



## Issue Brief on *Peace Processes*

### Contents:

- **Defining Terms**
- **Fact Sheet**
- **Treaties & Institutions**
- **Tools and Checklist**
- **UNIFEM action**
- **UN Resources**
- **Recommendations**

### **Introduction**

Women organize for peace in their communities and at the national and regional level, but they are rarely a part of the official peace process. Formal negotiations that exclude half the population from the political process have little hope of popular support. Women's activism must be supported and their political demands acknowledged at every step, from peace negotiations to power-conflict elections and the restructuring of society. The exclusion of women from the peace process jeopardizes a sustainable peace. It is therefore, also the responsibility of the international community to support women's activities in the peace process, following Resolution 1325. While it is ultimately a state responsibility to honour the agreements that have been signed, and to create an environment in which they can be implemented, the international community also has a role to play. Whether international donors are in a country as adviser, as peacekeepers or as educators, they must keep gender issues at the forefront of their work. They must focus more effort on supporting the implementation process through training, support of women's organizations and capacity-building. Specific mechanisms must be put in place to guarantee women's continued presence through constitutional, judicial, legislative and electoral reforms. And, of course, they must work to guarantee the peace that will allow reforms to be implemented.



## Defining Terms<sup>1</sup>

- **Track I diplomacy** is carried out by state and/or official actors with the authority and on behalf of their state or multinational organization. Track I diplomats can participate, support or mediate peace negotiations. Parties to the conflict, including non-government actors, can engage Track I negotiators to act on their behalf during peace negotiations. The commitment by states and parties to the conflict of Track I diplomats to communicate on their behalf indicates commitment to the peace process. However, parties to internal conflicts do not always recognize each other's legitimacy, which can make Track I diplomacy difficult.<sup>2</sup> Several efforts have been made to alter the adversarial nature of traditional diplomacy in favour of collective security and international cooperation, including the League of Nations and the United Nations. "Citizen", or "track II", diplomacy arose as a result of the general ineffectiveness of these efforts and of traditional diplomacy.<sup>3</sup>
- **Track II Diplomacy** (also called "citizen diplomacy"<sup>4</sup>) is carried out by unofficial third party mediators or facilitators, usually actors representing non-governmental organizations engaged in activity at the grassroots level and back channel measures. Track II diplomacy is important in maintaining support at the local level for negotiated agreements and terms to a peace settlement, and is particularly important to prevent armed conflict from occurring and in the peace-building phase following armed conflict.<sup>5</sup>
- The term **empowerment** is used to refer to a number of processes, but all involve giving one or more parties to a conflict more power. This may be in relation to another party, or it may involve increasing the power (and hence efficacy) of all of the parties at the same time. The most common use of the term "empowerment" refers to increasing the power of the low-power group, so that it more nearly equals the power of the high power group. From the perspective of intermediaries, this is often done because negotiation tends to be more successful when the parties negotiating have relatively equal levels of power. When they do not, the lower power party tends to get co-opted, or otherwise treated unfairly in the negotiation or mediation process. To prevent this from happening, the mediator can take a number of steps to "empower" the lower power group. The mediator can provide access to outside resources, give advice, give negotiation or communication skills training, or structure the process in a way that somewhat favors the low-power group, thus in a sense balancing out the power differences. (This approach calls into question the notion of impartiality, as do many of the other methods of empowering one group more than another, however.)<sup>6</sup>
- **Conciliation** involves efforts by a third party to improve the relationship between two or more disputants. It may be done as a part of mediation, or independently. Generally, the third party will work with the disputants to correct misunderstandings, reduce fear and distrust, and generally improve communication between the parties in conflict. Sometimes this alone will result in dispute settlement; at other times, it paves the way for a later mediation process.<sup>7</sup>
- **Conflict prevention** is intended to prevent human suffering and act as an alternative to costly politico-military operations to resolve conflicts after they have broken out. Although preventive diplomacy is a well-trying means of preventing conflict, and is still the primary political measure for preventing and resolving conflicts, the United Nations' experience in



recent years has shown that there are several other forms of action that can have a useful preventive effect, including: preventive deployment; preventive disarmament; development projects in the context of a prevention strategy and humanitarian action. These can involve, with the consent of the Government or Governments concerned, a wide range of actions in the fields of good governance, human rights and economic and social development. Conflict prevention is one of the primary obligations of Member States set forth in the UN Charter.<sup>8</sup>

- **Consensus** decision making requires all participants must agree before formal decisions or action are taken. Such processes provide a basis for interest-based negotiations and are a primary mechanism through which win-win agreements are negotiated. These processes can be used to address procedural questions as well as the underlying dispute or core conflict. Consensus building efforts depend upon a willingness of the parties to compromise and give up some of what they want so that others can have some of what they want. If one party insists upon complete victory or the absolute defeat of their opponent, then consensus approaches are likely to fail. The advantage of consensus processes is that the resulting decision is one that meets the interests of all the parties and that everyone can support. The disadvantage is that developing such a decision can be a very slow process, involving many people over a long period of time. There is also a relatively high probability of failure. Successful consensus building also requires successful efforts to control escalation so that people will focus upon the issues and not inter-personal animosities.<sup>9</sup>
- **Constituents**, or one's constituency, refers to the people a decision maker represents. The constituents of a governmental leader are the citizens he or she represents in Parliament or other legislative body. The constituents of a negotiator are the people he or she is negotiating for; members of a union, perhaps, or of an interest group or business.<sup>10</sup>
- **Escalation**<sup>11</sup> is an increase in intensity of a conflict. According to Dean Pruitt and Jeffery Rubin (1986, 7-8), as a conflict escalates, the disputants change from relatively gentle opposition to heavier, more confrontational tactics. The number of parties tends to increase, as do the number of issues, and the breadth of the issues (that is, issues change from ones which are very specific to more global concerns). Lastly disputants change from not only wanting to win themselves, but also wanting to hurt the opponent. While conflicts escalate quickly and easily, de-escalation, a diminishing of intensity, is often much harder to achieve.<sup>12</sup>
- **Mediation** is one of several approaches to conflict resolution that uses a "third party" intermediary to help the disputing parties resolve their conflict. Unlike arbitration, where the third party actually makes the decision about how the conflict should be resolved, mediators only assist the parties in their efforts to formulate a solution of their own. Thus, mediators bring the parties together (or sometimes shuttle between them), help them describe the problem in terms of negotiable interests and needs rather than non-negotiable positions, and develop a set of ideas for how the interests and needs of both sides can be met simultaneously. The mediator will then help the parties assess the relative merits of the different options and draft an agreement that works best to satisfy everyone's interests. It is up to the parties, however, to decide whether to accept the final agreement or not. While there may be considerable social pressure to agree to the settlement, if it does not meet the needs of a party as well as an alternative approach might, that party is still free to reject the settlement and try an alternative conflict resolution technique, be it litigation, direct action, an election, or war.<sup>13</sup>



- The term **multi-track diplomacy** has been developed recently to reflect the idea that international exchanges can take many forms beyond official negotiations between diplomats. Examples of multi-track diplomacy include official and unofficial conflict resolution efforts, citizen and scientific exchanges, international business negotiations, international cultural and athletic activities and other international contacts and cooperative efforts.<sup>14</sup>
- **Negotiation** is bargaining—it is the process of discussion and give-and-take between two or more disputants who seek to find a solution to a common problem. Negotiation occurs between people all the time—between parents and children, between husbands and wives, between workers and employers, between nations. It can be relatively cooperative, as it is when both sides seek a solution that is mutually beneficial (commonly called win-win or cooperative bargaining), or it can be confrontational (commonly called win-lose or adversarial) bargaining, when each side seeks to prevail over the other.<sup>15</sup>
- The **parties** are the people who are involved in the dispute. Most parties are disputants--the people who are in conflict with each other. Other parties--often called "third parties,"--are parties that intervene in the dispute to try to help the disputants resolve it. Mediators and judges, for example, are third parties.<sup>16</sup>
- **Peace-building** refers to all external efforts to assist countries and regions in their transitions from war to peace, and include all activities and programmes designed to support and strengthen these transitions. The UN's role is often centered on facilitating the implementation of a peace agreement. Effective peace-building also requires concurrent and integrated action on many different fronts: military, diplomatic, political, economic, social, humanitarian, and the many imponderables that go to make up a coherent and stable social fabric. These efforts range from demilitarization to building up national institutions, including police and judicial systems; promoting human rights; monitoring elections; encouraging formal and informal processes of political participation; providing sustainable sources of livelihood to demobilized combatants and returning refugees and displaced persons, through training programmes, the reactivation of the economy and the provision of social services; and stimulating the normal process of economic and social development which will benefit the population as a whole and provide the most secure basis for lasting peace.<sup>17</sup>
- **Peacekeeping** is the prevention or ending of violence within or between nation-states through the intervention of an outside third party that keeps the warring parties apart. Unlike peacemaking, which involves negotiating a resolution to the issues in conflict, the goal of peacekeeping is simply preventing further violence.<sup>18</sup>
- **Peacemaking** refers to the use of diplomatic means to persuade parties in conflict to cease hostilities and to negotiate a peaceful settlement of their dispute. As with preventive action, the United Nations can often play a role if the parties to the dispute agree that it should do so. Peacemaking thus excludes the use of force against one of the parties to enforce an end to hostilities, an activity that in United Nations parlance is referred to as "peace enforcement".<sup>19</sup>

## Fact Sheet

- Women often organize themselves at the grassroots level in order to promote activities for peace, but they do not get access to the negotiation table in the formal peace process.



- Male leaders of the fighting parties usually negotiate an end to war and lay the foundations for peace. Traditionally, it has been thought that those who take up arms must be the only ones involved in peace negotiations. Women are often excluded from formal discussions given their lack of participation and access in pre-conflict decision-making organizations and institutions.
- The marginalization of women from equal participation in peace negotiations denies half the population equal access to the political process and denies all people the benefits of having a female perspective in political decision-making.
- Peace processes and negotiations are not single events. The negotiations begin during war and persist throughout the various stages of changeover to peace. Peace negotiations can include the various elements: power-sharing agreements, economic reconstruction, demobilization and reintegration of soldiers; legislation on human rights; access to land, education and health; the status of displaced people; and the empowerment of civil society. Therefore, they provide a unique opportunity to transform institutions, structures, and relationships within society
- It is not enough to have some “token women”, however capable, at the highest levels of decision-making. More women need to be included at all levels of decision-making . In addition, women with a comprehension of social justice and gender equality can make peace negotiations more effective . UN High Commissioner for Refugees Ruud Lubbers called on women to do more to influence “political priorities”, urging them to speak out against political agendas that do not take into account what is important to them.<sup>20</sup>
- The opportunities for the involvement of women in formal peace negotiations and their capacity for effective participation are often dependent on their political mobilization prior to the peace process itself. Translating women’s activism into a presence at the peace table has not been easy since many women who make it to the peace table and beyond, do so through a combination of women’s organizing and support from the international community. Many groups have been providing training for women to develop negotiation and leadership skills as well as bringing together groups of women so they can strategize.
- Gender discrimination remains a formidable barrier to women’s participation in formal decision-making processes. Political institutions tend to perpetuate an exclusionary attitude and culture of politics toward women. As a result, many women around the world have chosen to work outside formal politics within various civil society organizations and political parties that advocate for social and political change.
- Researchers have concluded that women leaders do make a difference when they are there in sufficient numbers. Fifteen per cent is usually regarded as the minimum critical mass when combined with feminist commitment and support from women’s and peace organizations
- The exclusion of women from official peace negotiations “has detrimental effects on the long-term sustainability of a settlement, because vital voices and interest are not heard”
- Women can bring the strategies and knowledge to the table providing practical understandings of the challenges confronting civilians and the best way to address these challenges . Women’s concerns come not merely out of their own experiences but out of their rootedness in their communities. They represent different constituencies: those in need of education, of health care, of jobs and of land. They have a different experience of war from male fighters and politicians.



- Women's interests, rights, and specific concerns are seldom acknowledged during formal peace negotiations; the exclusion of women at the peace tables ensures that the traditional absence of women is maintained. An important way to guarantee that women's voices and perspectives are heard at the negotiating table is to give them their deserved place at that table. Furthermore, the exclusion of women can have damaging effects on the lasting sustainability of an agreement because not all voices are heard.
- Women have made a difference in the peace negotiations to which they have gained access. In Northern Ireland, women's groups spent a decade building the trust between Protestants and Roman Catholics that was the foundation for the ultimate agreements.<sup>21</sup> In Southeastern Europe, women from Kosovo's new Assembly have banded together across party lines to form a women's caucus - a non-partisan effort in a community traumatized by conflict and ethnic strife. In Somalia women presented themselves as a 'sixth clan' that reached beyond ethnicity to a "vision of gender equality". The women ultimately helped create a National Charter that guaranteed women 25 seats in the 245-member Transitional National Assembly (TNA), and protected the human rights of women, children, and minorities as well. In Nicaragua and the Philippines, women became leaders at times of national fatigue or reaction, symbolizing healing and reconciliation
- To date, the use of quotas has been one of the most successful methods for guaranteeing a minimum percentage of women in official negotiations as well as in government positions. In Mozambique the Organizacao de Mulher Mocambicana, created in 1973, still recruits women for decision-making positions, and women now make up 30 per cent of Mozambique's legislative bodies.<sup>22</sup>
- Quotas alone cannot guarantee the emergence of a "gender perspective" in the political process, although such a perspective is more likely to develop when a critical mass of women are in decision-making positions. Especially when numbers are small and cultural barriers enormous, quotas can only put women in power; they cannot guarantee the grass-roots concerns will be addressed. Thus, quotas must be viewed a temporary solution to increase gender balance. They are the first step on the path to gender equality, both a practical and a symbolic measure to support women's leadership. They cannot, however, replace long-term strategies that address the socio-economic constraints that keep women from participating in political process.<sup>23</sup>
- Gender equality should be enshrined in a nation's constitution and bill of rights and be specified in all relevant clauses, including those setting up the legislation, the executive and the judiciary branches. Constitutions should be written with gender-sensitive rather than neutral language to avoid ambiguity and to ensure fairness and equality.

## Treaties & Institutions

- The [Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women](#) (1979) calls for quotas and reservations to increase the number of women at all levels of political decision-making.
- [Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Co-operation](#) A/RES/37/63. 3 December 1982.
- Beijing Platform for Action, signed in 1995 by 189 countries at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women, promotes women's equal participation at all stages of peace process, including at the level of decision-making. It calls for a 30 per cent minimum



representation of women in decision-making bodies. It also includes a chapter on women and armed conflict that states “if women are to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace, they must be empowered politically and economically and represented adequately at all levels of decision-making”

- [The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children](#), UN-commissioned study by Graca Machel, 1996 discusses the need for women’s participation in conflict resolution processes. The study calls for women to be key members in the planning and implementation of relief, rehabilitation, peace-making, reconciliation and reconstruction programmes.
- [Security Council Resolution 1325](#) (31 October 2000) on Women and peace and security. SC/Res/1325 calls on all member-states and the UN to include women at the highest levels of decision-making, especially in peace negotiations. 1325 is the first time the Security Council officially endorses the inclusion of women in peace processes and the implementation of peace agreements.
- Beijing Plus 5, United Nations General Assembly Special Session. “[Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development Peace for the Twenty-First Century](#),” New York, 5-9 June 2000
- Secretary-General’s study on [Women, Peace and Security](#) (2002) discusses the women’s involvement in the peace processes in Chapter IV.
- European Parliament Report and Resolution on Gender Aspects in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building, October 2000, The resolution calls on member states and the European Commission to include more women in diplomatic services; to nominate more women to international diplomatic assignments and senior positions with the UN and increase the percentage of women in delegations to the national, regional and international meetings concerned with peace and security; and to ensure that at least 40 per cent of women should hold posts in reconciliation, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peace building and conflict prevention. It also urge the member states to promote the establishment of national machinery for gender equality within governments through a Ministry of Women’s Affairs, a Gender Desk, or an Office of the Status of Women. Finally, the resolution stresses the necessity of automatically including a gender analysis in the planning and practice of external interventions in reconstruction efforts. [more...](#)

The Namibia Plan of Action on 31 May 2000 ensured the equal access and participation of women and men in the area of conflict and at all levels of the peace process. It also emphasizes that women should have an integral part in negotiations for ceasefire and/or peace agreements. It also ensures that gender issues need to be placed by the negotiation team both on the agenda and in the subsequent agreement. In its mandate the Declaration illustrated that gender mainstreaming should be incorporated in initial report to the Security Council (SC), SC resolutions should incorporate a specific mandate on gender mainstreaming, all mandates for peace support operations should refer to the CEDAW and carry over tasks to implement gender mainstreaming in the post-conflict reconstruction period. The meeting also brought the issue of appointing female Special Representatives of the Secretary General and the senior field staff for peace support operations to the fore. There were also some emphases on increase number of female in senior positions in peace support operations. [More...](#)

- The 30 April 2001 Inter-Agency Meeting on Gender Equality was chaired by the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women on behalf of the United Nations Secretariat. The meeting submitted a set of recommendation on the purpose, outputs, and approaches in the work of the United Nations system for the achievement of gender



equality to the High-Level Committee on Programme and Operation to the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC). The meeting established a task force on women, peace and security on 12 October, 2000. In its task of following-up resolution 1325 (2000) the Committee developed a draft action plan for implementation of the resolution in the UN system. Work was also underway on the Secretary-General's report on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, as requested in paragraph 16 of the resolution. [more...](#)

## Tools and Checklists

- International Alert [Women Building Peace Campaign](#) briefing on involving women in peace negotiations
- British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Dr. Marjorie "Mo" Mowlan's [10 Peacemaking Lessons From the Good Friday Negotiations](#) (Northern Ireland), by Gascho, Susan & Wahrhaftig, Paul, Organization: Conflict Resolution Center, Inc.
- [Conflict Negotiation: Skills Checklist](#), Umbreit, Mark S., Center for Restorative Justice and Peacemaking, 1995, University of Minnesota – a summary of Fisher and Ury's book "Getting to Yes,"
- [USAID Draft checklist for post-conflict political assessment](#), Tom Beck, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, Office of Development Partners,
- [Dimensions of International Negotiations: Structures, Processes, and Outcomes](#). Daniel Druckman,
- [Architecture of International Involvement in the Tajik Peace Process](#), Vladimir Goryayev, Conciliation Resources. Focuses on the role of the UN and other international organisations (NGOs) in the Tajikistan peace negotiations.
- [Civic Initiatives in the Liberian Peace Process](#) Samuel Kofi II Woods, Conciliation Resources, 1997. This article reviews the role of civic organizations in the Liberian peace process in the 1990's. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Civic Disarmament Campaign (CDC) are two of the main organizations discussed.
- Research from the [International Crisis Group](#) in Sudan, Congo and Uganda reveals that peace processes, governance and post-conflict reconstruction are more successful when they include women's participation. In each country, women are, "Marginalized in formal processes and under-represented in the security sector as a whole. Governments and the international community must do much more to support women peace activists". Peace activists' efforts are many times overshadowed by the high levels of violence against women as well as the oppression they face in armed conflict.

In Sudan, women were excluded from the peace building processes between the North-South and Darfur. Women face many challenges in Congo, for instance, women confront gender-based violence and under-representation. While in Uganda, the women's peace movement has made great advances compared to the other countries.

The report gave a number of recommendations to all three governments. The report urges the Sudanese Government of National Unity and the Government of South Sudan to: "Fulfill stated commitments to women's participation in all formal government structures". It urges the Government of Congo to: "Establish commissions to apply and monitor





measures related to women in the new constitution, especially Article 15 on the elimination of sexual violence, and promote equal opportunities for women". Finally the report calls on the Government of Uganda to: "Immediately enact and provide funding for laws related to domestic relations, sexual offences, succession and domestic violence to protect the rights of women and children in the family and educate the population about those laws".

## UNIFEM Action

- In Burundi, women's participation in the peace process was enhanced when the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, under whose auspices the peace talks took place, invited UNIFEM to brief the negotiating parties and facilitation team on gender issues relating to the peace accord. With experts from Guatemala, Uganda and Zambia, UNIFEM provided advice on post-war and reconstruction issues such as land rights, repatriation, women's access to serve in public office, the resettlement and reintegration of refugees, judicial and electoral systems, and constitution and land reform. Together with the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation and with support from the UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Department of Public Information (DPI), and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), UNIFEM convened the first All Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference. More than 50 Burundian women presented a common vision for peace and reconciliation to former President Nelson Mandela, the Facilitator of the Burundi Peace Negotiations. Key recommendations made by the women included: the establishment of mechanisms to punish and put an end to war crimes such as rape and sexual violence, guarantees for women's rights to property, land and inheritance, measures to ensure women's security and safe return and guarantees that girls enjoy the same rights as boys to all levels of education. In a historic move, 23 of the Burundi women's recommendations were included in the final peace accord incorporating a strong recognition of the centrality of women's rights and opportunities to democracy, governance, peace and security, and reconstruction. The successful integration of gender equality into the Arusha process by Burundi women was pivotal in demonstrating to the world that women's participation can make a tangible and substantive difference to peace processes. This played an important role in bringing the Security Council, in October 2000, during Namibia's Presidency, to convene its first open debate on Women and Peace and Security.
- In efforts to operationalize UN Security Council Resolution 1325, UNIFEM, in collaboration with the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for the Great Lakes Region and Chairman of the Implementation Monitoring Committee (IMC), held a "Gender Mainstreaming" seminar in Tanzania in August 2001. The seminar participants analyzed the Peace Agreement and developed a set of recommendations and an action plan for UNIFEM to best support the work of the IMC in the implementation of the agreement. They also urged widespread participation of the Burundi population in the implementation of the Peace Agreement in order to create a common understanding and ownership of the process.
- In 2002, UNIFEM continued to provide support the Government of Burundi in the development of a national gender policy. In collaboration with AFRICARE Burundi supported a four month reconciliation program for women IDPS, returnees and stayees in Gitega and Kausi focusing on concepts of conflict resolution and peace building with an emphasis on communication, networking and both gender sensitive and culturally appropriate values that promote reconciliation and peace. A network of activists called INAMAHORO was formed and the workshops were closed with a ceremony to welcome back the returnees. The Gender Equality Project executed by UNIFEM on behalf of UNDP



and the Ministry of Social Affairs supported the launching of a network of key ministries working in the area of gender; gender focal points have been set up in all government industries. ACCORD was also subcontracted to conduct gender training for civil servants in all ministries. Through advocacy facilitated by UNIFEM, there has been considerable success in gender mainstreaming in high profile national decision-making institutions. Media campaigns to support greater highlighting of gender related issues have produced and disseminated 1000 fliers on gender equality in the national language, Kirundi, a calendar as an advocacy tool for gender equality and gender mainstreaming in politics and programs and brochures and videocassettes to broaden the outreach. UNIFEM supported widespread publicity on CEDAW and its translation into Kirundi.

- In the DRC, UNIFEM was instrumental in the formation of a Women's Political Caucus. UNIFEM was invited to work with the office of President Maisre, facilitator of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD), to develop a strategy to support women's participation in the dialogue and to address gender aspects of the peace process. President Masire urged SG and the SC to follow up on Resolution 1325 by urging each party to include women in their delegations at the ICD. Within the framework of the ICD, UNIFEM initiated a strategic collaboration with international NGOs like Femme Africa Solidarite, and ACCORP South Africa. UNIFEM assisted Congolese women to liaise with women political movements like the women's wing of ANC. The women experts contributed substantively to the agenda of the five commissions: defense and security, political and judiciary, financial and economic, humanitarian, social and cultural, peace and reconciliation. UNIFEM worked with women's organizations and the facilitator's office to support participation of 67 women's delegates and experts to the dialogue. Commitment was made to provide further technical assistance to the Facilitator's office in the last round of negotiations. The women have drawn up a memorandum appealing for sustainable peace in the Congo and have given television and radio interviews. They have also been successful in meeting representatives of the three key players in the peace talks - the government and the rebel groups.
- To prepare for the October 2002 IGAD peace process in Somalia, UNIFEM trained fifty female leaders in mediation and negotiation from a gender perspective. UNIFEM held a seminar for female delegates to the Somali peace negotiations, providing them with the language of Resolution 1325 to be used in the negotiations. Also in Somalia, UNIFEM trained thirty farmers and development workers in technology and leaderships skills. Guided by the SC's focus on food security in conflict zones, UNIFEM undertook the "Gender and Household Food Economy Assessment" to better understand women's active roles in food production and household maintenance in Somalia. UNIFEM also funded peace dialogues for women and Somalia. The "African Women for Conflict Resolution and Peace" programme deepened support for gender sensitive and gender inclusive peace building and resolution strategies. Subsequently, UNIFEM facilitated four strategic meetings for Somali women leaders to design implementation plans for the programme's strategies. To cope with the lack of governmental cohesion in Somalia, UNIFEM supported community dialogues to involve local women in the peace process. UNIFEM also provided ten Somali NGOs with concrete training in strategic planning, conflict resolution and paralegal skills. In June 2002, UNIFEM held the first ever gender sensitive demobilization seminar in Somalia. The seminar was attended by female ex-combatants, ministers and members of civil society, and sought to strengthen gender awareness in demobilization, disarmament, reintegration and reintegration efforts. UNIFEM held a series of workshops and trainings throughout 2002 on HIV/AIDS and gender for sixty policy makers from Somaliland and Puntland. In March 2003, UNIFEM provided technical assistance to a three-day workshop for women delegates to the IGAD process. Delegates agreed to advocate for at least a twenty-five percent quota in all new institutions and the full inclusion of women in the process of building new institutions.



- In celebration of the 5th anniversary (2005) of Security Council Resolution 1325 and the creation of a new United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, UNIFEM completed a new Peace and Security publication, "Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes." This publication highlights the importance of women's involvement at all stages of peace processes in order to ensure sustainable and long-term peace. The opportunities afforded in the transition from war to peace open a window to address root causes of conflict and to transform institutions, structures and relationships within society. "Securing the Peace" provides concrete recommendations to: support women's effective participation at all stages of a peace process, promote gender-sensitive peace negotiations and agreements, and encourage the mainstreaming of a gender perspective throughout the implementation of peace accords.
- UNIFEM takes action worldwide to facilitate women's participation in the peace process, increase the numbers of women in post-conflict decision-making, build their political influence, and make governance processes more sensitive to gender. In preparation for the Expert Group Meeting (EGM) on Democratic Governance in Africa: Strategies for Greater Participation of Women in December 2005 in Arusha, UNIFEM commissioned a background report to document its activities in this area. This discussion paper outlines the agency's contributions to enhance women's political participation and integrate a gender perspective in post-conflict governance in Africa, focusing on Burundi, Liberia, and Somalia.

## UN Resources

- [Department of Political Affairs](#) (DPA): The DPA facilitates increased participation of women in both informal and formal peace processes/negotiations and ensures that UN-brokered peace agreements take into consideration the needs and concerns of women and girls. DPA is creating increased gender sensitivity in field offices and encouraging increased dialogue with civil society. Finally, DPA is committed to supporting efforts by the Security Council to give greater attention to gender perspectives in its conflict prevention and peace-building efforts.
- [United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organization](#) (UNESCO): UNESCO is devoted to promoting women's contribution to a "culture of peace". The agency in the last five years has supported initiatives to strengthen women's capacity for leadership in order to promote a culture of peace. UNESCO adopted the Manifesto 2000 for a culture of Peace and Non-violence in March 1999. The manifesto is a basic framework through which each and every individual commits them to promoting a culture of peace. UNESCO is committed to actions that ensure equality between women and men. This way the agency commits itself to implement the PFA with adequate resources and political will and through, inter alia, the elaboration, implementation and follow up of National plans of action. Following on the process that commenced in Kampala in 1994, with the development of the Kampala Action Plan, UNESCO has supported the development of Culture of Peace in Africa by hosting a conference in Zanzibar in May 1999. The Conference brought together over three hundred women from different walks of life. The meeting was the agency's contribution to a mid term review of PFA. The conference was a follow up of the process of building women's capacity in peace building in Africa. UNESCO's project on Civil Education for Peace and Good Governance seeks to document the experiences of women in peace processes.
- Expert Group Meeting, organized by the Division for the Advancement of Women, the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues, and the



Department of Political Affairs, "Peace agreements as a means for promoting gender equality and ensuring participation of women – A framework of model provisions", 10-13 November 2003, Ottawa, Canada.

## Recommendations

### Recommendations on Women and peace negotiations made by the Independent Experts and other Actors, Institutions and Organizations

#### The Independent Experts recommend:<sup>24</sup>

1. **The Secretary-General, in keeping with his personal commitment, should increase the number of women in senior position in peace-related functions.** Priority should be given to achieving gender parity in his appointment of women as Special Representatives and Envoys, beginning with a minimum of 30 per cent in the next three years, with a view to gender parity by 2015.

**Explanation of this Recommendation:** The UN Charter states that it will "place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs." Yet in 2000 when Resolution 1325 was passed, only four women had ever served as Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSG) – in-theatre heads of mission – in peacekeeping operations. With Resolution 1325 the Security Council urged the Secretary-General to appoint more women as his Special Representatives and Envoys in peace-related functions. At the time, there were no women holding the position. Two years later, only Heidi Tagliavini of Switzerland serves as SRSG in Georgia, and three women serve as Deputy SRSGs. This poor track record must be improved by a large margin and quickly in order for the information and "gender perspectives" called for by the Security Council and the Secretary-General to be delivered, and for the UN to deliver for women.

**Entities Responsible:** Secretary-General; Secretariat departments, especially OSAGI, DPA, DPKO; Member states of the UN to nominate qualified candidates.

**Ideas for Implementation:** The Secretary-General should take initiatives, such as a quota formula to tackle the acute gender imbalance of Special Representatives to the Secretary-General (SRSGs). Increased resources should be devoted to maintaining the list of qualified women candidates for senior peace-related functions of the United Nations as nominated by national governments. Increased transparency, particularly, information about how political institutions, NGOs, research and academic institutions can nominate qualified women candidates for senior peace-related functions of the United Nations.

2. **Gender equality to be recognized in all peace processes, agreements and transitional governance structures.** International and regional organizations and all participating parties involved in peace processes should advocate for gender parity, maintaining a minimum 30 per cent representation of consideration and specifically addressed in all such agreements.

**Explanation of this Recommendation:** Women establish their credibility as peacemakers at the grass-roots level but are marginalized from official negotiations. The nature of the dialogue changes when women are present. To date, the use of quotas has



been one of the most successful methods for guaranteeing a minimum percentage of women in official negotiations as well as in government positions. The Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) calls for a 30 per cent minimum representation of women in decision-making bodies and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 urges the appointment of women in decision-making bodies and peace processes. Some NGOs have expressed dissatisfaction at the 30 per cent minimum, especially when considering the lack of progress seven years after Beijing. Instead, they call for parity, with a range of 45 to 55 per cent as acceptable in a democracy.

**Entities Responsible:** SRSGs and operational UN agencies helping with the peace process, especially DPA; regional organizations; national political parties; UN agencies supporting member states establish governance structures in the post-conflict environment; women's organizations and advocates.

**Ideas for Implementation:** SRSGs and all relevant actors should advocate for the democratic participation of women in securing and building peace. SRSGs and all relevant actors should be provided model language, best practices and examples of lessons learned on the gender components of peace processes, agreements and transitional governance structures by UNIFEM. UNIFEM, working closely with DPA, regional organizations, and other relevant departments of the United Nations, should convene women's discussion tables, and cross-party/clan opportunities for building consensus between women for peace, and the contours of the post-conflict society prior to, during and after peace negotiations. The United Nations needs to speak with one voice on the issue of quotas, unlike the case of East Timor where one department supported and one opposed quotas for women.

3. **Peace negotiations and agreements to have a gender perspective through the full integration of women's concerns and participation in peace processes.** Women's peace tables should be established and enabled through financial, political and technical assistance.

**Explanation of this Recommendation:** Women's concerns come not merely out of their own experiences, but out of their rootedness in their communities. They represent different constituencies: those in need of education, of health care, of jobs and of land. They have a different experience of war from male fighters and politicians. Women do not have the financial, political and technical resources to buy themselves training, access to decision-makers, travel and the chance to participate in peace processes. Undemocratic and discriminatory social and cultural practices that deem security as the domain of men alone are perpetuated when women do not have the necessary resources, education or experience. The success enjoyed by women's efforts when they join together in a cross-party/faction women's table to identify gender components of the peace process should be replicated.

**Entities Responsible:** SRSGs; regional organizations; donor governments; private foundations; women's organizations and advocates.

**Ideas for Implementation:** SRSGs and all relevant actors should be provided model language, best practices and examples of lessons learned on the gender components of peace processes, agreements and transitional governance structures by UNIFEM. Manuals should be developed by UNIFEM working in collaboration with partner organizations that bring together information, success stories and strategies that increased women's engagement and participation with peace process. Such manuals should include model language for constitutional, electoral, legislative and judicial reform packages that define



the nation-building phase, to ensure that in these foundational documents, women and men enjoy equal human rights and access to justice and decision-making. UNIFEM working closely with DPA and other relevant departments of the United Nations should convene women's discussion tables, and cross-party/clan opportunities for building consensus between women for peace, and the contours of the post-conflict society prior to, during and after peace negotiations. Donors should support the activities of women working to participate in peace negotiations.

**The UNIFEM Publication [Women at the Peace Table](#)<sup>25</sup> recommends:**

- Not all women who are in position of power are active proponents of women's rights. It should not be assumed therefore that gender equality would be achieved by increasing the number of women decision-makers. Sanam Naraghi Anderlini in *Women at the Peace Table* suggests that "avenues must be sought to build a critical mass of transformational leaders—both men and women— who place the goals of social justice and gender equality at the centre of their political motivations, and who will together assume the responsibility for moving this agenda forward.

**Secretary-General's [Study on Women, Peace and Security](#) recommends:**

- Ensure that all peace accords brokered by the United Nations systematically and explicitly address the consequences of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, their contribution to peace processes and their needs and priorities in the post-conflict context.
- Ensure full involvement of women in negotiations of peace agreements at national and international levels, including through provision of training for women and women's organizations on formal peace processes.
- Identify women's informal peace-building initiatives and provide relevant technical and financial support and establish mechanisms to channel the outcomes of these initiatives into more formal peace processes, including through the involvement of women in Track II negotiations.

**Department of Political Affairs recommends<sup>26</sup>:**

- At the local level it will be important to integrate women effectively into the peace process and ensure local "ownership" of the processes. Women's groups should participate in all stages of peace negotiations, in planning for the future, in rebuilding and in formulating preventive strategies to avoid future conflict.

<sup>1</sup> Definitions are drawn from the University of Colorado Conflict Research Consortium's [International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict](#), the UN [Department of Political Affairs](#), and the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies "[Conflict Management Toolkit](#)". See specific references below.

<sup>2</sup> School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, "The Conflict Management Toolkit: Approaches" <http://cmtoolkit.sais-jhu.edu/index.php?print=yes&name=pm-diplomacy>

<sup>3</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Official (Track One) Diplomacy," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/track1.htm>



- <sup>4</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Unofficial Communication, Citizen Diplomacy, and Multi-Track Diplomacy," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1988, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/citdip.htm>
- <sup>5</sup> School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, "The Conflict Management Toolkit: Approaches" <http://cmtoolkit.sais-jhu.edu/index.php?print=yes&name=pm-diplomacy>
- <sup>6</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Empowerment," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/empower.htm>
- <sup>7</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>8</sup> UN Department of Political Affairs, "Conflict Prevention," last accessed 21 June 2004, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev\\_dip/fst\\_prev\\_dip.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev_dip/fst_prev_dip.htm)
- <sup>9</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Consensus Rule Process," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/consenpr.htm>
- <sup>10</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>11</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Escalation Problems," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, [http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/overlay\\_problems.htm#escalation](http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/overlay_problems.htm#escalation)
- <sup>12</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>13</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Mediation," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/mediatn.htm>
- <sup>14</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>15</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>16</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>17</sup> UN Department of Political Affairs, "Peacemaking and Peace-building," last accessed 21 June 2004, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev\\_dip/fst\\_prev\\_dip.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev_dip/fst_prev_dip.htm)
- <sup>18</sup> Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, "Glossary," International Online Training Programme on Intractable Conflict, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm>
- <sup>19</sup> UN Department of Political Affairs, "Peacemaking and Peace-building," last accessed 21 June 2004, [http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev\\_dip/fst\\_prev\\_dip.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/prev_dip/fst_prev_dip.htm)
- <sup>20</sup> "Stronger Roles for Women in Peace Processes and Refugee Camps, Urges Report," UN High Commissioner for Refugees via ReliefWeb, 22 January 2003, <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/0/24329d9437e6f66585256cb70076fc65?OpenDocument>
- <sup>21</sup> H. E. Sheikh Hasina, "Put Women at the Peace Table," 13 November 2000, *Christian Science Monitor*, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/general/2000/women3.htm>
- <sup>22</sup> Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Organizing for Peace," in *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment of the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, UNIFEM, 2002, [http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/149/218\\_chapter06.pdf](http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/149/218_chapter06.pdf)
- <sup>23</sup> Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Organizing for Peace," in *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment of the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, UNIFEM, 2002, [http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/149/218\\_chapter06.pdf](http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/149/218_chapter06.pdf)
- <sup>24</sup> Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Organizing for Peace," in *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment of the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, UNIFEM, 2002, [http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/149/218\\_chapter06.pdf](http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/149/218_chapter06.pdf)
- <sup>25</sup> *Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference*, UNIFEM, [http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/8/226\\_peacebk.pdf](http://www.unifem.org/filesconfirmed/8/226_peacebk.pdf)



<sup>26</sup> "Women's Rights and International Peace," UN Department of Public Information, 2001, <http://www.un.org/events/women/2001/background.htm>

