against civilians. Because various factions control certain areas—and continuously wage war over this territory—the population of Colombia, particularly in rural areas, is severely impacted.

In response, communities are finding creative solutions to mitigate the impact of violence in the conflict-affected region. Many have formed "peace communities," where they self-proclaim their area and population "neutral" and free from armed conflict.[70] Citizens demand that combatants remain outside of this area and respect their right as civilians not to be drawn into the violence. Women are leaders in this local-led, ongoing process of negotiations. The Association of Organized Women of Eastern Antioquia (AMOR), for example, has directly negotiated with armed factions to produce tentative humanitarian accords. Piedad Morales, a leader of a women's organization in Medellín, notes:

> [AMOR has] directly talked with paramilitaries, FARC, and ELN. They have partially achieved humanitarian accords, persuading the armed actors to stop blocking the highway that goes from Medellín to Bogotá to allow families to sell their products on the main road. It lasted about two to three months; it was a very weak agreement but quite significant…"[71]

In other areas, peace communities have successfully kept militants away from their village, and others have achieved humanitarian accords granting land to the displaced. The United States Institute of Peace notes: "such courageous acts may, over time, become the basis for confidence-building measures that could lead to region-wide or even country-wide ceasefires or negotiations."[72]

Yet theirs is an uphill battle. In the peace community of San José de Apartadó, situated in the conflict-affected department of Antioquia, over 150 residents have been killed or "disappeared" since its self-declaration as a peace community eight years ago, and only two arrests have been made.[73] Three of eight elected community council members in the village are women, and retaliatory massacres have led to the deaths of both men and women.[74] In fact, armed actors increasingly threaten and assassinate outspoken women peace-builders in Colombia—a tragic indicator of the importance and effectiveness of their work. The United States Office on Colombia reports: "Previously, women were primarily affected by the political violence through the deaths of their male relatives and partners; today they are becoming targets of political violence themselves."[75] In 2002, 17% of assassinated or disappeared human rights defenders in Colombia were women.[76]

Zimbabwe: Challenging Security Institutions[77]

In 2001, under President Mugabe's direction, the Zimbabwean parliament swiftly passed the Public Order and Security Act, which authorities use to stifle opposition supporters and peaceful dissenters. As part of their efforts to raise awareness of the repressive regime of Mugabe, the women of WOZA (introduced in the section on Early Warning) use protest to draw both national and international attention to the current political situation. In this approach, women have undertaken a strategy of deliberately challenging local police and national security forces.

Women choose to march and protest on international days, such as the International Day of Peace or International Women's Day, or around other key events, such as national elections, to garner increased attention to the situation in Zimbabwe and to the police response to their activities. On March 8, 2003, for example, women marched in Bulawayo in recognition of International Women's Day, and Amnesty International documented the arrest of 15 women and the beating of others, despite the nonviolent nature of the women's demonstrations.[78] More recently, in March 2005, as women gathered in Harare for a prayer service following the parliamentary elections, WOZA members were attacked by police who arrested over 300 women—many of them mothers with their small children and grandmothers—sending several to the hospital as a result of multiple beatings.[79] Outrage was subsequently expressed in media ranging from Amnesty International to the *Voice of America* radio.[80]

This strategy—ongoing protest in the face of repression in order to garner international focus—puts the police officers in a dilemma of choosing whether to enforce unjust laws. Although the treatment of women under arrest by Zimbabwean police has been appalling in many cases, WOZA members and other women continue their policy of "tough love," sacrificing their own security and putting their own lives at risk in order to open a space for dialogue amidst repression.

Some women believe this is also affecting the system itself because individual police officers may question themselves and the law when dealing with women activists, and the activists are thus able to expand an entry point to effectively raise awareness of the situation.[81] Jennifer Williams, the coordinator of WOZA, comments on the manner in which arrested women are sometimes able to affect police officers and prison guards:

> Our jailers are affected by our femininity, so we can win them over as humans and gain support. They begin to understand and empathize. When I am arrested, police officers come to meet me and ask to shake my hand. I feel that we really reach them and cause them to question.[82]

WOZA's organizers note that over 700 women have been arrested since 2002, yet none have been convicted in court.[83] Despite making inroads with some individual officers, women are overwhelmingly mistreated by the authorities—but this does not stifle their voice or deter them from strategic action. As noted by Amnesty International, "WOZA's strength is revealed by the brutality with which

the police have tried to stifle it…But those attempts are destined to fail in the face of WOZA's determination."[84] Williams agrees: "We have a slogan: 'Strike a woman and you strike a rock.' We are not going to be deterred.'"[85]

> ***" 'Strike a woman and you strike a rock.'***
> ***We are not going to be deterred."***
> –Jennifer Williams, Women of Zimbabwe Arise, May 2005

Uganda: Negotiating with Combatants[86]

Armed conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the national government has raged in northern Uganda for two generations and is characterized by child abductions and atrocities against civilians. Meanwhile, inter-clan fighting for scarce resources, particularly cattle and access to water and pasture, persists in the northeastern region of Karamoja. And in the West Nile region, various insurgent groups only recently signed a peace agreement with the government. In sum, violence is a constant threat to the nation's stability and the community's livelihood.

A group of women have taken action and are widely recognized for their contributions to peace and stability in the country. Founded by women in the early 1990s, the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CECORE) conducts a variety of activities from the regional to the local level to end violence and guarantee peace. In 2002, the executive director of CECORE, Stella Sabiiti, directly negotiated between rebel groups in the West Nile region and the government of Uganda, and the ultimate outcome of the process was a peace accord. She describes one critical point in the negotiations for disarmament as follows:

> "Mistrust led to a breakdown of negotiations, and it was clear that there were about to be mass killings. The military had all of their heavy artillery aimed at the combatants, and the combatants aimed their guns at the communities. I was able to remove the stalemate and negotiate terms that were amenable to both sides. And one of the main reasons I could do this was because I am a woman. I succeeded in negotiating with the combatants because they saw me with the respect of a mother. Many of them called me mother. In the African traditional role, women are crucial."[87]

CECORE's ten years of women's empowerment and training in human rights and conflict resolution at the local level has yielded similar results. As noted by a male citizen in Koboko, with regard to the negotiation and disarmament process in the West Nile region: "Women in the community were also seen as crucial: 'if your brother is not convinced [to stop fighting], talk to his wife. She then convinces her husband about peace. Many wives turned in the guns of their husbands to the local leaders so that their husbands could surrender.'"[88]

> ***"…It was clear that there were about to be mass killings…I was able to remove the stalemate and negotiate terms that were amenable to both sides…because I am a woman."***
> –Stella Sabiiti, Centre for Conflict Resolution, September 2005

CECORE's impact has been recognized and drawn upon by outside actors. In 2002, the German development agency GTZ contracted CECORE to raise awareness, facilitate dialogue, and provide training to the pastoral communities in the Karamoja region in an effort to provide alternatives to violence. The World Bank invited CECORE to facilitate a dialogue between stakeholders in a potentially explosive situation regarding a hydro-electric project on the River Nile at Bujagali Falls in 2001.[89]

Northeastern India: Maintaining a Ceasefire

In northeastern India, Nagaland has been involved in a struggle for independence for the past 50 years—one that has divided ethnic groups and communities, leading to decades of tension and violence. The parties to the conflict have failed to negotiate a permanent peace, but two ceasefire agreements remain in place, in part, because of pressure by Naga women.

Naga women have mediated among factions to sustain the ceasefire, despite ongoing tensions. The president of the Naga Mothers' Association, Neidonuo Angami, notes: "Both sides can decide to break the ceasefire. But for whom, after all, are they talking—for us. We're all stakeholders in the peace."[90] Based on this claim, women maintain open lines of communication with the armed groups and participated as observers at official talks in Bangkok in 2002. As a result of their advocacy, the ceasefire ground rules were, in fact, expanded to protect civilians from abuse by armed actors.

At the same time, women's groups are encouraging communities, tribes, and neighboring states to form a broad constituency in support of peace—in effect, a strong base and voice that the armed actors feel they must heed. Their campaign, "Shed No More Blood," was launched in 1994 in a multi-tribe and multi-ethnic gathering of 3,000 women that continues work for peace and reconciliation across communities in northeastern India.[91] In partnership with other civil society groups, Naga women remind the armed actors: "Those who represent the Nagas must be willing to listen to the voice of the Naga people's representatives…" who are calling for a permanent ceasefire and a path to sustainable peace.[92]

Armenia and Azerbaijan: People-to-People Peace-building[93]

As national governments in the Southern Caucasus struggle to reach a consensus regarding Nagorno-Karabakh, the people of Armenia and Azerbaijan blame these administrations for the lack of peace rather than the individuals of each society.[94] This facet of public opinion has been noticed and expanded upon by women's organizations in the region, often in defiance of hard-line nationalism. In 2003, for example, when Azerbaijani laws did not permit any contact with officials or locals in Nagorno-Karabakh, the woman director of the Institute for Peace and Democracy, Leyla Yunus, traveled to the region to reach across conflict lines and directly meet with Armenian communities.[95] The Azerbaijani government made a positive move in June 2005, removing these restrictions in an effort to allow for "setting up direct contacts between the communities and carrying out confidence-building measures with a view to overcome hostility, achieve stability, and mutual understanding."[96] Experts note how difficult this will be, however, as there are no phone lines or passable roads to the region and very few civil society programs exist that link the communities; yet they conclude: "The gradual building of confidence and trust is essential to the resolution of the conflict."[97]

The Southern Caucasus Regional Coalition "Women for Peace," a network of women's organizations in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, has mobilized to move into the vacuum of stalled political negotiations and create people-to-people peace initiatives. Supported by UNIFEM, "Women for Peace" brings women and men together to build trust, form the foundation for peace, and strengthen public participation in peace-building. Sevil Asadova, the coalition's coordinator, describes their impact:

> Our regional coalition brings women together, across conflict and ethnic lines, to work on everyone's mutual issue—women's human rights. This has united us, and is helping us to build confidence and mutual trust with others. It is this people-to-people diplomacy that is laying the foundations for sustainable peace in our countries and our region.[98]

> ***"Our regional coalition brings women together, across conflict and ethnic lines, to work on everyone's mutual issue—women's human rights… It is this people-to-people diplomacy that is laying the foundations for sustainable peace in our countries and our region."***
> –Sevil Asadova, The Southern Caucuses Regional Network "Women for Peace," July 2005

In one initiative, "Women for Peace" organized a conference for International Peace Day on September 21, 2005; the geographic location near the border made it accessible to women and men from all backgrounds and ethnicities. It focused on bringing together women members of government and local men and women from the different regions—those most affected by the war. Asadova commented on the success of the conference in initiating an informal dialogue: "We found that men couldn't do it, and women can. They set aside politics and really talk to each other because they are completely committed to peace-building."[99]

Sudan: Enhancing Local Investment in the Peace Agreement[100]

The longest civil war in Africa ended with the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement in January 2005 between the government of Sudan in the north and the insurgent Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in the south. Yet the environment remains tense as implementation of the agreement begins and parallel armed conflicts continue in the western Darfur province and on the southern Sudanese border with Ugandan members of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

The Civil Society Peace Initiative, a network of seven NGOs, was formed as earlier accords were signed in order to promote the agreement and garner support for the process. Over two years, the Initiative has conducted over 15 workshops to analyze, explain, and debate the peace accords with diverse NGO leaders from the north and the south; over 1,500 have participated with 25-30% women's representation.[101]

The Initiative has identified intolerance as a root cause of the conflict in Sudan. By bringing together diverse constituencies and providing training on diversity,

tolerance, women's rights, democracy, and sustainable development, their goal is to build support for peace and ensure local investment in the process. As director Shamsaddin Dawalbait notes: "Most peace agreements collapse within five years, so working to prevent the collapse of this peace is prevention."[102]

DEFINING AND PROMOTING "SECURITY"

When armed conflict ends, the process of creating new institutions, policies, and laws begins. Women play an active role in redefining and re-establishing security to ensure violence does not recur.

Sierra Leone: Filling the Gaps in Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR)

The question of how to disarm factions is a key consideration in official peace negotiations, along with the related issue of how to demobilize fighting units and aid their transition to civilian life. International actors have termed this phase of the peace process: disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR). Considerable resources and time are generally devoted to the first two steps of DDR, while reintegration is often hastily conducted and true reinsertion of combatants is undertaken by communities at the local level.

In Sierra Leone, DDR began in 1998 and concluded in 2002. Assembly centers were established throughout the country, and approximately 72,000 fighters were disarmed, including 6,800 children.[103] Reintegration programs began soon afterward, but encountered funding shortfalls and a lack of employment opportunities for former fighters. To fill this gap, individual women, women's organizations, and women leaders in government began initiatives, particularly to assist the reintegration of former child soldiers. As noted by Shellac Davies, a leading peace-builder in Sierra Leone: "…Left abandoned, these child ex-combatants would have nothing positive to do and/or think, and will prove a threat to the fragile peace now in existence…If the peace so far achieved is to prove meaningful and sustainable, then society has to take up its responsibility for caring for its children."[104]

> ***"…Left abandoned, these child ex-combatants… will prove a threat to the fragile peace now in existence…society has to take up its responsibility for caring for its children."***
> –Shellac Davies, Sierra Leone, 2003

With this in mind, women in the rebel strongholds of north central Sierra Leone—despite being among those most victimized, even by these same returning children—took them in and cared for them. The Women's Progressive Movement in Freetown was established in 1998 with a mission to find abducted children, provide them with financial and technical assistance, and adopt them when family cannot be found; as of 2004, nearly every member had adopted at least one child.[105] The Forum for African Women Educationalists, a regional NGO, established skills training centers and reconstructed schools and community centers, particular for former women and girl combatants—among the most vulnerable in Sierra Leone and those most neglected by the official reintegration process.

South Africa: Reforming the Security Sector

A key component of post-war reform and transition involves the transformation of war-time security institutions into accountable, civilian-led bodies. The mandate, budget, size, and function of a new state security system are critical to shaping the nature of government and society in order to prevent the recurrence of violence. In South Africa, the task of reforming the apartheid-era security institutions was mammoth, and women played an important role in its transformation.

Because of the role the South African military had played in oppressing society, the newly elected African National Congress conducted a complete review of the notion of security and its mechanisms through a participatory process with civil society that "democratized the debate."[106] Women from a variety of backgrounds played a key role in this process, promoting gender equality and the inclusion of gender perspectives in the new defense system through cross-party alliances, advocacy, and participation in committees.

As parliamentarians and civil society leaders, women contributed to the development of a new security framework—based on principles of human security—for the post-apartheid military. Thandi Modise, a female former fighter and chair of the parliamentary Joint Committee on Defence from 1999 to 2004, notes that women: "embrac[ed] the principles of defense and conflict prevention rather than armed action… 'demand[ing] that the defense force should not be a machine used against the people, but that its function should be broadened to include preventive and rescue work.'"[107] In part as a result of pressure and participation of women from the grassroots to the national level, South Africa

decreased its defense budget by 60%,[108] abandoned its nuclear weapons program, and broadened the definition of national security "to incorporate political, economic, social, and environmental matters. At the heart of this new approach is a paramount concern with the security of the people."[109]

> ***Women "embrac[ed] the principles of defense and conflict prevention… 'demanding that the defense force should not be a machine used against the people, but that its function should be broadened to include preventive and rescue work.'"***
> –Thandi Modise, former Chair of the
> Joint Committee on Defence of South Africa, 2003

Bougainville: Partnering with Security Institutions to Prevent Violence[110]

The armed conflict in Bougainville left 15,000 dead and thousands displaced between 1989 and the signing of a permanent ceasefire between local factions and the government of Papua New Guinea in 1998.[111] Significant progress has been made in recent years: the comprehensive peace agreement was signed in 2001, a constitution was adopted in 2004, free and fair elections for an autonomous government were held in May 2005, and the first president and members of a Bougainville government were sworn into office on June 15, 2005.

Women proved a critical force to end the conflict, addressing humanitarian needs of the population, mediating between warring groups, intervening to negotiate disarmament, establishing "peace areas," and observing official peace talks. They continue to work at local and national levels to reintegrate combatants, promote peace education and conflict resolution, and address the ongoing problem of violence against women. In particular, with international support, women's groups have partnered with men and with national security institutions in their efforts to prevent violence.

First, women have provided training to male former combatants to aid their transition to civilian life, including sensitization to women's rights. Many who used to commit domestic violence have since changed their ways and have "moved to productive activities and are building houses in the forest and settling down."[112] Second, other men—recruited and trained by women's groups—are dispatched to the northern region to educate former combatants through theatre

and drama on women's rights, HIV/AIDS, and the peaceful resolution of conflict in schools and villages. Third, the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency partners with the police force to provide gender training for recruits. As a result of this relationship, the police select key areas and request that Leitana Nehan conduct awareness raising and workshops on the negative impact of violence on women and children in those communities. Finally, Leitana Nehan began an initiative to combat violence against women and children by reporting incidences, counseling victims, and finding safehouses. They maintain a "security desk" to provide a secure space for women to come forward. Leitana Nehan requests a police presence when necessary to assist the women in filing a formal report, and the officers document the case at Leitana Nehan's security desk with a counselor present to ensure the women's safety and comfort. Since November 2004, over 1,000 women and children have been assisted through this initiative.[113]

East Timor: Preventing Gender-Based Violence

In 2002, the independence of East Timor from Indonesia succeeded decades of violent struggle and over 100,000 deaths, including many civilians.[114] The new government and transitional period have offered important opportunities for women—who composed 40% of constitutional commissioners and won 27% of parliamentary seats.[115] Yet they continue their struggle against violence in the home.

A Poster Denouncing Domestic Violence in East Timor (Source: Kristin Hetle/UNFPA. Used with permission.)

The legacy of 25 years of war—characterized by human rights abuses and no distinction between combatants and civilians—has led to ongoing violence in communities and households. Fifty percent of women in East Timor experienced some form of violence in the course of their lives, and the National Police report that gender-based violence constitutes 68% of all criminal

reports.[116] In partnership with international donors, particularly UN agencies and the gender unit within the UN mission, women leaders are conducting a multi-sectoral approach to combat gender-based violence. Programs include:

- resources and training for the police to provide protection and support to victims of violence;
- information campaigns, workshops, and training for the population at local and national levels;
- the use of drama, radio programs, and television "soap opera" to highlight some of the more negative social and cultural practices and to reach a wider audience;
- advocacy for a domestic violence law;
- services for survivors, including the first and only "Safe Room" with medical-forensic healthcare and the first legal support service; and
- initiatives to engage men in partnership with the Association of Men Against Violence, which undertakes popular social education workshops in remote and rural areas and provides "anger management" training to male offenders in the national prison.

This targeted focus and cooperation with national and international partners has led to wider discussion of gender-based violence—no longer a "taboo" subject to openly speak of. Women's organizations have gained momentum and greater visibility, as recognition of the prevalence of gender-based violence has grown nationally.

Brazil: Re-Defining War, Peace, and Conflict Prevention[117]

Destruction of 100,000 Firearms in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June 2001 (Source: Viva Rio. Used with permission.)

Just as East Timor is officially "at peace" but women continue to experience the effects of violence, women worldwide in "peaceful" countries are affected by violence in their cities, communities, and homes. In many cases, violence is facilitated by the presence of small arms and light weapons, frequently used as "a common tool for perpetrating societal violence."[118] Guns and weapons have devastating effects on human security, or, as noted by the Small Arms Survey, "a community's physical, economic, social, political, and cultural security."[119] Women's activities to combat this violence is self-defined as "conflict prevention," and the risk and issues at stake are critical to establishing a genuine state of security and a culture of peace.

In Brazil, 108 people are killed by gun violence every day as a result of urban violence, criminal gangs, the drug trade, poverty-stricken slums or favelas, poorly trained and funded police, and the widespread presence of small arms.[120] In response, women's groups founded one of Brazil's largest NGOs, Viva Rio, to campaign for disarmament and nonviolent solutions to conflict. In 2001, they launched a program entitled "Choose gun-free! It's your weapon or me!" to call upon women to engage men to disarm.[121] They subsequently partnered with the state government, the military, and other NGOs to confiscate and destroy 100,000 weapons on a single day in June 2001—the largest destruction of arms at one time worldwide.[122]

> ***In recent years, "women have been the great impetus" behind enacting gun control laws; their efforts met with success in July 2005 when Congress overwhelmingly approved a law authorizing an obligatory national referendum set for October.***
> –Jessica Galeria, Viva Rio, September 2005

In recent years, "women have been the great impetus" behind enacting gun control laws; their efforts met with success in July 2005 when Congress overwhelmingly approved a law authorizing an obligatory national referendum set for October.[123] Preliminary polls reveal that a majority of Brazilians are likely to vote for the ban on gun sales to civilians—a tremendous step forward for "security" in the country.[124]

Trinidad and Tobago: Slowing the Proliferation of Arms to Build a Culture of Peace[125]

Similar to Brazil, no formal state of conflict exists in the Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago, but the population is faced with a rising tide of gun culture and violence. With the rapid proliferation of small arms, insecurity is heightened, particularly at the community level, as gun ownership is increasingly viewed as central to life and security in Trinidad.[126] This trend impacts communities through an alarmingly high level of societal violence and human insecurity. In the first six months of 2004, there were 130 murders in a population of a little over one million.[127]

While gun violence occurs mainly among young males, women are seriously affected as mothers or partners of both perpetrators and victims; in this respect, women bear the societal costs of high levels of violence. In response, local women have undertaken peace-building initiatives to approach the question of gun violence from a less threatening angle.[128] As part of a recent international campaign, the Women's Institute for Alternative Development (WINAD) has taken photographs of people's faces, rather than obtain their signature, for an international petition to stop the proliferation of small arms.[129] In December 2004, they launched the campaign "No Guns For Christmas" to encourage the population to take action to end gun violence.[130] The program focused on stopping parents from giving guns to their children and preventing youth from exchanging guns as gifts.

In addition to this project, women's groups have succeeded in engaging customs officials and national security forces to face the problems of small arms trafficking head-on for the first time.[131] To foster governmental accountability, women focus on the responsibility of institutions to the population and the effects of guns on society.

PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

In official and civil society capacities, women are seeking more effective ways to govern in a post-conflict environment by fighting corruption, promoting transparency and accountability, crossing ethnic and party divides, and enhancing the participation of marginalized groups in the political process.

Ecuador: Promoting and Protecting Human Rights

In the spring of 2005, Ecuador faced a crisis within its fragile democracy that held significant potential for violence and an unraveling of the political system. Although President Lucio Gutierrez was elected in a fair vote in 2002, his activities led many to label him a dictator in the making. In 2004, with the parliamentary support of his political party, Gutierrez dismissed 27 of the 31 members of the Supreme Court, replacing them with political allies.[132] He also made moves to replace members of the electoral council, the constitutional tribunal, and other judicial offices.[133] In response, civil society began massive protests of his unconstitutional actions through public demonstrations, strikes, and civil disobedience across the country, spurring a fact-finding mission by the

UN.[134] In April 2005, the president was ousted by an emergency session of Congress and fled to Brazil, while Vice President Alfredo Palacio assumed the presidency.

As the country seeks to overcome this crisis, women's organizations are among the leading voices for the maintenance of democracy—through protests and strategic action. Dr. Susy Garbay Mancheno, for example, heads the Regional Foundation for Human Rights, a non-governmental organization conducting fact-finding investigations of human rights violations and advocating for legal reforms that strengthen the protection of human rights and promote democracy.

In the northern Amazon region of Ecuador, women lead NGOs in support of indigenous proposals for development projects not related to oil extraction contracts granted to multinational corporations by the government. Lina Maria Espinoza Villegas, for example, works through the Catholic Church to train the local population and indigenous communities on human rights and how to protect those rights in the light of oil companies' activities in the region. Despite death threats, she has led protests alongside community members to demand that oil revenues be spent on development projects—roads, schools, and hospitals—within the poverty-stricken area and has documented allegations of human rights violations by police and the military in the region.[135]

Cambodia: Fighting Corruption to Promote Good Governance

The signing of a peace agreement and the subsequent influx of donor funding often leads to an entrenchment of corruption. This is certainly the case in Cambodia, where rampant corruption exists in sectors ranging from the judiciary to the police force to education from the national to the village level. A civil society survey showed that 84% of Cambodians feel bribery is the "normal way of doing things," 90% believe that corruption hinders national development, and 98% believe it is critical to end corruption in the country.[136] This was confirmed by the prime minister, who noted that—should corruption continue—Cambodia would not be on track to halve poverty by 2015 as planned, but only cut it by 28%.[137]

Women in Cambodia are those most affected by corruption and are forced to pay the actual bribe "due to their role in overseeing the household budget, taking care of the children, arranging documents for the family, etc."[138] Numerous examples exist of women's daily passive resistance to paying bribes so that the funds can be used for their family. The woman-headed Center for Social Development (CSD)

in Cambodia reported a rural woman's response to a police request for bribes: "I am not afraid! If I'm afraid, I'll stop living, and if I stop living, I'll have no food to feed my children, so I cannot be afraid!"[139] CSD also documented the frustrations of a midwife, who quit her job and now works out of her home rather than play a part in daily corruption at the public hospital.

When women reach decision-making posts in post-conflict governments, research shows that they are leading efforts to promote "good governance" by fighting corruption, demanding accountability, and maintaining transparency in activities at national and local levels. This has clearly been the case in Cambodia from the beginning, as two women National Assembly members drafted the first piece of anti-corruption legislation in 1993, although it has yet to pass. Anecdotal evidence suggests that women leaders in Cambodia are in fact less corrupt than their male counterparts. A commune councilor described the motivations for women's anti-corruption leadership as follows: "Women think about what their children need…Also, women do not cheat as much as men during food distributions…And finally, women get more feedback from the community than men do because people are not so threatened or intimidated by women."[140] As a strategy to combat corruption and promote transparency, local male and female respondents to CSD research suggested: "Increase the number of women working in the bureaucracy at national and local levels. Promote equal status and relations between men and women."[141]

A Gathering of Members of the Forum of Women Parliamentarians, Kigali, September 2005 (Source: Matthew Bane, Hunt Alternatives Fund. Used with permission.)

As a strategy to combat corruption and promote transparency, local male and female respondents to civil society research suggested: "Increase the number of women working in the bureaucracy at national and local levels."
–Center for Social Development, Cambodia, March 2005

Rwanda: Bridging the Ethnic Divide in Parliament

Some post-conflict countries have created custom-designed tools to promote women's participation, particularly at sub-national levels. Post-genocide Rwanda, which now has the highest percentage of women parliamentarians in the world at 49%, established a unique system at the district and sector levels.[142] A "triple balloting" technique was designed to bring previously marginalized groups—women and youth—into governance structures. Three ballots were placed before voters at the sector level in 2001—one for general candidates, one for women candidates, and one for youth candidates. Through a subsequent indirect election, a district council was chosen from among the winning candidates of the sector elections, including all winners from the general ballot and one third from the women's and youth's ballots. This system led to district councils composed of 27% women in 2001.[143] Furthermore, as noted by one expert: "Not only did this system set aside seats for women and youth, it also required that the entire electorate vote for women. In this way, Rwanda's decentralisation programme began to make the election of women more socially acceptable."[144]

Women are utilizing their new leadership positions to continue their peace-building efforts and to build good governance. They set a precedent with the first cross-party parliamentary caucus, composed of both Hutus and Tutsis, addressing issues of concern to women from all political parties. The Forum of Women Parliamentarians scrutinizes proposed laws from a gender perspective, introduces amendments to discriminatory statutes, and trains women's groups to advise the population about legal issues. They have also set an example in their collaboration with civil society groups on a variety of initiatives, including the engendering of the new constitution. A male member of Parliament noted: "[These women] work across parties. They are there as women leaders. Their contribution is needed…They are important in reconciliation."[145]

Angola: Providing Civic Education for Elections[146]

The last time that Angola held multi-party elections, the narrow outcome led to a return to civil war in 1992. The death of the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi in 2002 led to a tenuous ceasefire, but the government continues to restrict freedom of the press, association, and assembly. Violence and political assassinations are ongoing, even as the country prepares for national elections in September 2006.

For this reason, women-led initiatives, such as the Angola Peacebuilding Programme (PCP), are educating the public on issues of human rights, democracy, and the upcoming elections. PCP is a coalition of seven leading NGOs in Angola that work at the local level to strengthen the grassroots constituency for peace and assist communities in identifying nonviolent solutions to conflict. As of June 2005, PCP was conducting or supporting over 200 projects in 14 of Angola's 18 provinces.[147]

According to Eunice Inacio, PCP's coordinator, civic education is one approach to conflict prevention in Angola. She notes that 90% of adults are "afraid" of the outcome of upcoming elections due to the violence in 1992.[148] Through PCP, she trains leaders of the principal organizations involved in the electoral process, including the government ministry that will oversee elections. She prepares materials, pamphlets, and editorials reaching out to the most vulnerable—youth and women, in particular. Inacio notes: "Women are the majority, and are softly strong and very capable of sensitizing other women to prevent conflict from erupting. In our experience, women keep the peace."[149] PCP has trained over 200 women leaders in churches as counselors for human rights and nonviolence. These leaders then train within their churches; the network reaches over 1/3 of the entire population of Angola.[150]

> ***"Women are the majority and are softly strong and very capable of sensitizing other women to prevent conflict from erupting. In our experience, women keep the peace."***
> –Eunice Inacio, Angola Peacebuilding Programme, September 2005

ENHANCING JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

Women are leading efforts from the grassroots to the national level to heal the wounds of war, reconcile estranged parties, and forge a joint way forward.

Korea: Building Trust, Laying the Foundations for Peace[151]

As the international community focuses on the nuclear capabilities of North Korea, civil society groups in the south are laying the foundations for friendly relations between the two countries through a strategy of engagement and reconciliation. In the late 1990s, the South Korean government began relaxing its hard-line stance toward the north, emphasizing cooperation and renewed relations. In June 2000, the leaders of the two nations met and signed the South-North Joint Declaration, which would allow for separate discussions on reunification and an increase in inter-Korean dialogue.

Women's organizations have maximized this entry point for peace-building efforts. As early as 1991, Korean women from the North and South came together with Japanese women for a series of international symposia on Women's Role for Peace in Asia—the first exchange of civilian women from the two countries since the Korean War. Their humanitarian efforts to assist North Koreans began in earnest in 1997. Following the June Declaration, South Korean women met with North Koreans in 2001 and 2002 for a Women's Unification Rally for Peace; they came from diverse backgrounds—political, financial, and religious leaders, academics, and NGO representatives. Together, they adopted a statement that included steps to implement the June Declaration.

Through this contact, Gyung-Lan Jung of Women Making Peace (WMP) in South Korea, notes: "Women's and civil exchanges enhance mutual understanding and confirm the differences and similarities between the two Koreas…Through this understanding, [we are] preparing for reunification, decreasing the potential for conflicts after reunification, and strengthening the basis for integration of the North and South."[152] Within South Korea, WMP is providing peace education in schools that offers nonviolent solutions to conflict, human rights training, gender equality discussions, and the importance of tolerance and reconciliation. Experts note that, because of such activities and inter-Korean exchanges, "there is an emerging [popular] consensus that war on the Korean Peninsula is unthinkable."[153]

"Women's and civil exchanges enhance mutual understanding and confirm the differences and similarities between the two Koreas… Through this understanding, [we are] preparing for reunification, decreasing the potential for conflicts after reunification, and strengthening the basis for integration of the North and South."
–Gyung-Lan Jung, Women Making Peace, September 2005

Serbia: Demanding Justice and Supporting Accountability[154]

In the late 1990s, women's groups played an important role in pressuring Slobodan Milosevic to step down.[155] While he is on trial in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, justice and accountability for crimes committed during the conflict remains elusive at national and local levels. According to experts, the government "is still predisposed against cooperation with the ICTY and war crimes trials, and the country's politicians are still trapped in a Milosevic-era, nationalist mindset that does not permit them to acknowledge the role Serbia played in the ethnic cleansing, genocide, and other atrocities of the 1990s."[156]
Stasa Zajovic of Women in Black of Serbia describes the transition period as follows: "the state repression is no longer 'active' as it used to be in the period of the Milosevic regime, yet the society has become more intolerant and their unfulfilled expectations of the new authorities have produced a high level of apathy, frustration, and political abstinence."[157] As an example of unwillingness to acknowledge responsibility, Zajovic recalled that less than 50% of Serbian survey respondents in 2001 believed that the events in Srebrenica—the genocide—even "happened," and only 16% consider that to be a crime.[158]

To combat this situation, Serbian women have mobilized to address the issue of accountability of all Serbs for the actions of their government. Women in Black's activities include street actions, such as protests, performances, signature collections, and advocacy campaigns; nationwide seminars and workshops to record testimonies and memories; and frequent meetings with victims of atrocities to acknowledge acts that were committed in their name, ask forgiveness, offer compassion, and build trust. Zajovic acknowledges: "There will be no reconciliation without accountability…There will be a state of permanent war because Serbians are not facing the crimes committed in our name. We cannot

hide from it; it is point zero. We need to fight against impunity to prevent a slide back into conflict."

"There will be no reconciliation without accountability… We need to fight against impunity to prevent a slide back into conflict."
–Stasa Zajovic, Women in Black (Serbia), September 2005

Myanmar (Burma): Breaking Ethnic Barriers through Local Dialogue[159]

Myanmar, also known as Burma, has endured 50 years of civil war and 40 years of military rule. As a military junta remains in control of the national government and a number of armed insurgencies continue to engage in sporadic, localized violence, reconciliation is often considered out of reach in Myanmar. Yet women's organizations have dedicated their work to achieving peace and reconciliation in this southeast Asian nation.

The Women's League of Burma (WLB) "seek[s] to build trust and mutual understanding among ourselves and the community. Our goal is to build peace amongst women, our families, communities, and the political movement, with the aim of achieving genuine national reconciliation in Burma."[160] The WLB focuses on community reconciliation, engaging in small group discussions and workshops on conflict transformation with various ethnic groups. One effective program, "Women as Peacebuilders," builds trust and communication between ethnic groups; 800 women have participated in the last two years alone.[161] The WLB itself prioritizes membership and representation of women across ethnic groups in its programs and projects.

WLB was recognized for its work in 2005, receiving the Women's Rights Prize of the Peter Gruber Foundation, along with the Shan Women's Action Network, the organization that founded WLB. "In awarding this prize, the Foundation celebrates the unique accomplishments of a group of young women leaders who, at great personal risk, are challenging human rights violations under a repressive military dictatorship."[162]

Haiti: Seeking Justice, Caring for Victims of Sexual Violence[163]

Haitian women have experienced firsthand the "cycle" of conflict. In 1991, with the ouster of President Jean Aristide and the installation of a military regime, thousands of women were subjected to brutal forms of sexual violence. Many were pro-democracy leaders who were violently targeted by military and paramilitary groups that human rights experts describe as "massive, systematic, and designed to terrorize and intimidate the pro-democracy movement."[164] Many of the women have organized to seek justice against powerful former and current military leaders responsible for the abuse. As noted by Brian Concannon, a human rights expert working with the group of women survivors: "If the Haitian women succeed with their campaign to prosecute those responsible for their rapes, including the top military and paramilitary leaders…they will provide both an inspiration and a road map for other national prosecutions."[165]

Despite international intervention to restore democracy in 1994, violence against women continued. In 2000, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women documented "the phenomenon of *zenglendos*, or thugs, breaking into houses at any time, raping and beating the women, started [in the early 1990s] as a form of political pressure but [became] a common practice of criminal gangs, terrorizing the entire population" of Haiti.[166] The most recent coup and political violence only exacerbated this situation.

Many of the victims of politically motivated rapes in the early 1990s are now working to address the sexual violence that is part of the ongoing conflict and instability in Haiti. The Commission of Women Victims for Victims (KOFAVIV) established a clinic run by 30 staff—all women rape victims—and three volunteer doctors. It has assisted 400 women between March and September 2005.[167] In order to treat victims, a system of community human rights workers was created to identify, seek out, and refer women to the clinic. As a result of their own background and connections, local women organizers are able to enter communities that the police cannot, accessing rural, often illiterate, Creole-speaking women in the most violent, poverty-stricken areas. In addition to medical treatment, the clinic holds psychological and empowerment workshops to address trauma—for both men and women—in an effort to raise awareness and prevent further gender-based violence. KOFAVIV conducts seven solidarity groups of 30-40 women each that meet biweekly and conduct joint activities and events.[168] As noted by Anne Sosin of the NGO Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti: "KOFAVIV is one of the only groups that still functions amidst volatility. The women are very vibrant; they even meet on days when there is shooting going on…The program is growing so rapidly, the women are just trying to keep up."[169]

> ***"KOFAVIV is one of the only groups that still functions amidst volatility. The women are very vibrant; they even meet on days when there is shooting going on… The program is growing so rapidly, the women are just trying to keep up."***
> –Anne Sosin, Institute for Justice and Democracy (Haiti), September 2005

In Gonaives—the third largest city, well-known for its violent gangs—one women's organization accompanies local women to report incidences of sexual violence. The Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour le Développement (CRAD) has documented 300 cases of rape and assists women in filing official reports, provides medical treatment, and operates a psychosocial program to address trauma.[170] They, too, are well connected to the local population and are supported by the people in their efforts.

Violent gangs have also controlled the streets of Les Cayes, but women partnered with the local office of the UN Mission for the Stabilization of Haiti (MINUSTAH) to take a message of peace to those streets. On March 8, 2005, in honor of International Women's Day, 400 women marched for an end to violence against women and to promote the removal of weapons from the community.[171] Annie Couthon, responsible for MINUSTAH's disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program in Les Cayes, noted the significance of women and the march: "The involvement of women in Les Cayes in the process of disarmament is important not only as a means to encourage voluntary disarmament, but also to initiate a process of reconciliation and peacebuilding in Haiti."[172]

Burundi: Promoting Reconciliation from the Grassroots

In February 2005, Burundi's citizens approved the country's new constitution by an overwhelming majority—91 percent of three million voters.[173] The document, and the peaceful referendum approving it, is a major achievement in the Arusha peace process, an agreement signed in 2000 that laid the foundations for a transition to democracy and peace. The constitution provides the legal framework for power sharing among the ethnic groups, but dialogue and reconciliation at the community level is key to building a sustainable peace.

Women are at the forefront of these efforts. The network *Dushirehamwe*, meaning "Let's Reconcile" was formed by 90 women from 10 provinces across Burundi.[174] In urban and rural areas, they conduct a variety of conflict resolution training, trust-building activities, and inter-ethnic dialogue; overall, the network emphasizes the coming together of women from all ethnic backgrounds. In Gatumba, west of the capital, a *Dushirehamwe* group was formed by displaced women, both Hutu and Tutsi. A member notes: "The Tutsi didn't want to understand the Hutu; the Hutu didn't want to understand the Tutsi. We decided to find some work together. We got some land, and now we work in the field in our group, talking and discussing as we do so."[175] In total, *Dushirehamwe* leaders have worked with approximately 9,000 women at the community and provincial levels.[176] Donor organization International Alert described the broader impact of their activities: "The work of *Dushirehamwe* is increasingly gaining recognition and members are often requested to intervene to help defuse tensions within different communities."[177]

"The Tutsi didn't want to understand the Hutu; the Hutu didn't want to understand the Tutsi. We decided to find some work together. We got some land, and now we work in the field in our group, talking and discussing as we do so."
–Victoire Ciza, Dushirehamwe (Burundi), 2000

Recording "Women, Be Brave!" at Studio Ijambo, Bujumbura
(Source: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. Used with permission.)

In an example of local-international partnership to support women's role in reconciliation, the Women's Peace Center was established with support from the international NGO Search for Common Ground. The Center identifies community leaders and brings them together for training and dialogue on conflict resolution and reconciliation. In certain areas, the Center has conducted a long-term series of exchanges to build trust and eventually break through the past with public testimony, pardon, and forgiveness.[178] The Center also operates a peace and reconciliation broadcasting program directed toward women called "Women, Be Brave!" Its host, Christine Ntahe, notes the importance of this initiative for reconciliation in Burundi: "When [women] listen to my program, they say 'Oh, women in that province have done that,' or 'Women in that commune have gone through the same as me.' And then the listener is ready to do the same."[179]

FACILITATING SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Women bring a particular set of priorities to socio-economic development, and their work frequently addresses those most vulnerable among the population.

Sri Lanka: Integrating Peace-building In Tsunami Reconstruction

In the case of the 2004 tsunami in Asia, it is estimated that, in some locations, four times as many women were killed than men.[180] The reasons for such a gendered impact vary by country, but include the following:[181]

- Women were on the shoreline awaiting the return of fishermen;
- Women were inside homes performing domestic chores;
- Women stayed behind to find children;
- Women's dress (the sari) may have proved more difficult to run, climb or swim in;
- Women were less likely to know how to swim or climb trees; and
- Women tired among the waves because they were trying to keep their children afloat.

The aftermath of the crisis and the resulting local imbalance between the sexes is leading to a variety of problems for women. There are reports of harassment and sexual abuse in camps, forced marriages to widowers, a loss in household income, and a rise in sexual exploitation, trafficking, and prostitution.[182]

Yet this has not stopped many women from becoming active in the reconstruction process, as new opportunities open to women survivors economically, socially, and politically. In Aceh, the number of women in cash-for-work projects has risen from 6.5 percent to 19 percent; the projects are funded by international donors, but are conducted by the community.[183] In India, women are supervising the building of shelters and advising humanitarian organizations on the placement of washing facilities and the distribution of relief. Oxfam program leaders note: "This has ensured that these facilities are absolutely appropriate to the community's needs, and has also given the women a great deal of pride, a sense of ownership and has boosted their morale at a time of terrible trauma."[184] As women utilize this window of opportunity to influence decision-making, some note the long-term impact on gender relations: "The authority gained from women's roles in this reconstruction process will remain embedded in the society and polity forever…"[185]

Women of Kokkilai Collecting Water
(Source: Association of War Affected Women. Used with permission.)

> ***"The authority gained from women's roles in this reconstruction process will remain embedded in the society and polity forever…"***
> –Fem'Link Pacific, January 2005

Across the region, women's groups have mobilized in coordination with donors to provide humanitarian aid and input into long-term reconstruction and development planning. An organization in Sri Lanka, the Tsunami Women's Fund, led by Visaka Dharmadasa, received reports of rape, gender-based violence, and physical abuse of women and girls during rescue operations and in temporary shelters. In response, they have monitored police stations to track reports of sexual harassment and recommended the establishment of a monitoring body to take action and ensure women's safety.[186] They have conducted fact-finding missions, and the leaders are utilizing their public platform

not only to provide disaster relief, but as an entry point to continue their work for sustainable peace and long-term reconciliation in Sri Lanka.

One of the Tsunami Women's Fund projects involves the reconstruction of a fishing village, Kokkilai, in an area already severely affected by the ongoing armed conflict, then destroyed by the tsunami. The goal of this project was "to rebuild a village where all communities can live together in peace with dignity. It is hoped that Kokkilai can become a model village that can strengthen the peace process by encouraging the displaced persons to return to live in cooperation with the current residents."[187] Specifically, the women's group undertook gender-sensitive reconstruction of the water supply and a community center, which will serve as a clinic and a vocational training school, based on priorities identified by local women and village leaders. UNIFEM notes: "In addition to rehabilitation and restoration of homes, this project [aims] to strengthen the peace process and let the women play a vital role in decision making on rebuilding and reconstruction of their village, giving priorities women." [188]

Zimbabwe: Transforming Conflict through Economic Self-Sufficiency for Youth[189]

In addition to the awareness-raising activities for early warning and response to conflict carried out by WOZA, other Zimbabwean organizations are creating long-term solutions to poverty and the root causes of conflict in the country. In the impoverished western region of Matebeleland, Mildred Sandi and other women established the DP Foundation to combat a legacy of violence and imbalances in resource allocation; its goal is to "eradicate poverty through conflict transformation…We take an interpretive and interactive approach and go beyond prevention to look at psychosocial ways to empower the community."[190]

Since its creation in 1994, DP Foundation's programs have reached 20,000 Zimbabweans—many of them youth, among the most vulnerable in the region and those most likely to take up violence in the face of instability.[191] DP Foundation conducts an "open door" policy where youth can gather with counselors to discuss their role in society and design their own solutions, particularly development plans for their economic self-sufficiency. Youth have designed fundraising strategies, such as recycling schemes and craft projects that they manage as a group and then share in the profits.

The Kellogg Foundation has supported workshops conducted by DP Foundation that focus on building the capacity of youth to participate in conflict transformation efforts. Through this program, civic education and peer

leadership are encouraged. Thus far, many more young men than women have participated due to traditional gender roles in the community. Parents of non-participating young people are invited to speak with parents of participating youth, supporting the family structure. Youth also identified the need for specific workshops for girls as a strategy to increase their participation; these were subsequently added to the program.

Macedonia: Formulating a Common History and Future through Peace Education[192]

Despite avoiding ethnic violence when Macedonia achieved independence in the early 1990s, the country entered a period of crisis nearly ten years later as ethnic Albanian and Macedonian tensions escalated to violence. In August 2001, armed Albanians and Macedonian security forces signed the Framework Agreement at Ohrid, but many believe lasting peace will only be achieved when the two ethnic communities reconcile to form a unified populace.

Violeta Petroska-Beska of the Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution at the University of Skopje in Macedonia notes: "One of the key challenges facing the country is to extend this determination to promote cooperation from the political to the social level."[193] In order to accomplish this goal, civil society, with women at the forefront, are utilizing deliberate strategies to foster reconciliation and prevent the escalation of tensions. One of the key initiatives involves a re-writing of Macedonian history and the creation of an objective curriculum for Macedonian schools.

The Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, founded and directed by women, focuses on trainings for teachers and students and curriculum development for Macedonian schools from pre-kindergarten to the university level. The foundations of the curriculum were developed in partnership with Albanian, Macedonian, and Turkish educators and researchers, who—through a workshop conducted by the Center—came to a consensus on a common history. This process was praised by the Ministry of Education, particularly female representatives, and the US Institute of Peace, which supported the workshop: "No problem has troubled post-conflict societies more profoundly than how to teach about a conflict after a peace agreement is signed…The workshop for high school teachers was one of many steps needed to overcome prejudices and hostilities in Macedonia."[194]

> ***"No problem has troubled post-conflict societies more profoundly than how to teach about a conflict after a peace agreement is signed…The workshop for high school teachers [conducted by women] was one of many steps needed to overcome prejudices and hostilities in Macedonia".***
> –Daniel Serwer, US Institute of Peace, 2002

The curriculum project and other initiatives of the Center introduce multiculturalism into Macedonian schools and raise awareness among students and teachers of false stereotypes. They focus on acceptance and appreciation of various ethnic identities and provide techniques for peaceful conflict resolution. Petroska-Beska aptly concludes: "Peace education is preventive work."[195]

Kenya: Caring for HIV/AIDS-Affected Patients, Orphans, and Communities

As of 2003, over 1.5 million Kenyans have died of AIDS, leaving behind nearly 1 million orphans. This overwhelming human crisis continues, as the adult HIV infection rate in Kenya remains at approximately 10%.[196] Women form the backbone of care-giving for HIV/AIDS-affected patients and orphans throughout Kenya in both rural and urban areas—an enormous burden that has led women to band together to tackle the problem.

Women Fighting AIDS in Kenya (WOFAK) was formed in 1993 by ten women and has since grown to over 500 members; it works at the community and national level to assist female caretakers and alleviate the social stigma of AIDS.[197] Their programs include providing food and paying school fees for orphans and vulnerable children, training in home-based care for local women caregivers, counseling for those infected and affected by the disease, outreach and awareness-raising programs primarily focused at girls and young women, and the development of alternative traditional treatments and therapies. WOFAK operates primarily in the slum area of Kayole in the capital where there is not a single AIDS clinic. The organization sponsors five home-based care practitioners who support 100-200 clients.[198]

In the nearby slum of Mathare, there is increased access to hospitals and clinics, so women's groups focus on transporting patients and delivering medicines and food. In this area, the network GROOTS Mathare was formed as a coalition of

26 women's self-help groups; over 100 of its members have been trained in home-based care-giving for HIV/AIDS patients. One of their self-described "greatest accomplishments" is their partnership with youth.[199] One of GROOTS Mathare's members initiated Youths in Slums Aiming for Excellence (YSAFE), which uses poetry, drama, and music to raise awareness of AIDS among young people.

Another branch of GROOTS, in Kitui in the eastern province, was formed in 2000 by ten women, calling themselves Tei Wa W'o (True Mercy). Their efforts are also focused on awareness raising, training in home-based care, and providing for orphans; through nine sub-groups, the 220 members of Tei Wa W'o care for 60 patients and 150 orphans. The Huairou Commission, a network of grassroots NGOs, has documented their impact as follows:

> [Tei Wa W'o] ha[s] noticed that more relatives are taking in orphans since information on HIV/AIDS and orphan support has spread throughout the area. [The women] also feel that more people are being cared for in their homes and so are able to die with dignity. Tei Wa W'o told their visitors that because of their community trainings and workshops, everyone in their area knows about HIV/AIDS and that it has become 'the daily song' throughout Kitui.[200]

CHAPTER 4: RECOMMENDATIONS AND STRATEGIES TO SUPPORT WOMEN'S EFFORTS AND GENDER AWARENESS IN CONFLICT PREVENTION

The international community should be applauded for its words, documentation, and legal framework that recognizes women's activities. Those words must now be followed with action, supporting and advancing women's efforts to bring real, lasting peace and security to societies, communities, and households across the globe. The following section offers brief "best practices" and priority recommendations for the international community to support women's efforts at preventing violence and to integrate gender awareness into conflict prevention.

EARLY WARNING AND EARLY RESPONSE

Progress to address the gender aspects of early warning and response are in their infancy. With UNIFEM at the helm, a new system of gender indicators are being developed and piloted in conflict-affected areas including Colombia, the Ferghana Valley, and the Pacific Islands. In Colombia, for example, UNIFEM is developing gendered conflict indicators and mechanisms for information collection and analysis in partnership with the national government and civil society. The project draws upon the existing network of direct and indirect partner organizations to gather critical information and builds the capacity of women's networks to analyze information, disseminate findings, and advocate for a non-violent solution to conflict. The collected information serves to mainstream women's concerns

and gender-sensitive issues within the UN country team, its assessments, and the design and implementation of its programs.

In order to institutionalize a gender perspective in early warning and response, concrete steps for the international community include the following:

1) When conducting conflict analyses, recognize women as important actors and identify and utilize gender-based indicators for early warning.
2) Draw upon existing networks of women's organizations to gain information about conflict trends at the local level, their particular impact on women, and gender-sensitive priorities and action steps to mitigate violence.
3) Include gender experts and expertise in all international-level early response mechanisms including fact-finding missions, preventive site visits, "good offices," facilitator and mediator teams, and consensus-building exercises.
4) During the design of scenarios and the development of responses, address women's needs and concerns as part of the broader strategy to prevent violence.
5) When partnering with civil society for early response, ensure that women's organizations—those who are reaching the most vulnerable and the most susceptible to violence—are involved as key coordinators, decision makers, and program designers and implementers.

SECURITY

In recent months, significant attention has been directed to the protection of women and girls during military interventions and peace-keeping operations, in part because of reports of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peace-keepers in the eastern regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In March 2005, the Secretary-General's Advisor on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Peacekeeping Personnel released his report and strategy to eliminate misconduct in peace-keeping operations.[201] Subsequently, in May 2005, the Security Council held its first-ever public meeting devoted exclusively to sexual exploitation and abuse by peace-keepers and pledged to "consider including provisions for prevention, monitoring, investigation, and reporting of misconduct cases in its resolutions establishing new mandates or renewing existing mandates."[202] DPKO, in particular, has taken a number of steps to ensure this does not happen again, including raising the level of gender expertise and gender-sensitive policies at headquarters and in field missions, as detailed in previous sections.

With regard to DDR, various institutions have recognized that women play varying roles during war, including as combatants. Although gender-sensitive design and implementation of DDR processes has been slower, there have been advances. In Haiti, due to a consultative process that included the donor community, UN agencies, the women's ministry, and women's organizations, the UN mission incorporated women's participation directly into its mandate, including the establishment of the DDR program.[203] In 2004 in Liberia, certain DDR assembly points were successful in meeting the requirements of Resolution 1325: the site was fenced; separate compounds were provided for women, men, girls, and boys; gender-specific assessments were taken; and counseling services were offered.[204]

Women's role in preventing violence years after the signing of a peace agreement, and in countries "at peace," is also increasingly recognized. In Guatemala, the government formed a National Program for Disarmament in 2004 that included the defense ministry, the interior ministry, the national police, the judiciary, and the official human rights office. It also included relevant parliamentary committees and a woman-led NGO, Institute de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible (IEPADES), that consulted with the government to form the commission and will assist in implementation of its activities.[205] Experts note that "this broad participation has allowed the national commission to go beyond its important work on traditional small arms control to also include public awareness raising and prevention activities."[206]

In order to institutionalize the promotion of women's role in establishing and maintaining security in conflict-affected and "peaceful" countries, the international community should take the following steps:

1) Ensure that gender units are established and well-resourced in peace-keeping missions; explicitly task the gender advisor to connect with local women's organizations in order to capitalize on their knowledge, expertise, and networks.
2) To ensure effective DDR, increase financial and technical assistance to women's groups at the local level who are taking on the burden of reintegrating combatants, including children and youth.
3) To make the security sector more transparent and accountable, consult with women and civil society actors from the earliest stages of reform, and provide capacity building to women in official positions to engage in security issues.

4) In post-conflict missions, ensure that national institutions, including the police and the judiciary, consult and coordinate with women's organizations to prevent, respond to, and address the rise in gender-based violence.
5) In countries at war and peace, support women's organizations to design creative weapons collection programs, educate the community of the dangers of small arms, and rehabilitate victims.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

In recent years, recognition of the importance of women's political participation following armed conflict has exponentially risen. As noted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), "the last five years have seen post-conflict countries feature prominently in the top 30 of the IPU's world ranking of women in national parliaments."[207] The international community can be particularly effective in supporting women's efforts to promote human rights and good governance.

In fact, in several cases, international pressure has proved to be a key component in facilitating women's inclusion. In Afghanistan, for example, the UN, the United States, the World Bank, and others were driven by civil society and the media to address women's rights and needs as a critical component of the rebuilding of the country. As a result, six women (out of 60) participated in the UN-led negotiations in Bonn in 2001. Their presence and pressure from the international community and women in civil society, led to a series of initial achievements for women, including:

- The restoration of the 1964 constitution, which delineated various rights for women, including the right to vote and to serve in parliament;
- The creation of a women's ministry;
- The appointment by the new president of two women to ministerial positions (out of 29); and
- The presence of women in other transitional bodies, including the Emergency Loya Jirga in 2002 (200 of 1,650 delegate were women—as recommended at Bonn and nominated by civil society).[208]

Once in leadership positions, women are known to positively impact governance processes, as described above, ranging from fighting corruption to making constitutional processes more inclusive to bridging ethnic and political divides. To institutionalize international support for women's political participation, the following steps should be taken:

1) Ensure that women participate in all relevant meetings with international mediators and representatives overseeing the transition process; pressure the national government to utilize tools—such as quotas, reserved seats, political parties, or women's advisory committees—to guarantee women's representation in all committees, commissions, temporary ministries, and other interim structures.
2) During the drafting of the constitution, encourage parties to specifically note women and men's equality, drawing from international legal instruments; recognize and support women's creative solutions to merge traditions, beliefs, and customs with legal guarantees of women's rights in the constitution.
3) To encourage and support their leadership, provide technical assistance to women candidates for political office at national and local levels on issues ranging from organizational management to campaigning to democratic processes.
4) Recognize that women officials and civil society representatives may be targets of violence for their activism and leadership; work with the national government and civil society to design protection mechanisms to enable women's political participation and outspokenness for human rights and democracy.
5) Channel resources to civil society organizations, particularly women's groups, engaged in nonviolent conflict resolution—especially those that reach across ethnic, religious, or party lines.

JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

Women have made critical advances in international law to obtain justice for victims of sexual and gender-based violence during war. First, in large part due to an international advocacy movement of women's and human rights organizations, tribunals were created for Rwanda and for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Court was established. After the formation of these forums, advocacy continued to ensure adequate redress for women victims, leading to the explicit recognition of rape as a war crime in both tribunals and in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

The participation of women in official positions within these tribunals—as judges, investigators, lawyers, and staff—and the inclusion of gender expertise has led to significant advances for women in international law. At the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, various mechanisms were created to

mainstream a gender perspective into the work of the tribunal. First, a gender advisor was appointed to the Office of the Prosecutor; second, a temporary field team was established to specifically investigate gender-based crimes; and third, women judges were elected to the bench. Gender-sensitive judges and staff drafted rules of procedure to protect and counsel victims of sexual violence, and a woman judge was on the bench in every court case that resulted in significant redress of sex crimes (against men as well as women).[209]

To support women's participation and the inclusion of a gender perspective in transitional justice and reconciliation, the international community should take the following steps:

1) Support the documentation and prosecution of women's human rights violations, consistent with international laws and standards; institutionalize a system within the transitional justice process to address them.
2) At the international level, design mechanisms to gather evidence, protect witnesses, and report proceedings that meet the specific needs and concerns of women; at the national level, pressure governments to do the same.
3) Draw on the expertise of women's groups to train international, national, and local staff that will design and implement transitional justice programs, particularly with regard to gender-sensitive issues and sexual violence.
4) As discussions begin for the reform of the judicial, legal, and police systems, ensure that civil society, and women in particular, are consulted.
5) Provide financial and technical assistance to local women's organizations in their efforts to promote reconciliation and healing at the grassroots level, serving as links to official transitional justice processes.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It is important to comprehend the critical impact of providing women with post-conflict assistance, for data shows that income in the hands of women benefits families and communities significantly more than men. Experts note: "Increases in female income improve child survival rates 20 times more than increases in male income…Likewise, female borrowing has a greater positive impact on school enrollment, child nutrition, and demand for healthcare than male borrowing."[210] Similarly, partnering with women's organizations helps to ensure that funds will reach the target community while meeting the goal of women's empowerment.

Immediately following a ceasefire and peace agreement, implementation committees, donor conferences, and other forums are initiated to begin the reconstruction process. At this early stage, the international community can take steps to include women's priorities in the reconstruction process. In preparation for the April 2005 donors' conference on Sudan in Oslo, UNIFEM, together with the Norwegian government and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, conducted a consultative process with a diverse group of Sudanese women, culminating in a common platform for action and a series of recommendations.[211] UNIFEM also provided two gender advisors for the Joint Needs Assessment, on which donor commitments were based. At the time of publication, organizers note that donors have become more sensitized to the need to monitor funding in order to ensure implementation of commitments to gender equality. In addition, the gender experts in the JAM developed an analysis, recommendations, and gender-responsive costing for each of the eight JAM clusters, informing its final report, the Framework for Sustained Peace, Development, and Poverty Eradication.[212]

In order to institutionalize the importance of women's role in promoting socio-economic development, the international community should undertake the following steps:

1) In the earliest stages of reconstruction, provide a forum for women to convene, assemble an agenda of women's priorities, and disseminate this agenda to policy-makers; ensure women are consulted and gender expertise is included in needs assessments, donor conferences, and other priority-setting mechanisms.
2) Partner with women's organizations and the women's ministry to explore creative mechanisms to include women in public works projects.
3) Support capacity building for medical staff to address the specific needs of women and girls affected by sexual violence and HIV/AIDS.
4) In partnership with local groups, support the development of peace education curriculum that also advances the principles of human rights and gender equality.
5) Provide financial and technical support to women's organizations as they seek to design and implement programs for socio-economic development for the most vulnerable members of the population, including children, youth, the infirm, and the elderly.

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ANNEX 2: POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS THAT PROMOTE WOMEN'S ROLE IN CONFLICT PREVENTION

As international awareness of the impact of war on women has increased, so have the tools and policies to protect women and ensure their participation in conflict prevention and peace-building. Actors ranging from the United Nations to local civil society are creating structures and mechanisms to address these issues. This annex first outlines the legal foundation and then describes how key actors and institutions are benefiting from a gender perspective in their work on conflict prevention.

LEGAL FOUNDATION

When discussing tools and policies to promote women's role in conflict prevention, it is useful to begin with the international legal foundation and its instruments. As Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1366 (2001) were discussed in detail in Chapter One, they are not repeated in this annex.

Beijing Platform for Action

In 1995, Beijing hosted the Fourth World Conference on Women. In an unprecedented display of solidarity, 40,000 women delegates from civil society joined with 6,000 official governmental delegates to discuss the situation of women worldwide and recommend steps for the international community to advance women's rights and position in society.[213] Member states issued the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, highlighting twelve areas for concern. While not binding, state signatories committed to fulfill the obligations and recommendations of the document.

Chapter IV-E of the Platform for Action explicitly addressed women and armed conflict, outlining strategic objectives to "increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation" and to "promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace."[214] Follow-up forums included a Special Session of the UN General Assembly to conduct Beijing +5 review in 2000. This reiterated the commitments regarding women's participation in conflict prevention and peace-building. The Beijing +10 review in 2005 noted that while some progress has been made in this area, "new and consistent approaches are needed to increase women's full and effective participation in all aspects of peace processes."[215]

Millennium Development Goals

In preparation for the 2000 Millennium Summit, Secretary-General Kofi Annan released his vision for the UN in the twenty-first century in a report entitled, *We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*.[216] This document laid the foundation for the Millennium Declaration, adopted on 18 September 2000, by 189 member states.[217] It outlines their commitment to achieving eight core Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. UN member states resolved "to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger, and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable."[218]

To move the agenda forward, the Secretary-General commissioned the Millennium Project. Its concrete recommendations were released in 2005 in *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*, which includes a chapter on the value added by civil society's participation.[219]

The Millennium Project has divided its work into task forces, one of which researches and reports on progress related to achieving Goal #3: gender equality. The task force explicitly identified women and girls in conflict and post-conflict settings as one of three key subpopulations for which support is critical to realizing the MDGs.[220] This nexus between gender, security, and development is an important concept. As recently noted by the Secretary-General: "We will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights."[221]

UN General Assembly Resolution 336 (2003)

In 2003, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 336 on the prevention of armed conflict. This resolution was a vital step in bringing the prevention agenda to the forefront. The resolution also explicitly addresses "the important role that women, in their various capacities, and with their expertise, training and knowledge, can play with regard to the prevention of armed conflict, in all its aspects, and calls for the strengthening of that role in all relevant institutions at the national, regional and international levels."[222]

Outcomes of the Commission on the Status of Women

Another important instrument is the language compendium on gender and conflict prevention agreed upon at the 2004 meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women.[223] One of the thematic issues focused specifically on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management, and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building. Civil society groups worked to bring together existing language from the UN, governments, and civil society in a language compendium. It is an important toolkit that enables local women's advocacy groups to gain more access to the international community and strengthens the global networks of communication between women engaged in grassroots conflict prevention, providing them with a common language for advocacy.

POLICIES OF AGENCIES ACTING TO PREVENT CONFLICT

As the legal foundation for women's participation in conflict prevention and peace-building has evolved, so, too, have the tools, policies, and implementation efforts of relevant international and regional organizations.

United Nations

A number of agencies and organs of the global body are engaged in conflict prevention efforts. They are convened under the umbrella of the UN Interdepartmental Framework for Coordination on Early Warning and Preventive Action. The purpose of the Framework Team is to act as a catalyst, draw early attention to conflict, and initiate immediate action. The group coordinates the relevant agencies, but does not conduct operational programs. Rather, it passes on responsibilities to relevant implementing agencies and actors. The attention of the Framework Team is guided by three criteria: an early conflict prevention situation (not a recurrence of violence), the absence of other efforts, and a UN Country Team on the ground. Although UNIFEM is a member of the team, there is no mechanism for direct civil society input.

Department of Political Affairs

The Department of Political Affairs (DPA) provides advice and support on all political matters to the Secretary-General in the exercise of his global responsibilities under the Charter relating to the maintenance and restoration of peace and security. DPA monitors and analyzes political situations throughout the world, identifying potential or actual conflicts, and recommends to the Secretary-General appropriate actions for such situations where the UN could play a role in their prevention or resolution. DPA is the lead UN department in activities related to early warning, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, post-conflict peace building, electoral assistance, counter-terrorism and the provision of substantive support to the Security Council and its subsidiary organs. In partnership with the United Nations Development Programme, DPA works to build the capacity of country teams, regional groups, and national actors to prevent conflict. DPA also provides funds for projects aimed at conflict prevention through the UN Trust Fund for Preventive Action against Conflict; one such grant was issued to the Mano River Women's Peace Network in West Africa, discussed in detail in this report. DPA coordinated the Secretary-General's reports on conflict prevention in 2001 and 2003, both which directly address the role of women in conflict prevention. DPA co-sponsored the July 2005 conference on the role of civil society in prevention efforts.

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs[224]

With a mission to mobilize humanitarian aid, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) operates an Early Warning Unit to identify potential complex emergencies. The office produces bi-weekly early warning reports, regular alerts when necessary, and a quarterly early warning risk matrix in collaboration with its partners. OCHA shares this information with country teams and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, which coordinates humanitarian assistance, to ensure that the UN system is better prepared to respond. Several NGOs are members of the committee and its Gender Task Force, including the International Committee of the Red Cross. OCHA developed a gender policy and action plan in 2004. This was followed by the appointment of a senior gender adviser at headquarters and gender focal points in field offices.

Department for Peacekeeping Operations

The activities of the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) are designed to support peaceful transitions towards the building of sustainable peace in post-conflict environments. Through preventive deployment, stabilization of volatile situations, and monitoring the implementation of peace agreements, DPKO missions operationalize prevention. Since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325, which directly addressed gender and peace-keeping, DPKO has increased its focus on gender issues and women's participation. It has pledged to mainstream gender throughout its operations, as outlined in a policy statement by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. A gender adviser has been appointed at DPKO headquarters, and a number of tools and resources to enhance staff capacities for gender mainstreaming, including a gender resource package, have been developed.[225] Although ten missions have a dedicated gender advisory capacity (out of 17 current peace-keeping operations), the Secretary-General has appointed only two women as heads of mission (in Burundi and Georgia).[226]

United Nations Development Programme

The goal of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is to mainstream conflict prevention into development through the activities of the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (BCPR), regional and thematic

bureaus, and in-country peace and development advisors. UNDP raises awareness of the importance of conflict prevention and designs operational tools and practical approaches for peace-building. This information is shared with country teams and relevant partners through technical support and capacity building in conflict assessment, early warning, conflict analysis, and conflict-sensitive programming. BCPR has created and piloted a Conflict-Related Development Analysis (CDA) tool for country offices to analyze, design, and review programs in a participatory manner, examining conflict causes and dynamics and the impact of policies and development activities in order to develop conflict-sensitive national and local interventions.[227] Within the framework, Security Council Resolution 1325 is explicitly referenced, and women's organizations are identified as "potential conflict managers."[228] This builds upon UNDP's standard policy of engagement with civil society. Through its Civil Society Division, UNDP provides technical and financial support to NGOs in post-conflict areas and documents best practices of UNDP-civil society partnerships.[229] As part of a 2002-2005 small grants program to support Colombian civil society efforts to mitigate conflict, three of the six recipients were women-led organizations or women's networks.[230]

United Nations Development Fund for Women

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provides financial and technical assistance to foster women's empowerment and gender equality. As one strategic area, UNIFEM is committed to promoting the participation of women in all aspects of peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction, and conflict prevention. To fulfill this mandate, UNIFEM supports women's peace-building activities in conflict areas worldwide; promotes the inclusion of a gender perspective in information gathering through gender-based needs assessments and its Women, War, and Peace Web Portal www.WomenWarPeace.org; and is piloting gender-based early warning analysis in key conflict areas.

In 2004, UNIFEM issued a full report on its activities to implement Security Council Resolution 1325, ranging from prevention and early warning efforts to post-conflict justice mechanisms.[231] UNIFEM also maintains a "1325 Toolbox" that tracks implementation and offers advocacy tools and guidance for civil society.[232]

The World Bank

The World Bank's attention to conflict-sensitive development is relatively new. In 2001, the Bank drafted an operational policy on development cooperation and conflict and established the Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit.[233] This office designs programs specific to conflict-affected countries. Within this structure, the Post-Conflict Fund provides direct reconstruction aid following war and accepts applications from in-country NGOs. An independent analysis of Post-Conflict Fund grants found that, as of 2004, only 4.67% of approximately $67 million was targeted to women, and only 10 of 301 projects of the Unit was directed specifically toward women.[234] In 2005, the Bank released a lengthy review of its activities for gender, conflict, and development. Co-authored by the head of the Unit, the report offers lessons learned, best practices, and policy options to advance gender-sensitive programming in conflict situations.[235]

G8

In 2001, the G8 Roma Initiatives on Conflict Prevention recalled and built on the Beijing Platform and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 to focus on the contributions of women to conflict prevention. Building on their resolve to "nurture a 'Culture of Peace'" during the G8 Summit in 2000,[236] the resolution "emphasizes the importance of the systematic involvement of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, as well as women's full and equal participation in all phases of conflict prevention, resolution and peace-building."[237]

Regional Organizations

Across continents, regional organizations are also taking action to prevent conflict.

European Union

In 2000, the European Parliament passed a resolution on the participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution.[238] The resolution not only recognized how women and girls are uniquely at risk to forms of gender-based violence but also the exceptional contributions of women to preventing armed conflict. This text emphasized the gender-related aspects of prevention and served as another tool

to promote women's role as peace-builders. It also reinforces European governments' commitments to implementing other international resolutions.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Based in Paris, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is a forum for 23 donor countries to collect data, produce research and analysis, share information, and generate recommendations and international instruments for effective development cooperation. In 2001, DAC issued a set of guidelines, *Helping to Prevent Conflict*, which includes chapters on integrating a conflict prevention lens in development programming, establishing partnerships with civil society, and recognizing women as stakeholders and peacemakers.[239]

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

The 55 member states of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) are committed to three dimensions of security—political-military, economic and environmental, and human. Its activities address early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict reconstruction through field missions in conflict-affected countries. At headquarters, the Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC) coordinates activities and liaises with the field missions. The OSCE Gender Action Plan was adopted by participating states in 2000 to ensure gender mainstreaming throughout the organization. With regard to field missions, it recommends the appointment of a gender focal point or coordinator to liaise with and support women's NGOs. In 2001, the gender adviser in the Secretariat issued guidelines promoting a gender perspective in post-conflict situations for OSCE field workers and decision-makers.[240]

African Union

The Peace and Security Directorate of the African Union (AU) is mandated with coordinating African and external initiatives for conflict prevention and resolution on the continent. Its tasks include deploying peace support operations, conducting diplomatic missions for mediation and negotiation, and establishing a continent-wide early warning system. The Women, Gender, and Development Directorate is tasked with gender mainstreaming throughout AU activities, including peace and security. This office aims to consult with a wide group of stakeholders and provides capacity-building opportunities for women's organizations. This includes programs intended to empower women to participate in peace processes.

Following intense advocacy and consultative meetings with women in civil society, the AU dedicated a large portion of its July 2004 session to the topic of gender equality. Leaders subsequently adopted the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, which establishes a fund for capacity building for African women. It also commits to "ensur[ing] the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes, including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN Resolution 1325 (2000) and to appoint women as Special Envoys and Special Representatives of the African Union…"[241]

Organization of American States

The countries of the Western Hemisphere convene under the auspices of the Organization of American States (OAS), which features democracy, human rights, and security as key goals for the region. The OAS employs a number of diplomatic tools to prevent escalating conflict in the region, such as third-party mediation teams, "good offices," treaties, and dispute resolution forums. Through the Office for the Prevention and Resolution of Conflicts, the OAS works with national governments and civil society to design programs related to conflict prevention and peace-building. Its initiatives range from regional forums for dialogue to capacity building to documentation of lessons learned. In cooperation with the OAS Inter-American Commission of Women and the NGO Women Waging Peace, the office is offering sub-regional training courses on gender, conflict, and peace-building to governmental officials, members of the security sector, political leaders, and civil society representatives in conflict-affected or unstable areas. This realizes OAS' commitment to women in the 2003 Declaration on Security in the Americas, which "reaffirm[s] the importance of enhancing the participation of women in all efforts to promote peace and security…"[242]

Donor Countries

Various donor countries have also developed polices and tools to promote the role of women in conflict prevention and peace-building. The following list is by no means comprehensive, but is a sample of bilateral commitments.

Government of Sweden

The Division for Peace and Security of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) monitors potential conflicts, ensures that development assistance is conflict-sensitive, and promotes peace and security through projects and programs. In 2004, Sida supported 107 interventions in this area. Valued at $105 million, these included funds channeled to civil society and targeted efforts to promote women's role in conflict prevention and peace-building.[243] Sida prioritizes support to civil society, directly and through international organizations. Its 2004 policy on partnership included a chapter dedicated to promoting civil society's role in conflict prevention.[244] Sida's 1997 policy for gender equality draws on the Beijing Platform for Action, and the agency currently supports civil society efforts to ensure implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325, the topic of the following section.[245]

According to a 2005 assessment commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish government "has long been active regarding the situation of women and girls in conflict and crises,…[and] measures aimed at addressing the particular needs and capacities of women in all phases of conflict have increased over time."[246] The report was written by independent experts in order to "intensify" Sweden's work in this area, specifically in the development of a national action plan to implement Resolution 1325.[247] Sweden's commitment to women's participation has been made evident in its leadership for the adoption of the UN General Assembly resolution on conflict prevention and the Committee for the Status of Women language on gender and peace-building. Advocacy efforts of women within Sweden contribute to the government's focus. For example, six religious and secular women's groups joined to form "Operation 1325," which aims to raise awareness of women and conflict issues, conduct capacity building, and influence policy-makers and practitioners in Sweden.[248]

Government of Canada

The Canadian government has founded its peace and security activities on the principles of human security. The Human Security Program of Foreign Affairs Canada offers financial and technical support for capacity building to prevent conflict at international, regional, and local levels. Since its establishment in 2000, the program has supported 300 projects on 5 continents, including initiatives specifically designed to enhance the role of women in conflict prevention.[249]

The program works in partnership with the Peacebuilding Initiative of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This department supports international and regional peace-building initiatives, deploys peace-keepers, integrates peace-building into general Canadian development efforts, and funds rapid-response peace-building activities through a standing Peacebuilding Fund. Emergency financing is available to UN agencies, regional organizations, national governments, as well as civil society groups. CIDA supports gender-sensitive programs in conflict areas, such as leadership training for women, awareness raising of gender-based violence, consensus building for women's peace organizations, and projects to galvanize women's participation in political processes.

The International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC) also offers support to NGOs in the form of grants for research and documentation of peace, conflict, and development activities. This support also target issues related to gender and peace-building, such as a recent report, *Engendering Reintegration Programs for Ex-Combatants in Colombia: A Study of Experiences between 1990 and 2003.*[250] The Canadian government is firmly committed to Security Council Resolution 1325, as outlined in *Gender Equality and Peacebuilding: An Operational Framework*, issued by CIDA in 2001.[251] In addition, Canada formed a national tri-partite committee of parliamentarians, civil society representatives, and government officials specifically to implement Security Council Resolution 1325. The government has also led the New York-based Friends of 1325 group.

Government of Norway

Norway contributes to 1325 implementation in a unique way; often serving as an impartial third-party mediator to negotiations, Norway has been able to directly influence parties at the peace table. In Sri Lanka, Norway supported the formation of a Sub-Committee on Gender Issues in the negotiations between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Both parties appointed five women, and Norway provided an advisor and facilitator for the committee, which makes proposals and provides input into the main negotiations. Similarly, in the Philippines, with Norway's influence, 30 percent of negotiating delegates have been women, and in Haiti, approximately one-third of official participants in talks have been women.[252]

Government of the United Kingdom

Conflict prevention and resolution are addressed by the Conflict, Humanitarian, and Security Department (CHASE) of the Department for International Development (DFID), which develops policy, provides support, and directly manages relevant programs. CHASE aims to tackle the root causes of conflict, including gender inequality. In 2005, DFID conducted an in-house evaluation of its efforts to include and promote women in its conflict programming. The report found that although "DFID is supporting some ground-breaking initiatives in line with international gender equality and women's empowerment commitments," a lack of coordination, implementation, and gender-sensitive knowledge has hindered fulfillment of policies.[253]

In 2001, CHASE, the Ministry of Defence, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office convened Conflict Prevention Pools (CPPs), which fund and manage government contributions to conflict prevention and mitigation; in the Global Conflict Prevention Pool, there is a focal point for Security Council Resolution 1325. CHASE and the Global Conflict Prevention Pool also supports various UN initiatives to advance Resolution 1325, including a multi-year Women, Peace, and Security program with UNIFEM and a gender mainstreaming strategy at DPKO.

The United Kingdom has directed resources toward implementing Resolution 1325 domestically by providing compulsory training on gender and human rights to all UK military and police officers assigned to overseas missions. In addition, the UK conducts relevant programs in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan, East Timor, and Iraq ranging from political participation to care for sexual violence victims to engendering new police forces.

Government of the United States

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Department of State issued a joint strategy paper for 2004-2009. The agencies noted the importance of women's needs and concerns to US foreign policy at several points, including with regard to humanitarian response: "We will ensure that local women are involved in the solution."[254]

The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM) was established within USAID to support a range of crisis response and conflict mitigation activities, including the development of early warning and response protocols,

mediation of disputes and facilitation of peace negotiations, and capacity building for conflict prevention and resolution. At the time of publication, the office was preparing to publish a "gender and conflict toolkit"—one in a series of thematic guides.

At the Department of State, the Office of International Women's Issues (IWI) is devoted to the coordination and integration of "women's issues" throughout US foreign policy, including the realm of peace and security. The mission of the Office is often hindered by the fact that it does not operate programs nor have funds to distribute for programs. One notable exception is the recent $10 million allocation from re-programmed Coalition Provisional Authority funds to conduct an Iraqi women's initiative.[255] With these funds, IWI distributed seven grants to organizations on the ground in Iraq for programs that included coalition building, political participation, advocacy, economic empowerment, and media.

Conflict-Affected Governments

Several countries in conflict or emerging from conflict are actively taking steps to promote women's role in conflict prevention and implement Security Council Resolution 1325. Azerbaijan, for example, has outlined specific steps in its national action plan to raise awareness and undertake measures to promote women's role in conflict prevention and peace-building. In 2002, "Coalition 1325" was formed by women parliamentarians, the UNIFEM office, media representatives, and civil society to conduct awareness raising and capacity building programs; as of 2004, 12 trainings and two roundtables in various regions had been carried out.[256] Complimenting this effort, women from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia have organized through the Southern Caucasus Regional Coalition to conduct peace-building workshops for approximately 3,000 women in urban and rural areas.[257]

Having held a seat on the Security Council during the adoption of Resolution 1325, Colombia is particularly dedicated to its implementation. The Presidential Council for Women's Equity and the Ministry of Foreign Relations launched an initiative in 2002 to disseminate the document throughout the government and raise awareness of the issue nationwide. At the local level, as of 2005, 130 Women's Community Councils were formed in 22 departments to promote women's participation, gender equality, and a peaceful solution to the ongoing conflict; members include mayors and other relevant government officials and

women in civil society—specifically representatives of traditionally marginalized groups, including Afro-Colombians, academics, peasants, indigenous peoples, the displaced, and youth.[258] A UNIFEM assessment notes that the councils have had a tangible impact; communities with councils have exhibited the "political will" to work toward the inclusion of a gender perspective in its activities, and some have enacted ordinances and decrees to that effect.[259]

Following the signing of the peace aggreement, Sierra Leone partnered with UNIFEM to ensure gender-sensitive justice. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in 2000 with an explicit mandate to "give special attention to the subject of sexual abuses…"[260] In response, UNIFEM worked with the national government to hold special sessions for women and actively seek out their testimony. Subsequently, a Women's Task Force was established to create an atmosphere in which women could participate in the design of the truth commission and the special unit to investigate war crimes. It was made up of representatives from UN agencies, the police force, women's organizations, and other civil society groups.[261] The participation of women in the design process led to several important advances, including a witness protection program for victims of gender-based crimes, witness choice of venues (private or public), and submissions by women's organizations to the truth commission. The final report, publicly released in phases, will include a full chapter and recommendations regarding women, the armed conflict, and reconstruction.[262]

ANNEX 3: FULL TEXT OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000[263]

The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1) **Urges** Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2) **Encourages** the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3) **Urges** the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4) **Further** urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5) **Expresses** its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6) **Requests** the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7) **Urges** Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8) **Calls** on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:
The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

9) **Measures** that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

10) **Measures** that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

11) **Calls** upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention Security Council - 5 - Press Release SC/6942 4213th Meeting (PM) 31 October 2000 on the

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

12) **Calls** on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly
rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

13) **Emphasizes**: stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

14) **Calls** upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

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

16) **Reaffirms** its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

17) **Expresses** its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

18) **Invites** the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;
Requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

19) **Decides** to remain actively seized of the matter.

ABOUT THE INITIATIVES

Global Action to Prevent War is a transnational network of organizations and grassroots activists, active in over 53 countries. The coalition grounds the goal of conflict prevention in specific integrated phases of conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and disarmament over a three to four-decade period, and has included Resolution 1325 as a crucial element of preventing conflict since it was adopted in 2000.

The Global Action Program is divided into three main strands of activity. The first strand is an ongoing, comprehensive program of conflict prevention and conflict resolution measures, mainly non-military, that includes systematic buildup of the conflict reduction capabilities of multilateral organizations. This strand aims to reduce internal conflict of all kinds.

The second strand is a phased program of global disarmament, conventional and nuclear, accompanied by deliberate augmentation of the peacekeeping capabilities of international organizations. The objectives here are to reduce the possibility of interstate war and genocide and gradually to shift the responsibility for international security to multilateral peacekeeping and legal institutions. The third strand consists of continuing support for the culture of peace.

The Global Action program is a coalition-building platform for individuals, civil society groups, and governments everywhere. Some components of the program, such as cuts in conventional and nuclear arms or multilateral action against aggression and genocide, concern mainly governments and civil society working in combination. Other components, such as those dealing with nonviolent conflict resolution and peace education, can be
implemented separately by individuals and state and local communities as well as by national governments.

For more information and to access our full program, please visit the Global Action Web site at www.globalactionpw.org.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is the oldest women's peace organization in the world. It was founded in April 1915, in the Hague, the Netherlands, by some 1300 women from Europe and North America, from countries at war against each other and neutral ones, who came together in a Congress of Women to protest the killing and destruction of the war then raging in Europe.

WILPF is an international Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) with National Sections in 37 countries, covering all continents. Its International Secretariat is based in Geneva with a New York UN office. Its aims and principles are:

- to bring together women of different political beliefs and philosophies who are united in their determination to study, make known and help abolish the causes and the legitimization of war;

- to work toward world peace; total and universal disarmament; the abolition of violence and coercion in the settlement of conflict and its replacement in every case by negotiation and conciliation;

- to support the civil society to democratize the United Nations system; to support the continuous development and implementation of international and humanitarian law; to promote political and social equality and economic equity;

- to contribute towards co-operation among all people; and

- to enhance environmentally sustainable development.

Believing that under systems of exploitation these aims cannot be attained and a real and lasting peace and true freedom cannot exist, WILPF makes it one of its missions to further by non- violent means the social and economic transformation of the international community. This would enable the establishment of economic and social systems in which political equality and social justice for all can be attained, without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion, or any other grounds whatsoever.

WILPF works on issues of peace, human rights and disarmament at the local, national and international levels, participating in the ongoing international debates on peace and security issues, conflict prevention and resolution, on the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and the promotion and protection of human rights. It contributes to analysis of these issues, and through its many activities, educates, informs and mobilizes women for action everywhere.

For more information, please visit WILPF's Web site at www.wilpf.ch and the Web site of the PeaceWomen project at www.peacewomen.org.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS |

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Lanka, women's organizations are holding village-level workshops for 50 women (and occasionally one or two men) in full-day sessions on how to implement 1325 in the peace process. They have also drawn upon the resolution to successfully advocate for women's inclusion in tsunami recovery efforts. In Kosovo, women's organizations sponsored 20 television shows to raise awareness of 1325, making it accessible across the country.

[25] In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, women's groups advocated before their government and the UN mission to ensure a gender component and perspective in peace negotiations and UN structures. Women distributed 1325 to all delegates and experts at the Inter-Congolese Dialogue and continue to partner with the gender adviser at the UN mission to translate and disseminate the resolution through dialogue, print, TV, and radio.

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[264] Portions of this analysis and text may have appeared in other publications by the author (C.P. Conaway) for organizations including Hunt Alternatives Fund (www.womenwagingpeace.net), the United States Institute of Peace (www.usip.org), the UN Development Fund for Women (www.unifem.org), and the UN Population Fund (www.unfpa.org).