
Women, Peace and Security: A Policy Audit

*From the Beijing Platform for Action to UN Security Council
Resolution 1325 and Beyond*

Achievements and Emerging Challenges

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FOREWORD

A WOMEN'S AUDIT ON PEACE AND SECURITY

This report is part of a broader International Alert programme to develop an auditing framework through which the responses of the international community to women's needs in conflict and post-conflict situations, and support for their peacebuilding efforts can be monitored, enhanced and encouraged. The paper provides an initial overview of some international instruments and outlines achievements and challenges at the global level. However, the real value of international instruments is in their practical application at regional and national levels. Instruments and mechanisms become more relevant and meaningful when they have an impact on women's lives and provide a framework for women to engage in policy change processes and also to demand accountability. The Women's Peace Audit is an attempt to work with women's organisations and civil society institutions, sharing their experiences on a global level and drawing on the lessons learnt in communities in order to impact global processes.

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) was an important benchmark which created an internationally-endorsed document highlighting the needs and rights of women in situations of armed conflict. It also suggested recommendations for action to ensure women's protection and participation in all decision-making processes. It specifically upholds a variety of international instruments, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; it builds on the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and on a number of Resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and recognises a wide range of either international agreements and declarations on specific themes.

But as the 2000 Beijing +5 Review of the BPFA revealed, few states have acted to implement the obligations they undertook in 1995. Despite the escalation of violence in many parts of the world, little is being done by governments and multilateral organisations to stem the violence against, and deliberate victimisation of, women in war, or to include women's voices in peace negotiations. This apparent lack of commitment to basic principles and rights reflects badly on member states as international actors and on the UN as an institution, and also means that women remain excluded from many opportunities to contribute to peacebuilding.

In contrast to the lack of action by governments, the UN Fourth World Conference on Women and the process that led to it galvanised women's organisations world-wide and resulted in the flowering and growth of a vibrant women's peace movement that spans all regions—from Asia to the Middle East, Europe, Africa and the Americas. From grassroots activism to international networks and campaigns, women's organisations have brought new energy and focus to peacebuilding and have engaged other international and regional policy-making institutions.

In Africa, leading women and women's groups have successfully advocated for the formation of the Women's Committee on Peace and Development in the Organisation for African Unity. Within the OSCE countries, women's organisations have played a key role in bringing gender to the forefront of peace and reconstruction processes, including the formation of a Gender Task Force in the Balkans. In Europe, NGOs such as the International Fellowship for Reconciliation and International Alert have been leaders in calling for a European Parliamentary Resolution on *The Gender Aspects of Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding*. At the UN level, the Namibian presidency and other governments of the Security Council, the UN Secretariat and UNIFEM, together with a group of NGOs, (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Amnesty International, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Hague Appeal for Peace and International Alert) worked with women's organisations on the ground for the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 which addresses the concerns of women on gender, peace and security issues.

Unfortunately, the peace work that women do is still largely invisible to the eyes of the world's media and policy-makers. Ultimately, scepticism and ignorance about women's contributions and potential roles in preserving peace and resolving conflict not only hamper attempts to attain gender equality, but also hinder efforts to achieve sustainable peace and security.

With this background, International Alert, together with other NGOs, launched the global campaign *Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table*. An underlying principle of the campaign has been to ensure that the issues upon which it focuses, and the strategies and activities embarked upon, are all discussed and agreed following consultation with focal points in all regions, in order to ensure that its agenda is driven by those who are actually affected by conflict.

The 'Women's Peace Audit,' launching the second phase of the campaign integrates the **participation, policy** and **partnership** pillars. It seeks to develop an effective means of monitoring, through local organisations and experts from civil society and governments, the implementation of national and international commitments, and to ensure that peacebuilding and security programmes are gender-sensitive.

Following a set of six consultations over a four-month period, it became clear that there is growing demand among many of the campaign's focal points for support and assistance in their attempts to impact national, regional and international policy processes. They are also calling for greater accountability on the part of governments and multilateral agencies that have made commitments to address women's needs and concerns in conflict, but have failed to implement these commitments effectively.

This programme will also help deepen International Alert's partnerships with local organisations by supporting their efforts towards developing regional and country-specific assessments of policy implementation and advocacy strategies that will enhance their capacities to influence those national,

regional and international bodies and processes which directly impact their lives.

There is a firm conviction that not only can women's experiences contribute towards the formulation of more effective policies, but also that women can play a critical role in the implementation and success of those policies in the regions affected. This conviction stems from the successes that women's groups have had in a number of regional and international policy-making processes. For example, the inclusion of rape and gender-based violence as war crimes and crimes against humanity in rules and statutes governing the International Criminal Court, is clearly due to the contributions of women's groups world-wide led by the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice. In countries such as Guatemala and South Africa where women's organisations succeeded in impacting peace and reconstruction policies, their positive contribution is evident in a range of areas including: disarmament and demobilisation of soldiers; security sector reform; the provision of equal rights and opportunities in constitutional law; and the increased participation of women in high-level decision-making. Although these examples are relatively few and far between, they demonstrate that where women have the access and capacity to address policy processes, they can make a difference.

The Women's Peace Audit will include consultative meetings with women's organisations, a mapping exercise of international and regional policy commitments, frameworks and documents relating to conflict, peace and security from a gender perspective. It will also facilitate in-country workshops with local women's organisations, other civil society institutions, governments and multi-lateral agencies in order to analyse the implementation and impact of those policy commitments and identify ways in which they can be influenced so that women's needs and gender issues are fully integrated. It will ultimately lead to the development of a methodology for the analysis and documentation of know-how, experiences and strategies of women in conflict prevention and resolution, peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery.

This paper should be seen as a tool and as a contribution to the work that many groups and organisations are undertaking in this field. There have been numerous initiatives world-wide to address the issue of government compliance and accountability in relation to commitments made to women, both those which have received much attention in the media, and those about which little is known. While the work is ongoing, there has been some progress. Indeed, in October 2001, we will witness the first anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325 and eagerly anticipate the first report by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on its implementation. One thing is certain. Women and civil society organisations will continue monitoring, contributing concrete solutions and demanding compliance.

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Women at the Peace and Negotiation Table

1. Include Senior Gender Advisers on all peace missions and high-level delegations.
2. Ensure that high-level delegations and international donors proactively seek out, consult and ensure the participation of women's organisations in peace processes.
3. Ensure fifty per cent women's participation at all stages and at all levels of peace processes.
4. Provide sustainable funds for strengthening women's leadership and peacemaking capacities.

Disarmament

1. Collect gender-disaggregated data to ensure better understanding of, and response to the impact of landmines, small arms and other weapons on women and girls.
2. Support research efforts to identify women's concerns and women's contributions to disarmament and demobilisation.
3. Provide systematic training to women and girls on landmine awareness.
4. Consult with women's groups in conflict zones to identify and support their actual and potential contributions to disarmament processes.

Addressing Impunity For Crimes Committed Against Women In War

1. Develop effective mechanisms and early warning and response processes to prevent gender-based violence, including the mandating of peacekeepers to protect women and girls.
2. All States should ratify and establish the International Criminal Court by 2005. A General Statement reflecting gender-based crimes must be included in the chapeau to the Elements of Crimes section of the ICC Statutes.
3. Develop mechanisms and procedures to ensure that domestic and international criminal procedures do not re-traumatize women in the process. These mechanisms should include:
 - Putting in place witness protection measures.
 - Providing psychological and/or medical support for witnesses.
 - Providing sensitivity training on gender-based violence to all judicial and law enforcement officials.

Protection of Women

1. Provide sustainable funds for the implementation of programmes aimed at refugee and internally displaced women and girls.
2. Provide training, monitoring and evaluation on the implementation of

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- guiding principles for internal displacement and protection of refugees.
3. Document good practices, know-how and lessons learned in ensuring the protection and participation of refugee and IDP women in programme planning, design, implementation and evaluation.
 4. Collate gender-disaggregated data among conflict-affected populations.
 5. Implement the Windhoek Declaration on Integrating Gender Perspectives in Multi-dimensional Peace Support Operations including:
 - The provision of general funds for the appointment of a Senior Gender Adviser in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations with full decision-making powers and budgetary responsibilities.
 - The inclusion of Senior Gender Advisors on every mission.
 - Identification of suitable female candidates at all levels (particularly senior posts) in all UN peacekeeping missions.
 - The inclusion of gender perspectives and the call for the protection of women in the mandates of all UN Peacekeeping Operations.
 - Gender training programmes for all peacekeeping personnel.

Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Reconciliation: Gender Considerations

1. In consultation with NGOs, develop guidelines for the integration of gender perspectives in all post-conflict recovery programmes, and ensure their implementation.
2. Ensure that civil society organisations, especially women's groups, are systematically consulted in the design, planning, implementation and evaluation of reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes.
3. Include a Senior Gender Adviser and Co-ordinator on every post-conflict recovery programme.
4. Support research efforts to identify the gender dimensions of post-conflict recovery processes.

Beijing +5, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Beyond

1. Governments and the UN should develop mechanisms to ensure that civil society and women's groups are consulted in all follow-up processes including the development of the Secretary-General's report and that the implementation of field-based actions are noted.
2. NGOs should continue monitoring the implementation of the Resolution at national and international levels, lobby for greater consultation with UN agencies in follow-up processes and produce shadow reports based on regional concerns.
3. Ensure that the Security Council assesses progress on these matters by October 2001, and regularly thereafter.



INTRODUCTION PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENTS SINCE BEIJING

This paper provides a brief review of the **Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA)** from the perspective of *Chapter E: Women and Armed Conflict*. It is not a definitive assessment. Rather, it seeks to highlight key achievements since 1995, progress and concerns arising during the Beijing +5 negotiations, the implications of the historic UN Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security (1325, October 31st 2000), and the most critical challenges and issues emerging in the context of women's experiences of armed conflict in the world today.

Women and Armed Conflict in 1995

At the gathering in Beijing, the war in Bosnia and the genocide in Rwanda were fresh in the minds and experiences of many participants. Although information about the strategic targeting of women was still limited and relatively new, the trends were alarming. It was of sufficient concern for all involved to accept that a new chapter should be added to the document that focused specifically on women's experiences in armed conflict. The recommendations that emerged highlighted three key areas of concern:

- 1.** The need for the protection of women was strongly emphasised. The wars being fought were internal, and ethnicity, religion and identity were at the heart of every conflict. At the time, figures released by the UN already indicated that women and children represented an estimated 80% of the world's refugee population. The threat of violence, the need for protection, participation in the planning and distribution of aid in refugee camps and rehabilitation processes were all clearly articulated.
- 2.** Issues relating to disarmament were addressed. In particular the need for a reduction of military spending, the transfer of military expenditure to peace and development, the ratification of international conventions on landmines, and nuclear weapons were emphasised.
- 3.** A new set of voices was being heard. Arising directly from their experiences in Northern Ireland and other conflict zones, women from civil society organisations were calling for the full inclusion of women in peace processes. As Ann Hope of the Northern Ireland Trade Union movement noted, it was important to ensure that women were not perceived as simply victims or as stereotypical 'peacemakers'. "We went to Beijing to ensure that women were recognised as *agents of change*" says Hope, five years later.

The Changing Nature of War

In the last five years the trends observed in 1995 have become more pronounced. The wars and conflicts of today are internal and transnational by nature, often rooted in unresolved historical disputes, but triggered by a combination of economic factors and the proliferation of arms. The protagonists are not easily identifiable. The landscape of conflict is crowded

with political ideologues, warlords, drug dealers, state and non-state actors, disenfranchised youth and young children. Mercenaries and private armies fight alongside or against rebel units, militias and often badly equipped national armies. The control of resources, be they diamonds, drugs or minerals, is at the heart of many conflicts in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The past five years have also witnessed changes in the international community's understanding and responses to conflict and complex humanitarian emergencies (CHEs). Humanitarianism is an accepted motivation for international action. There has been increasing acknowledgement of the links between development and security, and increased awareness of the need to address human security issues in the context of international peace and security discourse. This is exemplified in part by the increasing interest and focus on strategies for conflict prevention drawing on development and human security issues, and the UN Security Council's willingness to address issues such as humanitarian assistance, the spread of HIV/AIDS and children in situations of armed conflict under its mandate of peace and security.

Yet developments have been double-edged. As peacekeepers, predominantly combat soldiers are dispatched, so peace itself is becoming more militarised. The proliferation of small arms is exacerbating conflict-affected regions and populations. Violence and warfare have brought the spread of diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS. As people struggle to survive in refugee camps, the environment around them is destroyed. Trees are being cut down for firewood, leaving the topsoil exposed to the elements. Fertile lands are turning into dustbowls and minefields, unusable for generations to come.

Women, Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding in 2000

In the midst of these developments, women and children, civilians and the innocent have become the strategic targets. With the frontlines of conflict more likely to be villages and agricultural fields than traditional battlefields, 90% of war casualties are civilians. As identity is at the heart of so many wars, the abuse of women and girls has become a strategic objective. Their bodies have become the battlefields. The abuse they endure-rape, forced pregnancy and prostitution, torture and mutilation of their genitals-epitomises the goal to destroy the very heart and soul of a community. From Bosnia to Rwanda, rape victims have been shunned by their own families and communities for dishonouring their communal identity. The children born of this violence are scattered across the world.

Women also suffer indirect violence. When villages are attacked and homes looted, they are displaced and forced out of their homes and villages. With the social fabric of society ripped apart, women are often burdened with the responsibility of caring for their elderly and sick relatives, and those left behind. They suffer the pain of having sons and husbands lost and killed. In the aftermath of conflict, often over 50% of households are headed by women. Apart from coping with their own trauma, they are left with the sole responsibility of raising and educating children, earning a living, and caring for the wounded and maimed returning from war. It is a heavy burden to carry, yet too often little attention is paid to them.

But the last five years has also been witness to the flowering and growth of a vibrant women's peace movement that spans Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas. From grassroots activism to international networks and campaigns, women's organisations have brought new energy and focus to peacebuilding and to the women's movement. Despite the obstacles and difficulties they face, many have impacted local and national peace processes in positive ways. In Guatemala, women expanded the peace agenda bringing issues of social justice, land reform and equal rights to the heart of the discussions. In Liberia, after fourteen failed peace agreements, the Liberian Women's Initiative succeeded in mobilising national support and campaigning successfully for disarmament before elections. In Northern Ireland and South Africa, women's coalitions have infused the values of inclusiveness and public participation in the political dialogue. In Burundi, a coalition of Hutu and Tutsi women struggled to secure their place at the peace table, in spite of deep opposition from existing political factions. In Cyprus, the Middle East, the Balkans and South East Asia, women's networks bridge the conflict divides in their struggle for peace, despite threats, abuse and ridicule from traditional political structures.

Yet, in spite of the increasing information and knowledge surrounding women's experiences of conflict, relatively little systematic documentation of their peacebuilding efforts has been undertaken. The data collated is still not gender-disaggregated, thus there is little comprehensive information regarding women's experiences of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. The work they do is still largely invisible to the eyes of the world's media and policy-makers. Scepticism and ignorance about women's contributions continue to hamper policy and programmatic developments aimed at supporting and enhancing women's participation.

This paper is divided into six parts, addressing key areas of concern:

1. The participation of women in peace processes.
2. The protection of women.
3. Issues relating to justice and impunity.
4. Disarmament.
5. The gender dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.
6. Beijing +5, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Beyond.



“..[O]ver a ten year period, women worked across the divide. Attitudes, the hardest things to change in politics, slowly began to change...In my view, women have been crucial in getting to where we are in Northern Ireland.”

Dr. Mo Mowlam, UK

I. WOMEN AT THE PEACE AND NEGOTIATIONS TABLE

Strategic objective E.1 of the Beijing Platform for Action calls on the international community to “increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels.” It calls on governments and the international community to:

- Promote the equal participation of women and equal opportunities for women to participate in all forums and peace activities at all levels, particularly at the decision-making level, including within the United Nations Secretariat.
- Integrate a gender perspective in the resolution of armed or other conflicts and foreign occupation and aim for gender balance when nominating or promoting candidates for judicial and other positions in all relevant international bodies.
- Ensure that these bodies are able to address gender issues properly by providing appropriate training for prosecutors, judges and other officials in handling cases involving rape, forced pregnancy, indecent assault and other forms of violence against women in armed conflicts, including terrorism, and to integrate a gender perspective into their work.

Achievements

- **The UN System:** Within the UN system, UNIFEM has taken a strong lead in promoting women’s leadership and the need for training and capacity-building for women to participate in peace negotiations and conflict resolution processes. The agency’s initial efforts began in 1993 with the Africa Women in Crisis Umbrella Programme (AFWIC). Its aim was to build the capacities of internally displaced and refugee women in Africa for peace and development. Following Beijing, UNIFEM has developed and mainstreamed a comprehensive programme aimed at building the leadership and peacemaking capacities of women at all phases of the conflict and peace continuum. As part of this process the agency has been a key supporter of the Burundian women’s delegation at the Arusha Peace Talks, and a provider of technical assistance and training to Sudanese women involved in peace negotiations. UNIFEM has also been a strong supporter of regional networks, including the Federation of African Women’s Peace Networks, whose members have been involved in preventive diplomacy missions across Africa. In South Asia, the agency has assisted in the establishment of the Women for

Peace Network of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC). In Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), UNIFEM is actively encouraging dialogue and the strengthening of networks of regional women leaders involved in peace and security issues. Similar efforts are also under way in Latin America. In support of women's peace initiatives UNIFEM joined with International Alert in 1999 to launch the first ever Millennium Peace Prize for Women. The inaugural ceremony took place on International Women's Day, 8th March 2001. UNIFEM has also been a part of the UN Inter-agency initiative (Addis Ababa 1998), drawing out best practices in women's peacebuilding strategies. The focus of UNIFEM's biennial report, *Progress of the World's Women*, will be dedicated to women, peace and security in 2002, specifically documenting the impact of armed conflict on women and women's roles in peacebuilding. During preliminary meetings, the Advisory Committee for the report highlighted the need for new approaches, standards and analysis of the issues, including the need for negotiating minimum standards and sustaining the implementation process. Specific areas of concern discussed were the gender considerations in peacekeeping, early warning, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), HIV/AIDS, landmines, the role of local media, the management of refugee camps and other important issues that will be explored in more detail in the report.

- **UN Security Council:** In March 2000, Bangladesh, with UNIFEM's encouragement, introduced the issue of women's contributions to peace and security issues to the UN Security Council. For the first time in its fifty year history, the Council issued a statement (SC/6816) formally recognising that *the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security*. Following that statement NGOs, UN agencies, Security Council governments and others worked together to build consensus and support for a UNSC Resolution recognising the differential impact of conflict on women and their role in maintaining peace and security.

In October 2000, **Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security** was passed unanimously. This is a historic Resolution with a number of critical implications for both the protection of women in conflict zones and the inclusion of women's groups and civil society in peace processes. An Inter-Agency Task Force and an NGO Working Group are both currently monitoring its implementation.

- **Civil Society:** The BPFA re-energised the women's peace movement, spawning a multitude of new non-governmental organisations, grassroots groups and regional and international networks. From Guatemala to Cambodia it has been used by women as a framework for action, and a platform from which to launch their peace efforts. Still in spite of the uphill struggle, in conflict zones across the world, women have succeeded in getting to the peace table and engaging in peace negotiations processes. In Northern Ireland in 1996, women's grassroots

groups joined together to form the first women's political party, the **Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC)**. The party won seats in local elections and secured its place at the official peace negotiations table. In Liberia, the **Liberian Women's Initiative** was formed in 1994 and established itself as one of the most influential and respected civil society organisations, consulting with negotiators and informing the international community of the views, concerns, opinions and solutions provided by women. In the Middle East, **Jerusalem Link**, an organisation led by high-level Israeli and Palestinian women continues to engage in grassroots and national level peace efforts, offering parallel solutions to the ongoing official peace process. In South Africa, the transformation from apartheid to democracy was solidly supported by the women's vote (53% of the population) and women's full participation in all aspects of the negotiations.

International NGOs such as the **International Fellowship for Reconciliation** and **International Alert** have pioneered women's training programmes aimed at building women's capacities for conflict resolution, negotiations and leadership. Regional programmes and workshops have promoted the exchange and sharing of experiences, lessons learnt, and strategies for peacebuilding. In 1999 two campaigns were launched to promote women's peace efforts. **Women Waging Peace**, a US-based campaign bringing together women from 10 conflict regions, aims to build their capacities for leadership and advocate policy changes in the United States foreign policy agenda. "**Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table**," is a global campaign, rooted in civil society organisations around the world, aimed at raising public awareness and political support for the inclusion of women in peace and security planning.

On International Women's Day 2001, the *Women Building Peace* campaign organised and participated in two historic events. The first was the handover of 100,000 signatures from over 140 countries, signed by women, women's organisations and civil society groups working for peace and social justice, in support of women's demands for protection, participation in decision-making and an end to impunity for crimes committed against women. The second was the awarding of the first ever Millennium Peace Prize for Women to six outstanding women and women's organisations for their work in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. The winners were honoured at a high-level Award Ceremony organised by UNIFEM in New York. The campaign is now focused on a regional *Peace Audit*, an initiative designed to facilitate the monitoring and implementation of local, national and international standards related to women, peace and security, by local women's organisations who understand the context and history in which they are working. Engaging with partner organisations in the South Caucasus, Nepal and Nigeria, the first phase of the project will involve a mapping of key actors and regional policy instruments related to protection and security issues that women face. A report of the findings and policy recommendations will be available for International Women's Day 2002.

In celebration of the first anniversary of Resolution 1325, the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom** will be launching a website

dedicated to women, peace and security. It will serve as a clearinghouse for all of the initiatives and research being done on these issues and involve field-based consultations on the Resolution.

Regional Initiatives

- **Africa:** The BPFA also galvanised women leaders across the world to fight for *access to* and participation in peace and security issues. In 1998, The African Women Committee on Peace and Development (AWCPD) was established under the auspices of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). AWCPD aims to work in partnership with sub-regional entities such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) *and civil society groups from the region* to mainstream women's participation at all levels in conflict resolution, decision-making processes and development initiatives in states throughout the continent. At the time of writing AWCPD had completed its programme plans and aims to begin full operations in 2001, but lacks the necessary funds and political support.
- **Europe:** In Europe the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) took up the challenge with regard to its work in the Balkans. In June 1999 following the NATO attacks on Serbia and the Kosovo conflict, the European Union called upon the international community to devise a 'Stability Pact' to promote economic and democratic development in South Eastern Europe. Concerned that once again the voices of women would be ignored and a gender perspective neglected, an appeal was launched by the OSCE's Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Central and Eastern European (CEE) Network for Gender Issues for a Stability Pact Gender Task Force. They called for the direct and active participation of women in the development and implementation of the pact. Some 150 women's civil society groups from 10 countries throughout the region signed the appeal. The Gender Task Force (GTF) was formed in Autumn 1999. The GTF seeks to work in close partnership with both state and non-governmental organisations throughout the region and internationally. Its primary goals are: to promote women's political participation at national and regional levels and to ensure capacity building measures for women; to increase women's chances of standing for elections; and to strengthen national mechanisms for the promotion of gender equality in the region.

Within the European Union, progress has been made towards recognising the need for gender perspectives in development and relief processes. In 1995 the Development Council's Resolution on Integrating Gender Issues in Development Co-operation was passed. Amongst the key principles, it stated that *Gender analysis at macro, meso, and micro-levels must be mainstreamed in the conception, design and implementation of all development policies and interventions, as well as in monitoring and evaluation; political power-sharing and full and equal participation in decision-making must be promoted at all levels; and equal access to and control over social development opportunities must be fostered.*

This Resolution was followed by the Commission's Communication on Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development in April 1996, which recognised that the majority of contemporary complex emergencies stem from *“bad governance, failed economic policies and inappropriate development programmes...”* It concludes that *“there is a need for a strategic planning policy that comprises political, developmental, social and technical aspects,... [that] the policy framework should define...the way conflict prevention...can be incorporated into development operations and [that] **peacebuilding** must be an intrinsic element of development co-operation strategy.”*

In spite of the above statements, there has been a distinct lack of policy guidelines specifically linking gender to the implementation of relief and rehabilitation, structural stability and conflict prevention programmes. As a result, women continue to be marginalised both in terms of the assistance they receive, and in terms of the potential contributions they could make towards building structural stability. Since 1999 efforts have been underway to pass a Resolution on women and peacebuilding. In November 2000, the Resolution was adopted, advancing the efforts of women's groups, NGOs such as International Alert, worked with the Women's Rights Committee of the European Parliament in advocating for the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in peace and conflict prevention programmes, and the allocation of funds for women's civil society peacebuilding efforts.

Challenges

In spite of these developments, women's presence in official peace processes is still minimal. Even though the plight of women had captured the world's attention in Bosnia, at Dayton there were no Bosnian women on the negotiations teams. In Rambouillet, prior to the Kosovo bombings there was one woman present, despite the active participation of women's professional organisations in the non-violent movement. In Colombia, a single woman, a highly respected former Prime Minister in the government delegation, was removed from the talks process, following unfavourable media reports. In March 2000, of the 34 UN Special Representatives or Special Envoys appointed to regions of conflict, none were women.

Peace itself is becoming more militarised as the international community increasingly relies on peacekeepers, soldiers and military units to 'bring' peace. Resources for social and economic development are limited compared to those available for military purposes. Internationally, despite positive changes, there is still a lack of political will to recognise women's contributions to peace and acknowledge their right to participate in decision-making processes. Resources available for strengthening women's capacities remain scarce and ad hoc and there is a continuing lack of awareness of women's roles in peacebuilding. A common assumption is that women in conflict zones lack expertise to participate effectively in peace negotiations. This is compounded by the lack of documentation and effective dissemination of information about women's efforts in reconciliation, political negotiations, disarmament, and other activities. As the myriad of women's organisations world-wide prove, women are extremely effective at mobilising support and articulating the concerns and needs of diverse sectors of society.



“We believe that the proliferation of light weapons constitutes a menace to peace, stability and security for the whole African continent. The women’s movement in Mali has been involved in the demobilisation of combatants, organised the March for Peace and led lobbying activities which resulted in the government’s decision to destroy arms. We have taken the initiative in bringing the warring parties together using non-conventional channels and acting as neutral mediators.”

Mariam Djibrilla Maiga, Mali

II. DISARMAMENT

Strategic objective E.2 of the Beijing Platform for Action is to “reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments.” Recommendations for actions to be taken by governments include:

- A “reduction of military expenditure” and allocation of funds for social and economic development, in particular for the advancement of women” (para. 143 a, b).
- Ratification of the 1981 Convention on the Prohibition or Restriction on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons, and Protocol II that calls for restrictions on the use of mines and other similar devices, and a moratorium on the export of anti-personnel landmines, and increased assistance and co-ordination in demining (para. 143 e i-v).
- Working towards disarmament, agreement on a “universal and multilateral and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty,” and exercising restraint in nuclear testing (para. 143 f i-iii).

The past five years have witnessed some significant gains, especially in the struggle against anti-personnel landmines, but in sum, little progress has been made in disarmament.

Achievements

- **The Mine Ban Treaty:** In 1997 members of civil society organisations including the International Campaign to Ban Landmines joined government delegations for a conference in Ottawa to continue negotiations on the prohibition and restriction on the use of landmines, booby traps and other similar anti-personnel devices. At the outset, few believed that the Ottawa meeting would prove to be a historic occasion. But it was. Government after government agreed to the measures presented in the 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel (AP) Mines and On their Destruction. The Ban Treaty requires the destruction of all stockpiles of anti-personnel landmines by 2001, and the destruction of all mines already in the ground by 2007. The treaty became international law on March 1, 1999. By March 2000 there were 194 ratifications, and 134 signatories/accessions, while 57 countries remain as non-signatories.

- **1999-2000, Stockpiling:** The destruction of mine stockpiles receives less attention and funding than de-mining, but the eradication of stockpiles is an effective means of prevention and infinitely cheaper, safer and easier than de-mining fields and tracts of land. The 1999 Landmines Monitor estimates that there are currently 250 million anti-personnel mines stockpiled in approximately 104 countries. This figure is by no means definitive, as non-signatory states are not compelled to reveal any details. Both governments and non-state actors and rebel groups are stockpiling AP mines. Since 1997, an estimated 19 million AP mines have been destroyed in fifty countries world-wide.
- **1999-2000, Mine Clearance:** According to the Landmines Monitor, 87 countries in the world are affected by both landmines and unexploded ordnance (UXO). Of these, 27 are States Parties to the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty, 23 are signatories and 37 have not yet joined. Of the 48 countries in Africa, 27 are mine-affected, including Somaliland. In the Americas, 9 countries are mine-affected, as well as the Falklands/Malvinas. In the Asia-Pacific region, 16 countries are mine-affected, as well as Taiwan, and mines were still being used in 1998 by non-signatory states and rebel groups. Of 53 countries in Europe and Central Asia, 23 are mine-affected, as well as Abkhazia and Chechnya. Non-signatories and/or rebels in Russia, Turkey and Yugoslavia are believed to have used mines since 1997. In the Middle East and North Africa, 13 out of 18 countries are mine-affected, as well as Iraqi Kurdistan, Western Sahara and Palestine.

The impact of landmines on affected communities depends on a number of factors. Large minefields in remote border areas may have very little impact on the population of a country. Conversely, small, randomly deployed minefields in densely populated areas, agricultural lands, or areas designated for the resettlement of displaced and refugee populations have a fundamental impact on the economic and political development of a country. *As women and children represent the vast majority of refugees and internally displaced people, they are amongst the most vulnerable victims of landmines.*

Non-governmental organisations play an important role in humanitarian mine action, but in most countries, de-mining programmes are often undertaken by military units or commercial entrepreneurs, with little or no recognised mechanism for quality assurance. From a humanitarian and development perspective, it is imperative that cleared land is handed over to those who are entitled to it. But in many areas, mine-cleared land is a scarce and valuable resource, so vulnerable groups such as refugees are marginalised in the face of influential military, political or commercial interests. Despite the overall consensus among mine-affected countries, donors and agencies on the importance of comprehensive and integrated plans for mine action efforts, the Landmine Monitor research indicates that few countries have actually embarked on such plans.

The United Nations Development Programme has given some attention to mine awareness and protection programmes for women and girls.

- **1995, The Permanent Extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the CTBT:** In 1995 the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was given permanent extension. Although the number of nuclear warheads is only a few thousand less than the 39,000 available in 1968, there is a downward trend. In the last five years, another key achievement has been the conclusion of negotiations on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-ban Treaty (CTBT), which was signed by 155 countries and ratified by 55. In April 2000, Russia approved the treaty and approved ratification of the START II Treaty for disarmament. China too has joined the NPT and signed the CTBT. In Latin America, Argentina and Brazil have opted for co-operation on the NPT rather than competition for nuclear power. Of the 44 countries needed to bring CTBT into force, over a quarter have not *ratified* the treaty, including China and the USA.
- **NPT Review 2000:** Since 1995 the world has also become a more dangerous place. India and Pakistan tested nuclear bombs in 1998. The US drive to build an anti-missile missile network has alarmed many, fearing that it will start a new arms race. Russia has also shown a new-found enthusiasm for nuclear weapons, and China continues its modernisation efforts. The five superpowers have grudgingly agreed to an agenda for incremental change under the 187-member Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

At the 2000 NPT Review Conference to monitor successes and setbacks, little progress was made. To many, *the final document was a retreat from some of the strong measures proposed earlier by a coalition of anti-nuclear countries*. For example, a timetable for disarmament initiatives and a requirement that nuclear powers document steps toward disarmament during the next five years were dropped. The document's language was weakened and the nuclear states refused to denounce the use of nuclear weapons first in a battle and rejected concerns expressed in earlier drafts about the world's 35,000 nuclear weapons.

NATO plans to hold on to its nuclear weapons. According to its still-secret Strategic Concept, it believes it must have an appropriate response to so-called 'rogue states' and wants to have "equivalent means of deterrence as well as defence against all forms of potential attacks" available. While some governments, such as France, wish to block terms such as "irreversibility" and "unilateral" in the forward-looking disarmament negotiations, others such as China, balk at improving transparency. The USA continues to rule out any language that includes an action verb.

On the positive side, the participants collectively called for the opening of global negotiations aimed at banning nuclear weapons and tests. Countries also agreed that the Nuclear-Weapon States should consider new unilateral cuts in their arsenals and moves to reduce "the operational status of nuclear weapons" and confirmed the need to preserve the NPT's vital contribution to peace and security. New areas included:

- Developing verification capabilities for providing assurance of compliance to agreements.
- Making nuclear weapons capabilities and agreement more transparent

and making progress irreversible.

- Agreeing to a progress report for future review conferences, with the next opportunity being 2002.

Significantly, the NPT Review Conference produced a 13-point Action Plan, facilitated in part by the New Agenda Coalition, a new grouping of 7 middle power states committed to nuclear disarmament. The Action Plan calls for the unequivocal undertaking from the nuclear weapons states for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, which NGOs and civil society will no doubt use to hold governments accountable. Both the 13-point Action Plan and the unequivocal undertaking by governments were great achievements.

- **Civil Society:** NGOs and representatives of civil society addressed government delegates to the NPT during the 2000 Review conference. France and others indicated their opposition to a Canadian proposal to include NGOs in the forthcoming review processes. The Netherlands and Japan both indicated that the “proper channel for NGOs is through governments.”
- **Biological and Chemical Weapons:** Efforts to eliminate biological and chemical weapons have been ongoing for decades. In 1972 the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), the first multi-lateral treaty requiring the destruction of a category of weapons was opened for signature. The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) negotiations were completed in 1992 and the treaty came into force in 1997. But both have encountered difficulties. First, membership is not universal. In April 2000, 143 states had signed the BWC, but others remain outside the treaty requirements. Secondly, there are no formal verification methods to ensure compliance. Reports of government-sponsored biological weapons activity in some countries are growing, as are warnings of the use of such weapons by terrorist groups. Under the CWC, the system of compliance is complex, covering both military and civilian industries. But both treaties face the challenge of balancing issues of national sovereignty with the need for stringent verification. In recent years, however, the taboo surrounding the production and use of such weapons has grown world-wide.
- **Long-term Effects of Weapons-Testing on Women:** Women are often direct and indirect victims of nuclear weapons tests. In areas where nuclear weapons have been detonated during testing, the long-term effects are still evident among women and children. Around the Bikini Atoll and elsewhere in the Pacific for example, women suffer from high rates of cancer. Birth weights are low and there are high rates of birth defects among children being born.

Emerging Challenges - The Proliferation of Small Arms

In 1995, as the Beijing Platform for Action was being negotiated, the proliferation and threat posed by small arms and light weapons was still largely invisible at the international level. Five years hence, small arms are being recognised as the deadliest of weapons. The International Red Cross estimates that up to 60% of conflict-related deaths and injuries are caused by small arms. They are the weapon of choice in most internal conflicts, as they are easily obtainable and transportable, cheap, easy to use and light to carry, thus making them accessible and 'usable' not only by men, but also by women, and more disturbingly, by children as young as five.

- **Trade in Small Arms:** Estimates suggest that the legal trade in small arms amounts to \$7-10 billion, with the black-market generating a further \$2 billion. But accurate data is scarce. The monitoring of transfers and transportation is difficult. In part this is due to legislative inconsistencies between nations. While conventional weapons (tanks, fighter jets etc.) are usually procured by states and military units, small arms and light weapons can be bought and used by a variety of groups, including police forces, and civilians. Governments also transfer vast quantities of small arms through accepted military training programmes or covert routes. Often it is cheaper for countries like the USA to transfer old weapons to other nations, rather than to destroy stockpiles. Most arms are sold through regular trade channels, subject to controls which are rarely enforced. Even the USA, with the tightest restrictions, sold or transferred \$463 million worth of small arms and ammunition to 124 countries in 1998. Of these, 30 were at war or experiencing civil conflict. At least 5 had American or UN peacekeeping soldiers on duty.
- **The Cost of Small Arms:** Weapons such as the Russian AK-47 are cheap and easy to produce. In parts of Africa, a used weapon can be bought for as little as \$15 or exchanged for a sack of maize. Apart from wiping out billions of dollars worth of development, the accessibility of light weapons causes the escalation of violence and war. Disarmament processes become complex and arduous. In many war-affected areas guns are a means of survival. Combatants use them for protection and for gaining access to food and shelter. In many post-conflict states, up to 70% of the population possess small arms. With weapons awash in society, the rate of death and injury post-conflict still remains very high. In Afghanistan for example, weapons-related injuries decreased by only a third after the civil war ended, and deaths increased.
- **The Gender Dimension of Small Arms and Light Weapons:** Men and women experience the effects of small arms differently, although both are affected by conflict. Weapons in communities represent different things and have direct and indirect consequences. Guns may be used as a status symbol or as a macho form of power (e.g. in South Africa), or they may be used as a means of protection. By and large, it is men who possess and use weapons, and women who are either direct victims, or indirect victims, as they shoulder the burden of those who die, or care for the wounded and permanently injured. The presence of light weapons in

society is also directly linked to the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence in the aftermath of war. Women are typically the victims.

- **Women's Roles in Disarmament:** In Guatemala, Liberia and elsewhere women's organisations have been at the forefront of the struggle to disarm combatants, using their accepted and 'traditional' roles in society as a means of mobilising civilians. In Guatemala for example, the **IPEADES (Working Group on Citizens Security)** initiated neighbourhood disarmament schemes whereby women drew on their community-based relations to encourage neighbours to give up their weapons. In Liberia, the **Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI)**, was at the forefront of the campaign to disarm warring factions before elections were held. Women across the country joined forces to collect weapons. By 1999 an estimated 20,000 small arms and over 3 million rounds of ammunition were destroyed. In Mali, the **Mouvement National Femmes Pour la Sauvegarde de la Paix et de l'unité Nationale**, has been at the forefront of the civil society movement that prompted regional governments to adopt a 3 year moratorium on the import, exports and manufacture of small arms.
- **Future Directions:** UN General Assembly Resolution 54/54V (December 1999) paved the way for the first United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects, to be held in March 2001. The agenda will focus on curbing the illicit trade in arms. It is critical that women's perspectives are fully integrated into the discussions and agreements are drawn up. There is still too little known about the gender dimensions of the impact of small arms on society and further research is needed. As the examples above indicate, women can play a pivotal role in the process of disarmament. Their knowledge and potential contributions should not be overlooked. Their experiences and the lessons learnt should be documented and used as guidelines for other areas.



“Every woman who has been a victim of sexual violence during the course of armed conflict has her own sense of justice. Women who have experienced sexual violence during armed conflict should be consulted in order to determine the most appropriate remedies, otherwise they will be further disempowered.”

Indai Lourdes Sajor, ASCENT Philippines

III. ADDRESSING IMPUNITY FOR CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN IN WAR

Strategic Objective E.3 of the Beijing Platform for Action is to “promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations.” Twelve recommendations for action by governments and inter-governmental organisations are noted, including:

- Take action to investigate and punish members of the police, security, armed forces and others who perpetrate acts of violence against women, violations of international humanitarian law and violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict (para. 143 c).
- Reaffirm that rape in the conduct of armed conflict constitutes a war crime and ... a crime against humanity and an act of genocide...; take all measures required for the protection of women and children from such acts and strengthen mechanisms to investigate and punish all those responsible and bring the perpetrators to justice (para. 145 d).
- Uphold and reinforce standards set out in international humanitarian law and international human rights instruments to prevent all acts of violence against women in situations of armed and other conflicts; undertake a full investigation of all acts of violence against women committed during war, including rape, in particular systematic rape, forced prostitution and other forms of indecent assault and sexual slavery; prosecute all criminals responsible for war crimes against women and provide full redress to women victims (para. 145 e).

Silence and denial have surrounded crimes committed against women in times of war. Even after World War II, at Nuremberg and Tokyo, rape was not enumerated as either a war crime or a crime against humanity. For the past 50 years, the Korean Comfort Women have been at the forefront of a struggle to obtain apologies, justice, redress and reparations for the trauma they suffered.

The issue of grave violations against women’s human rights was first introduced onto the international agenda in 1993 at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. For the first time, the UN called for the elimination of violence against women in public and private life. The international women’s rights movement gathered momentum during the ensuing years. With participation at Beijing and other international arenas, they ensured that gender perspectives were integrated in all aspects of international human rights policies and programmes. Since Beijing, a number of key achievements can be noted.

Achievements

- **Ad Hoc Tribunals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda:** Women activists have advocated for gender sensitivity and integration into the procedures and cases of the ad hoc tribunals established by the UN for the prosecution of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. They ensured that crimes of sexual violence were charged and prosecuted as crimes against humanity. They also advocated for policies and procedures that would address women's needs and concerns. Despite their limited jurisdiction and duration, these criminal tribunals had made significant contributions to prosecuting perpetrators of crimes against women and through the interventions of women's rights organisations, have contributed to advancing customary international humanitarian law, especially with regard to crimes involving sexual and gender violence.
- **International Criminal Court Statutes:** In June 1998, 120 countries accepted the Rome Statute for a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC would provide a forum in which individuals could be tried for the most serious offences of global concern, such as genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. To date, 139 countries have signed the statute, but only 33 have ratified it. The Court can only be established following 60 ratifications. Although there are numerous limitations, cases can be referred to the Court by States, as well as the Court's Prosecutor.

A critical achievement for women's rights since 1995 has been that the ICC Statute specifically includes crimes of sexual violence as crimes against humanity when they are committed as part of the widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population. These include widespread or systematic extermination of civilians, enslavement, torture, rape, forced pregnancy, disappearances and persecution on racial, ethnic, or religious grounds. Additionally, the Statute provides for the creation of a Victim and Witness Unit within the Court, providing protective measures, security arrangements, counselling and other appropriate assistance for witnesses, victims and others at risk on account of their testimony. The Unit will include staff with expertise in trauma related to crimes of sexual violence.

The International Criminal Court could be an avenue for justice for countless women victims of crimes which have no recourse in national legal systems, but that fall within the Court's ambit. The Court Statute codifies international criminal law including progressive developments in customary international humanitarian law. Together with the Court's Rules of Procedure, it can set new standards for national courts and legal systems in general. These standards and the precedents that the Court will lay down could have far-reaching uses for women nationally. They could serve as the substantive bases for new laws and reforms that women are pushing for, particularly those dealing with violence-related and other gender-based crimes. Since the BPFAs has no accountability mechanisms, the ICC is especially crucial for addressing impunity, as it represents a legal commitment that exists regardless of changes in government.

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- **Civil Society:** NGOs and civil society have played a key role in keeping the ICC in the public eye and ensuring that the Statute's terms and conditions are not weakened. The *Women's Caucus for Gender Justice*, with members world-wide, monitors developments and lobbies governments relentlessly, seeking ratification and struggling to ensure that a wide range of gender-based crimes are recognised as crimes against humanity and war crimes within the Statute.

On 11th December 2000 the Caucus co-ordinated a one-day public hearing on crimes against women in recent conflict situations, as part of the Tokyo Tribunal. The public hearing comprised of testimonies of victims and survivors of conflicts in different regions, with the following objectives:

1. To demonstrate the continuation and escalation of crimes against women in war.
 2. To compile different types of violations that women suffer.
 3. To highlight the economic impact of wars on women.
 4. To highlight the importance of women's participation in peace and reconstruction processes.
 5. To highlight the dire need for international justice and accountability mechanisms such as the ICC.
 6. To strengthen international pressure in seeking accountability from States and individuals for gender-based war crimes.
 7. To build strong national, regional, intra-regional and international networking capacities supporting women's issues and calling for an end to impunity.
- **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women - Optional Protocol:** The Optional Protocol adopted in October 2000 allows women to bring complaints about violations of their human rights for review by the committee of independent experts that monitors compliance with CEDAW. Nationals of countries that ratify both CEDAW and the Optional Protocol would be able to use the Optional Protocol when no remedy is available at the national level. The Optional Protocol will allow CEDAW to receive complaints and investigate serious and/or systematic violations of the Convention through designated procedures.

The complaints procedure would work like similar procedures under other international treaties. If an individual brings a complaint forward against the State, CEDAW could examine the case, assess the government's duties and recommend actions. The inquiry procedure would allow CEDAW to undertake an investigation and take action on its own initiative when it receives information about serious and/or systematic violations of women's human rights. For example, if the Committee received information about the widespread trafficking of women in a particular country, it could investigate the situation right away. A number of issues are still outstanding, including the question of who has the right to file a complaint, whether governments can opt out of the inquiry procedure and whether they can limit their duties under the Optional Protocol through reservations, as many countries have done with the Convention itself.

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- **Rapporteur on Women and Violence:** In 1994 the UN High Commission for Human Rights issued a mandate for a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. The reports produced by the current Rapporteur, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, have covered an array of issues from the economic and social exclusion of women to domestic violence, the effects of slavery, prostitution and trafficking, and women's experiences of violence in situations of armed conflict. They have served to heighten awareness of the abuse and trauma that women face, and the need for gender-sensitive relief, aid and legislation to address these issues.

Challenges

In the last five years women and girls have been increasingly targeted in conflicts such as Kosovo and East Timor. Despite evidence of the increase of domestic violence in the aftermath of conflict, little has been done to prevent such attacks or punish perpetrators.

In the international tribunals, despite a conviction on rape in 1998, other similar cases have not taken place effectively. This is partly due to the lack of gender and cultural sensitivity among the investigators responsible for these cases. Although women victims are willing to speak out, the tribunals' witness protection mechanisms do not provide adequate protection before, during or after court appearances. Provisions for counselling and medical care are also inadequate. Thus witnesses and victims feel threatened and traumatised. For instance, the disclosure of confidential medical reports of a victim at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia caused alarm among other potential witnesses.

In the context of the ICC, there is a move by a number of nations to make sexual and gender-based violence committed against women in familial, religious or cultural contexts exempt from prosecution as crimes against humanity. Despite reports of rape by international peacekeepers and the killing of a young girl in Kosovo, among other reports, there is a move, particularly by the United States, to exempt peacekeepers from trial by the ICC. Terms such as *sexual slavery* and *forced sterilisation* are being questioned and definitions becoming too limited. There are moves by some nations to raise the threshold of the chapeau concerning crimes against humanity. This would effectively make it impossible for sexual violence to be prosecuted by the Court. Combined with this, the ICC is still not ratified, leaving looming dangers that gender issues will be weakened to achieve consensus.



“If women have to bear so many of the tragic effects of armed conflict, it is not primarily because of any shortcomings in the rules protecting them, but because those rules are not observed.”

Charlotte Lindsey, International Committee for the Red Cross

IV. PROTECTION OF WOMEN

Strategic Objective E.5 of the Beijing Platform for Action is to “provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women.” Seventeen recommendations for action to be taken by governments and intergovernmental organisations are identified, including the following:

- Ensure that women are fully involved in the planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all short-term and long-term projects and programmes providing assistance to refugee women...and internally displaced women; [and] ensure that [they] have direct access to the services provided (para. 147 a).
- Protect the safety and physical integrity of refugee women, other displaced and internally displaced women during their displacement and upon their return to their communities of origin, including programmes of rehabilitation; hold an impartial and thorough investigation of any such violations and bring those responsible to justice (para. 147 c).
- Increase self-reliance in decision-making and leadership, providing access to education and opportunities for vocational training and small scale enterprise (para. 147 l, j).
- Develop awareness of the human rights of women and provide, as appropriate, human rights education and training to military and police personnel operating in areas of armed conflict and areas where there are refugees (para. 147 o).

Achievements

There has been growing acknowledgement of the legal, political and logistical challenges relating to the treatment of internally displaced populations. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has extensive guidelines and principles regarding the treatment of women dating back to the 1980s. In 1995 the UNHCR published “*Sexual Violence Against Refugees: Guidelines on Prevention and Response*,” and in the same year the international UN, NGO and government Inter-Agency Working Group (IAWG) on Reproductive Health in Refugee Situations (1995) was formed.

The BPFA provided an opportunity for human rights activists and humanitarian workers to synthesise the critical issues requiring attention and action. The issue received further attention in the widely disseminated 1996 report on “*The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*” by Graça Machel. The report

highlights the vulnerability of women and girls in times of war, and acknowledges the severe disadvantages that women experience in refugee camps and post-conflict reconstruction processes. However, it also recognises the critical role they play in the education and care of children and calls for the inclusion of women as key members in the planning and implementation of relief, rehabilitation, peacemaking, reconciliation and reconstruction programmes.

In the last five years some progress has been made in the development of guidelines for action and programmatic planning. The following are among the most important policy frameworks to emerge:

- *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (1998) and *Handbook for Applying the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (1999)
- UN Security Council Resolution 1265 on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict and Resolution 1261 on the Protection of Children in Armed Conflict (1999)
- Inter-agency Standing Committee on Integrating Gender in Humanitarian Assistance Guidelines (1999)
- **Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement:** In 1998, following extensive consultation with international organisations, NGOs, and legal experts, Francis Deng, the Secretary General's Special Representative on Internally Displaced Persons, published a set of 30 guiding principles on the treatment of internally displaced populations. They articulate the need to include women in the planning and management of their relocation and the planning and distribution of supplies. Special attention should be given to ensure that women and girls are included in education and training programmes. They reiterate the need for appropriate healthcare for women, including trauma counselling and treatment for sexual abuse. The principles call for the provision of adequate protection against *“rape, mutilation, torture, cruel, inhuman...and other outrages upon personal dignity, such as acts of gender-specific violence, forced prostitution and any form of indecent assault.”* The rights of men and women to documentation *“in their own name”* is also stated.

The Guidelines are not legally binding, but as they are based on international human rights and other laws pertaining to the treatment of refugees and the internally displaced, they have gained official endorsement. In the last two years they have also gained credibility among UN agencies and regional organisations such as the OAU, that plan to use them. In 1999 the *“Handbook on Applying the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement”* was published to assist in the practical implementation of the principles. The handbook, in conjunction with *“Manual on Field Practices on Internal Displacement,”* aim to provide field staff the basis and framework through which they can develop effective protection programmes for IDPs. The gender dimensions of programme planning are addressed comprehensively.

- **Inter-Agency Standing Committee on Integrating Gender in Humanitarian Assistance Guidelines:** In the 1998 conclusions of ECOSOC's humanitarian affairs segment included a request to the Emergency Relief Coordinator to “ensure that a gender perspective is

fully integrated into humanitarian activities and policies.” The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) agreed to take the necessary steps and published its guidelines in 1999. Four general commitments are stated, including the need to develop specific strategies for mainstreaming gender awareness in IASC areas of responsibility; the need for gender-disaggregated data; capacity-building for gender mainstreaming; and the development of reports and accountability mechanisms to help redress gender imbalances among the staff.

- **Consolidated Appeal Process (CAP):** The 2001 theme of the IASC was **Women and War**. Agencies aim to raise \$2.26 billion to support women’s humanitarian and peacebuilding needs in critical war zones. The UK government has pledged to top-up any shortfalls in the fund-raising to ensure that the target is met.
- **UN Security Council Resolution 1265 (1999) on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict:** In addition to other provisions, the Resolution calls for the “*implementation of a **gender perspective** in humanitarian assistance and on violence against women,*” and acknowledges “*the importance of including in the mandates of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations special protection and assistance provisions for groups requiring particular attention, including women and children.*” In doing so, the Security Council not only drew attention to the issues, but also affirmed the international community’s responsibility for providing protection to civilians.
- **Peacekeeping Operations and Women:** Since 1995, gender issues have gained increasing attention in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. On the one hand, the need for increasing women’s participation in peacekeeping operations is being considered. On the other hand, the need for inclusion of gender perspectives and awareness of gender issues among peacekeepers has been highlighted. In theory, the post of a Senior Gender Adviser in DPKO exists, but there is a lack of clarity on the responsibilities for the post and the source of funding.

In 1999 the first draft of the Manual for Gender and Peace Support Operations was produced by the Lester B. Pearson International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Canada, co-funded by the UK. It is the first comprehensive manual that addresses gender issues in the context of Peace Support Operations (PSOs). There are currently pilot training sessions taking place within PSOs, under the leadership of the UN and Canadian and British governments.

In January 2000 the Lessons Learnt Unit project on ‘Mainstreaming Gender Perspectives in Multi-lateral Peace Support Operations’ was started, drawing on case studies. In May 2000, the Windhoek Declaration and the ‘*Namibian Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multi-dimensional Peace Support Operations*’ was published, providing concrete guidelines and recommendations for integrating gender issues into PSOs. However, neither gender issues nor these recommendations were taken into account in the Brahimi report on peacekeeping.

Challenges

The implementation of the policies and guidelines is still a challenge. Since 1995, refugee and IDP women and girls across the world have been increasingly subjected to abuse. As the frontlines of war merge into villages, the challenge of protection for all civilians has increased, bringing into question the responsibilities and capabilities of the international community in providing protection, care and relief in the face of opposition from state and non-state actors.

Gender-based violence has increased in recent years. In countries such as Sierra Leone, the displacement of women has also led to an increase in prostitution and trafficking of women. The number of unmarried mothers in the refugee camps in Guinea is increasing, as are sexually transmitted diseases. They face stark choices: 18 cents a day to work for Guineans, selling hard-to-come-by goods or firewood in the market, or prostitution. There is a scarcity of educational programmes. Reports of rape by locally-known figures have been ignored by international agencies. Incidences of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, have spread rapidly.

In Colombia, where 80% of the 1.5 million internally displaced are women and children, displacement is regarded as a 'women's issue'. With husbands, fathers and sons killed, women are often forcibly displaced under threat of violence. With no homes or incomes, women are forced into menial work, begging and prostitution. International aid is limited, and most are unaware of the few programmes that do exist. As they settle in urban areas, many opt for work as 'live-in' domestic servants, forcing them to leave their children behind and alone. With no school and little supervision, girls as young as eleven enter the sex trade. Little research has been conducted on the links between displacement and sexual exploitation. Virtually no programmes exist to provide protection against prostitution or to help rehabilitate women into other jobs.

Few efforts have been made to include women in the design, planning and implementation of programmes in refugee camps. The 1999 "*Survey of Compliance with UNHCR's Policies on Refugee Women, Children and the Environment*" published by UNHCR confirms the numerous shortcomings that exist with regard to the implementation of guidelines. The report notes that the deficiencies are due to policy and management shortcomings and resource shortages. There is still insufficient consultation between programme and policy staff in the field, regionally and at headquarters. There are varied interpretations of existing policy guidelines as there are no standard indicators, or clearly measurable goals and objectives. This is compounded by the array of non-standardised manuals, and the absence of standard programme development guidelines. The lack of regular funding for projects aimed at women and girls is a further significant obstacle.

Awareness of gender issues is still limited among peacekeeping personnel. This is exacerbated by the narrow interpretation of the mandates of most missions, which preclude their involvement in issues such as the prevention of trafficking and abuse of women.

Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping has also been a challenge. Since 1994 the percentage of women in DPKO has remained relatively constant at 30%. There is a distinct absence of women in high-level civilian and military positions. Only 2 % of women serving in peace missions are in the military and 3% in civilian police forces. There are many reasons for this. In many instances states forbid the participation of women in their national militaries. Elsewhere women are discouraged from participating in peacekeeping operations, and countries contributing troops choose not to employ women for such operations. 'Old boys' networks within military circles, lack of interest in gender issues, perceptions regarding the treatment of women peacekeepers by host countries, and a lack of relevant experience amongst women are further exacerbating factors.

Little research has been done on the impact of women on peacekeeping operations. But current findings indicate that women do have a positive influence on missions. They act as role models for local women, fostering trust and confidence. Their presence is considered 'healthy' for others in the missions. They bring different perspectives to existing problems and challenges indeed, their active participation during peacekeeping operations could enable women's increased participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict processes.



“The issue of equal participation by women in [post-conflict societies] is not simply an issue of gender equality and human rights but could represent the decisive factor in maintaining peaceful development in a troubled region.”

Lul Seyoum, Eritrea

V. GENDER, POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION

Since 1990 the international donor community has pledged over \$100 billion in aid to over 30 countries recovering from war and violent conflict. By 1996, 10% of official development assistance was directed to humanitarian operations, and 50% of the UN’s aid budget was devoted to relief. The tides turned somewhat in the latter half of the 1990s as more countries entered into states of fragile peace. Their aid requirements shifted away from emergency relief to longer-term development assistance. By 1999 some 40 countries world-wide were at the brink of war and peace. Among them are some of the world’s poorest nations. This combination of poverty, easy access to weapons and a culture of war complicates the process of post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

In May 1995 the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD-DAC), held a high-level meeting of Development Co-operation Ministers and Aid agency heads to assess the contributions that development co-operation could make towards conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. Gender issues were considered to some degree. In 1997 the first set of guidelines on the design and implementation of programmes for conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction emerged, providing agencies such as UNDP with a skeletal framework for their work. At the World Bank, the Post-Conflict Unit was established to focus more directly on lessons learnt and issues emerging from post-conflict situations.

Challenges

But post-conflict recovery remains a thorny issue. On the one hand agencies have had to reassess their own mandates and focus, while simultaneously coping with the need for increased co-ordination and complementarity with other agencies. On the other hand, designing and implementing reconstruction programmes in the context of war and violent conflict has been a challenge. Finally, the lack of funding and resources has hampered efforts. Although the funds for reconstruction have been pledged, in the majority of countries, disbursement has been uneven. For example, in 1993 donors pledged \$2.4 billion to lay the economic foundations for self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. By December 1994, less than 10% of the funds were disbursed. In Cambodia some \$880 million were pledged in 1992, but 3 years later only \$460 million had been disbursed.

Gender Blind Programmes

In the midst of these issues, gender considerations and gender mainstreaming have not been a priority, as is evident from evaluation reports emerging from the agencies. A 1998 evaluation report from the World Bank for example, states that *“the Bank has done little to incorporate gender issues in its post-conflict portfolio. Only in Bosnia and Herzegovina did the Bank make a specific operational effort to address the particular needs of women.”*

It further highlights the lack of gender perspectives in the design and planning of programmes and the need for greater analysis and research on these issues. *“Reconstruction efforts must consider the possible economic difficulties faced by women in post-conflict situations, and should also examine the role of women in rebuilding social capital. Analysis can also identify unequal power relations underlying social organisations to ensure that women are not further marginalised by reconstruction interventions.”* Gender-disaggregated data must be the cornerstone of any analysis undertaken.

Ad Hoc Programming

Within UNDP a number of programmes relating to micro-enterprise and education for women have been developed. UNIFEM’s programmes for women’s leadership have expanded, but as a UNDP evaluation report from January 2000 suggests, gender perspectives have not been institutionalised or mainstreamed in UNDP’s programmes.

Recommendations emerging from the Beijing Platform for Action do not specifically address the issue of women’s involvement in post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation processes. But in the last five years women’s experiences of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction processes have received more attention. Gender has not only emerged as a critical area of concern, but also one that requires greater attention. There is growing consensus that the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in every aspect of post-conflict recovery programmes will strengthen the process and make peace and development more sustainable.

Key Issues

Post-conflict recovery may begin with the signing of peace agreements, but it continues for several years as political institutions stabilise, the economy regenerates and social networks and communities are re-established. In effect it involves a triple transition. First in terms of security, progressing from a state of war to one of peace. Second, it involves a political transition, usually towards democratisation. Third, it involves socio-economic transformations including the rebuilding of economic structures and capacities, social reconciliation and rehabilitation and legislative developments. Many of these factors are addressed in peace negotiations. So in cases such as Guatemala, the peace accords resemble blueprints for the process of nation-building.

- **Political Reform:** Women’s participation at the peace table is critical to the development of the peace agenda and ensuing agreements. But it is

also essential to ensure women's continued participation and leadership in political processes and in the aftermath of peace talks. At present, even in situations where women participate in peace talks, the tendency is for them to either withdraw or to be marginalised in the longer term process. However, as South Africa shows, women's political participation not only transformed the elections and ensured the successful transition from apartheid to democracy, but their continued presence in the political arena has helped shape a more participatory political process.

There is limited data on the impact of women on political processes, but recent studies conducted by the Hunger Project on municipal councils in India suggest that increased participation and involvement of women has brought a greater degree of transparency to the local institutions. Similarly, the training of women representatives by NGOs and state programmes has led to improvements in the function of political systems and increased participation of stakeholders. Training in leadership skills have enabled women to be more effective in raising issues, implementing decisions and increasing their communities' access to resources.

- **Socio-economic Transformation:** Traditionally, post-conflict recovery programmes have focused on the physical reconstruction of a state's infrastructure and the macro-economic processes. But the transition of socio-economic conditions comprises a myriad of complex issues, including social recovery, the provision of education and healthcare, strengthening and implementation of legislative institutions and addressing issues of impunity, justice, and reconciliation.

Women have a key role to play in all areas. As caretakers of families and communities they are often the best placed to identify the communities' critical needs and priorities for reconstruction. Yet, they are rarely consulted. As heads of households they are heavily burdened yet health and economic recovery programmes rarely address their needs or systematically consult with women when designing their projects.

Women's contribution to reconciliation and trust-building are also overlooked, yet world-wide they have been playing a critical role in fostering confidence between warring communities and working in the private and public sphere to encourage mutual trust and confidence.

- **Security Reform:** The disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of soldiers and fighters into their communities are among the most challenging issues being addressed by any post-conflict society. But the longer term reform of the security sector, the redefining of the roles of the military and police forces, the development of a single cohesive security force in any nation traumatised by years of communal or ethno-religious conflict, is also difficult. In terms of gender perspectives, there is an added challenge, as 'security' is still a heavily male-dominated domain. The lack of gender perspectives in demobilisation and reintegration programmes has often led to the exclusion and neglect of women combatants. In Latin America, Africa and Asia women are fighting alongside men, as equals. But in the aftermath of conflict they

are pressured into returning to their traditional roles. Little assistance is provided to enable their reintegration.

For many women, the end of the public conflict and violence does not herald an end to all violence. Recent findings by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women reveal the continuum of violence from the public to the private space of homes. As male ex-combatants return home, often their trauma and frustration is projected onto their wives and families. So the rape and assault of women increases. Often women are the likely targets of looting, attack and 'economic violence' perpetrated by ex-combatants.

These experiences contribute towards shaping women's perspectives on security. In South Africa women played an influential role in the consultative process that helped determine the mandate of military and security forces. Troops are provided with gender training and emphasis is placed on protection and assistance to civilians. Women also encouraged the participation of more women in South Africa's peacekeeping forces, to help foster greater trust and confidence with local populations.

Women's position within the community has also enabled them to undertake community-based disarmament programmes in Latin America and West Africa as noted earlier. In Israel, the **Four Mothers Movement** was at the forefront of advocating for Israeli withdrawal from Southern Lebanon. The group that began with four mothers protesting on the side of a street in 1997, grew into a national movement with men and women members across the country. Their cause took up the centre stage in Israeli political life and in 2000 Israel did withdraw its troops.

So the inclusion of gender perspectives and women's voices is essential for two reasons. First, women as victims have a right to participate in the decision-making process that impact their lives directly. Second, women's views on security, and their access to the private sphere can be valuable contributions to the implementation of security reform programmes that enhance peacebuilding processes. It is thus essential to direct more attention to this area, and to integrate gender perspectives into existing security agendas.



VI. BEIJING + 5, UNSC RESOLUTION 1325, AND BEYOND

In June 2000, a Special Session of the UN General Assembly was convened for the Beijing + 5 Review. The aim of the five-year review was to highlight achievements and areas of progress vis-à-vis the Beijing Platform for Action, note existing obstacles and emerging challenges, and identify concrete steps for action to implement the BPFA.

Beijing + 5

Significant disagreements among member states hampered the negotiation process. Many NGOs and government representatives alike feared that the final ‘Outcomes’ document would be more *Beijing – 5*, rather than plus five. Chapter E—Women and Armed Conflict was bitterly disputed. Despite initial signs of support for women’s increased involvement in conflict resolution processes, and recognition of increases in gender-based crimes in times of conflict, the resistance to these issues became clear during the early days of the June meeting. Within the G77 group of nations, a number of African countries in particular (those suffering or at risk of conflict) were most concerned about issues relating to women and armed conflict. But a combination of factors, including the lack of in-depth knowledge of the issues among some negotiators, concerns about loss of sovereignty, and resistance towards accepting gender-based crimes as war crimes, hampered progress.

Neither the BPFA nor the ‘Outcomes’ document are binding, but by signing on, member states have officially committed themselves to taking action, and can thus be held accountable.

- **Key Developments:** States reaffirmed their support for ensuring women’s wider and more equitable participation in political, social and economic decision-making arenas. They support wider State-NGO partnership in the implementation of all aspects of the BPFA, and south-south links to exchange experiences and knowledge. With regard to conflict resolution and peacebuilding specifically, states have agreed to:
 1. Ensure women’s full participation at all levels and stages of decision-making relating to conflict prevention, resolution, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery (para. 122 b, 122 b, bis, 24 a).
 2. Provide gender-sensitive training to all actors in peacekeeping missions (para. 130 f).
 3. Support national efforts to promote education and training for women, including the areas of leadership, advocacy and conflict resolution skills (para. 128 d).
 4. Develop gender-sensitive strategies in humanitarian crises resulting from conflict (122 a, 122 b, bis).
 5. Involve refugee and displaced women in the design and management of humanitarian activities in order that they derive equal benefits to men (para. 133 i).
 6. Mainstream gender perspectives into national immigration and asylum policies...including recognising gender-related persecution and violence when considering grounds for granting refugee or asylum status (para. 102 l).

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7. Seek to ensure the full participation of women in the promotion of peace, in particular through the full implementation of the UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme (para. 133 j).
 8. Explore new ways of generating resources for peace and development through reduction of excessive military expenditure, and trade and investment in arms production and acquisition (para. 133 m).
- **No Progress:** By and large the language is weak. There are few explicit statements or overt commitments being made. Timed targets and benchmarks have been removed. The commitments made relating to **women and armed conflict** are largely under “actions to be taken at the international level.” Thus governments have not explicitly committed themselves to undertaking these actions at the national level. The following concerns noted by NGOs were not addressed:
 1. There is no mention of the need to vet peacekeepers to ensure that none have criminal records.
 2. The need for peace and tolerance education and non-violent conflict resolution training is not mentioned.
 3. There is no mention of the need for research and policy development on conflict prevention, gender-sensitive indicators, women’s peacebuilding efforts, and gender-sensitive post-conflict recovery programmes and other issues relating to conflict and peace.
 4. No progress has been made on arms reduction or measures to limit the proliferation of arms and landmines that primarily harm women and children.
 5. No explicit commitments are being made to protect and assist ‘internally displaced’ people in accordance with international laws. The term has been omitted from the document and replaced by *displace* which has a broader and less legally binding meaning.

Key Concerns

1. Many government delegates, with the exception of most of the African delegations, had limited knowledge and awareness of women’s contributions to peacemaking and peacebuilding, and the differential impact of conflict on women and men. As a result, they seemed reluctant to prioritise these issues and press for progressive measures.
 2. The European Union’s main energies are directed at regional level actions and not the international level. This is indicative of a trend towards regional fragmentation and a lack of commitment on the part of richer nations to international processes. This can have clear negative consequences for many NGOs in developing nations that look to the international arena for frameworks and commitments to which they can hold their own governments accountable.
 3. There is still immense resistance to women’s involvement in decision-making relating to peace, security and conflict issues or acknowledgement of their contributions.
 4. In some quarters there is reluctance to acknowledge the systematic rape and sexual abuse endured by women in conflict situations, and the need for special healthcare.
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5. The paucity of ‘national level commitments to action’ is alarming. This is particularly relevant in the context of armed conflict, as peacekeepers and other UN delegates are often appointed by national level governments. If Member States do not live up to their commitments, the UN cannot live up to its commitment.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security

On 31st October 2000 the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace and Security*. It spells out actions that need to be taken by states and the UN to improve the protection of women in conflict zones. But more significantly, it is the first time that the UN’s most powerful body officially endorsed the inclusion of civil society groups - notably women - in peace processes and the implementation of peace agreements. This is indicative of the evolutionary winds blowing through the UN system. For women’s groups involved in peacebuilding in war zones world-wide, it is a historic document, with significant implications. For one thing, the Resolution is effectively international law. It can be quoted and used in all related contexts, and it is language that can be strengthened and built upon in the future.

The Resolution calls upon the Council, the UN Secretary-General, member states, and all other parties, (i.e. non-state actors, militias, humanitarian agencies, civil society) to take action in four inter-related areas: **1) Participation of women in decision-making and peace processes;** **2) Gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping;** **3) The protection of women;** and **4) Gender mainstreaming in United Nations reporting systems and programmatic implementation mechanisms.**

i. Participation of Women in Decision-making and Peace Processes

- **Building a critical mass:** The Council urges member states to increase the numbers of women in all levels of decision-making relating to the prevention, management and Resolution of conflicts. It also calls on them to regularly update their lists and provide suitable candidates to the UN Secretary-General. In parallel it calls on the Secretary-General to increase the number of women in decision-making positions within the UN system, including as special envoys in field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel. Finally, the Council states that it will *ensure* that its own missions take gender issues and the rights of women into consideration and calls for the inclusion of gender perspectives in all field operations.
- **Consulting and Including Women’s Groups in Peace Processes:** The Council pledges that its own missions will consult with local and international women’s groups. It calls on all actors (i.e. state, international *and* non-state) in negotiations and peace processes to: adopt a gender perspective that considers the special needs of women and girls during repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction. It also urges the adoption of measures that

support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous conflict resolution processes, and the involvement of women in all implementation mechanisms of peace agreements.

- **Implications:** The endorsement of women's groups and civil society participation in peace processes and particularly the implementation of peace agreements are unprecedented. It opens new windows of opportunity for people's participation and traditional non-state actors in these processes.

The call for more women provides new opportunities for senior and qualified women to enter into positions hitherto dominated by men. However, the absence of actual quotas for the numbers of women in high-level positions, benchmarks and timelines is of concern. No mention is made of how 'gender perspectives' will be incorporated into field operations. There is a danger that no substantial action will be taken by the parties involved. Therefore, *effective monitoring and evaluation, (by NGOs, UN agencies and governments) is critical for the implementation of these recommendations.*

ii. Gender Perspectives and Training in Peacekeeping

The Council calls on the Secretary-General to provide member states with training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and needs of women, and the importance of involving women in peacekeeping missions; and to ensure that all UN civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training. It requests member states to include HIV/AIDS awareness training into programmes for military and civilian police in preparation for deployment. It also *invites* them **to increase their funding** for financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts undertaken by the UN.

- **Implications:** This is a clear endorsement for gender training for peacekeepers and civilian personnel in Peace Support Operations. But without the commitment of governments to provide additional funds - these measures can be ignored or not implemented adequately. The British and Canadian governments are already initiating gender training for peacekeepers, thereby providing a platform and precedent for other countries to follow.

iii. The Protection of Women

The Council calls on ***all actors, (including member states, non-state militias, UN and humanitarian agencies)*** in negotiations and peace processes to adopt a gender perspective including measures that protect and respect the human rights of women and girls, especially on constitutional law, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary, and on issues relating to gender-based violence, including rape. It calls on them to respect the civilian nature of refugee settlements, taking account of the special needs of women, and including them in the management of camps. It also states that the different needs of women and male ex-combatants must be considered when planning disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration strategies.

Member states in particular are called upon to end impunity and prosecute perpetrators of crimes against humanity and war crimes, including sexual and other violence against women, and exclude sexual and gender-based crimes from amnesty provisions in peace deals.

- **Implications:** All state and non-state actors in conflict can be held accountable for violations against women, and all have a responsibility to protect them. UN and humanitarian agencies providing relief to refugees and IDPs can be held accountable for the lack of adequate protection for women and girls, and they must ensure gender-sensitivity in all their planning, programmes, and implementation processes. But without an effective monitoring and evaluation mechanism and incentives for compliance that draws on the concerns of the refugees and IDPs themselves, it is likely that the necessary changes will not be made.

No party in peace negotiations can or should agree to amnesty for sexual and gender-based crimes.

iv. Gender mainstreaming in United Nations Reporting and Implementation Mechanisms

Although the Council will review progress in this area, it is passing responsibility for the implementation of this Resolution to the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General is mandated to carry out a study and report his findings on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peacebuilding and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution. He is also responsible for providing progress reports on gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping missions and on other related areas to the Security Council.

- **Implications:** By and large, issues relating to women in war zones are receiving attention at the highest levels, but much more needs to be done for this rhetoric to translate into concrete action. The lack of timelines for the production of the Secretary-General's report threatens effective and immediate follow-up to the Resolution. The lack of consultation with local and international women's groups and NGOs for the production of the report could result in the omission of critical issues.

Omissions

As a first step this Resolution does offer a great deal. But, there are gaps and weaknesses that must be addressed. **1)** The development of **a database of experienced women peacemakers**, drawn from the recommendations of NGOs and governments, would be an effective means of bringing the voices and experience from the field to the UN, and identifying appropriate individuals for high-level appointments. **2)** To allow for effective implementation and monitoring, it is essential that **the mandates** of all peacekeeping missions and Peace Support Operations routinely specify the protection of women and consultation with them when designing humanitarian programmes. **3)** It is important that **Senior Gender Advisers** who have **decision-making powers** are sent on field operations and fact-finding

missions. **4)** The development of **gender-specific data** and **early warning indicators**, and the **collection of gender-disaggregated data** to enable a better understanding of the impacts of conflict on different sectors of society is essential for effective planning of all PSOs. This is not mentioned in the Resolution. **5)** There is no overt mention of effective **accountability mechanisms and disciplinary actions** for peacekeepers that violate and exploit local populations. **6)** There is no mention of **consultation** with, or the participation of civil society and women's groups in the **follow-up processes** to the Resolution, or the preparation of the expert reports. **7)** There is no call for the development of mechanisms that would enable senior headquarters staff at UN to **hear the voices, concerns and opinions of the recipients/beneficiaries** of PSOs, and relief and rehabilitation programmes, so that these operations could be improved both from headquarters to field level and from the field up.

Recommendations for Follow-up

1. Governments and the UN should develop mechanisms to ensure that civil society and women's groups are consulted in all follow-up processes including the development of the Secretary-General's report and implementation of the field-based actions noted.
2. NGOs should continue monitoring the implementation of the Resolution at national and international levels, lobby for greater consultation with UN agencies in follow-up processes and produce shadow reports based on regional concerns.
3. Ensure that the Security Council assesses progress of these matters by October 2001, and regularly thereafter.

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