

Background paper
The role of women in peacebuilding:
Proposals for the implementation of 1325 resolution

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The role of women in peacebuilding¹

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1. Resolution 1325 and complementary instruments.

In the year 2000 the United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. It was the first time that this institution had discussed this issue and approved a document dedicated entirely to the link that exists between armed conflict, peacebuilding and the gender dimension. Even though the resolution's title refers to women, several points in the resolution make explicit reference to gender.² Resolution 1325 refers to two important issues. On one hand, it acknowledges the specific gender impact of armed conflicts on women and young girls. On the other, it alludes to the role women and young girls can play in peacebuilding, understood in its broadest sense. More specifically, Resolution 1325:

- Urges the UN Secretary-General and Member States to guarantee an increase in the representation of women in all spheres of peacebuilding, including the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.
- Expresses the will of the Security Council to incorporate the gender perspective into peacekeeping operations.
- Requests that states be provided with training materials for the subject of the protection of women, and that there be an increase in the provision of resources for such training.
- Calls on all actors involved in peace negotiations to include the gender perspective in peace agreements.
- Calls for all the parties involved in conflicts to adhere to international law, as well as for an end to impunity and for measures protecting women to be adopted.
- Emphasises the civilian nature of refugee camps.
- Encourages consideration of the needs of women and dependent persons in the processes of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration.
- Expresses the will to guarantee that UN Security Council missions bear in mind the gender dimension and engage in dialogue with local and international women's groups.
- Requests that the Secretary-General carry out a study and report on the impact of conflicts on women and the role of women in peacebuilding.

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² Gender is the analytical category that reveals that the inequalities between men and women are a social product and not the result of nature, highlighting their social and cultural construction to distinguish them from the biological differences of the sexes. Gender attempts to make visible the social construction of sexual difference and the sexual divisions of work and power. The gender perspective seeks to show that the differences between men and women are a social construct that is the product of unequal power relations that were established historically in the patriarchal system. The aim of gender as an analytical category is to show the historical and situated nature of sexual differences.

The approval of the resolution represented the formal introduction of the gender perspective and of women's needs and contributions onto the international peace and international security agenda, though this was not the first time that this issue had been considered in this field.³ Resolution 1325, which is the result of previous work carried out by networks of local and international women's organisations, represents the institutionalisation and acceptance by the United Nations and Member States of a considerable number of the demands and proposals made by women's organisations from civil society in the area of peacebuilding with a gender perspective. In turn, this institutionalisation has provided many women's organisations with a formal instrument to support these proposals.

Following the approval of Resolution 1325, governments and the United Nations have developed its contents in different ways. The international organisation has approved three complementary resolutions, and annual monitoring reports have been published. Furthermore, some states have approved national action plans with the aim of steering the implementation of the resolution.

Since 2004, the UN Secretary-General has published an annual monitoring report on the implementation of Resolution 1325, placing special emphasis on the sphere of the United Nations. Meanwhile, in 2008 the UN Security Council approved Resolution 1820 on sexual violence as a weapon of war, and two further resolutions in 2009: 1888, which specifies the commitments taken on as a result of Resolution 1820, and 1889, which does the same with Resolution 1325. That is to say, while Resolution 1325 offered the general framework for action and constituted the first approach to the issue of women, peace and security, Resolution 1820 makes reference to one single issue out of the ones dealt with by 1325 - sexual violence as a weapon of war - while 1888 and 1889 specify possible steps and measures to guarantee compliance with the previous resolutions.

The four resolutions should be considered in a complementary manner, given that following the approval of Resolution 1820, sexual violence as a weapon of war has acquired a growing importance in public debates. In this respect, there is a danger that by tackling the agenda of peace and security with a gender perspective, focusing attention exclusively on sexual violence as a weapon of

³ Since the approval, in 1979, of the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the following instruments have been approved:

- Resolution 3519 of the UN General Assembly on Women's Participation in the Strengthening of Peace and International Security (1975).
- Resolution 3763 of the UN General Assembly on Women's Participation in the Promotion of Peace and International Cooperation (1982).
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1994).
- Beijing Platform for Action (1995).
- Resolution of the European Parliament on Participation of Women in Peaceful Conflict Resolution (2000).
- Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (2000).
- Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002).
- Conclusions agreed on the Participation of women in the prevention, management and solution of conflicts and in the consolidation of peace after conflict by the Comisión de la Condición Jurídica y Social de la Mujer (2004).

war, this may displace a view of a more global, comprehensive nature. This could result in governments and international organisations focusing on the fight against sexual violence and forgetting that it must form part of efforts to integrate the gender dimension into all spheres and stages of peacebuilding, as envisaged in Resolution 1325. Peacebuilding processes that incorporate the gender perspective must necessarily tackle sexual violence as a weapon of war, given that it is, at present, one of the main impacts of armed conflict with respect to gender. However, efforts solely focusing on the fight against sexual violence may result in other issues being overlooked, such as the presence of women in peace negotiations, drafting gender agendas for these negotiations and designing post-war peacebuilding processes with a gender perspective.

Resolution 1325 represented an important step forward, given that it tackles both the impact of armed conflict and women's ability to become agents of peace and to overcome the reductionist view of women as victims of war. However, an analysis of sexual violence without the broader framework that is provided by 1325 may lead, once again, to this victimised view of women.

With respect to the role of states in the implementation of Resolution 1325, 16 countries have approved national action plans since the year 2000: Austria, Belgium, Chile, Ivory Coast, Denmark, Spain, Finland, Holland, Iceland, Liberia, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland and Uganda. Meanwhile, several countries are drawing up action plans on Resolution 1325: Argentina (which has an action plan for the area of defence), Australia, Burundi, El Salvador, France, Ireland, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Timor-Leste. Liberia was the first country in a post-war situation to adopt a national action plan. In this respect it is also important to stress the plans of Ivory Coast (also in a post-war situation) and Uganda, in a situation of armed conflict.

At first, such plans were adopted by Western countries that had not recently experienced armed conflict, and many people warned of the importance and the need to promote the creation of plans in countries directly affected by armed violence. Thus, it represents an important step forward that among the group of countries currently in the process of drafting and approving action plans there are a significant number of countries that are either involved in armed conflict or which have recently undergone such an experience. The existence of action plans should mean that the efforts at peacebuilding currently in progress in these contexts will absorb the recommendations and requirements of resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889.

The action plans have attempted to adapt Resolution 1325 to their national contexts, with the aim of transmitting knowledge of the resolution's contents to the local actors, and to thus facilitate their implementation through the adoption of specific measures. Furthermore, drafting such plans can encourage the creation of dialogue forums between international and governmental actors, and those of civil society, thereby strengthening the network of alliances that has characterised the entire process of Resolution 1325. While from the outset civil society "appropriated" the resolution, considering it to be a tool that would enable them to take a major step forward in the work of peacebuilding from a

gender perspective, the adoption of national plans has served to transfer this sense of appropriation to governmental spheres. Nevertheless, there is a long way to go until governments (even those that possess national action plans) fully and transversally adopt the contents of Resolution 1325, and make available the resources that are really necessary for its truly effective implementation.

2. The international agenda of peace and gender

As I have said, the approval of Resolution 1325 represented the entry of peace and gender issues onto the international agenda. The process began in Beijing in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women, with the consideration that the subject of women and armed conflict was an area of particular concern within the framework of the Platform for Action. Since then, different women's organisations have worked to promote a process that culminated with the approval of Resolution 1325 by the Security Council.⁴

The inclusion of the gender dimension onto the international peace and security agenda was the result of efforts initiated by civil society that succeeded in making its voice heard within the United Nations thanks to the complicity of certain actors (including UNIFEM, the government of Namibia and the then Ambassador for Bangladesh) and which has spread from the United Nations to other international and regional organisations, as well as to several national governments.

Since the approval of Resolution 1325, the issue of women, gender, peace and security has been present on the international agenda on a constant basis, albeit with differing results.

Within the United Nations, since the approval of Resolution 1325, various initiatives have been implemented, including the publication of reports and studies, the adoption of action plans, and the creation of work groups and coordination groups from the different United Nations bodies involved. These initiatives included: the publication of a study by the Secretary-General on women, peace and security and of independent experts' reports on the impact of armed conflict on women and the role of women in peacebuilding; the Security Council's annual presidential declarations; the publication of the Secretary-General's annual reports on resolutions 1325 and 1820 and the approval of resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889; the approval of the United Nations' systematic action plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325; the creation of the Inter-agency Working Group on Women, Peace and Security; the creation of gender units and the post of gender adviser in peacekeeping

⁴ A detailed account of the process of gestation and approval of Resolution 1325 can be found in Cockburn, Cynthia (2007) *From where we stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*, London: Zed Books. Another book, that offers an overview of the women from the history that has contribute to peacebuilding, with an specific chapter about peace negotiation and 1325 UNRS: Magallón, Carmen (2006), *Mujeres en pie de paz* Madrid, Siglo XXI, pp. 143-169.

missions; and the creation of the United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict Situations.

Meanwhile, UNIFEM and UNFPA have given their direct support on the ground to women's organisations that have involved themselves in the implementation of Resolution 1325, or which have made efforts toward advocacy. Moreover, support has been given to women's initiatives that have called for a larger role in the peace process, such as those in Colombia, Nepal, Uganda and Somalia. UNIFEM has drafted the document "Securing the Peace. Guiding the International Community toward Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes" (2005), with the aim of providing support to women's participation in peace processes, promoting negotiations and peace agreements with a gender perspective and encouraging the inclusion of this perspective in the implementation of agreements. Furthermore, UNIFEM has published other manuals and studies, including: "Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference" (2000), which analyses women's participation in peace processes, "Getting It Right, Doing It Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration" (2004), on the integration of the gender perspective into processes of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of combatants, and "Women, Peace and Security: UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325" (2004), on the work the United Nations agency has done to implement the resolution.

The European Union has a proposal titled "Comprehensive Approach to EU implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security" which proposes a global approach, and was adopted by the Council on 8 December 2008. The aim of this framework is to steer actions on gender and peacebuilding in three areas: political dialogue, crisis management and the definition of specific strategies for protecting and empowering women. Likewise, in the European context a large number of documents and resolutions exist that establish guidelines for promoting gender equality and women's rights in their foreign policy. Some of these are: "Commission Communication Roadmap to Gender Equality (2006)", "EU Concept for support to DDR" (2006), "Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by UNSCR 1820 in the context of ESDP" (2008), while in the sphere of the European Security and Defence Policy, the Council adopted an operating document with recommendations for including the gender perspective in all stages of peace missions, among other measures. However, while the mandate and reference documents exist, progress must be made in putting all these proposals into practice, in a context in which greater definition is given to European Foreign Policy, which at present is very much in its early stages.

In the international sphere, special mention must be made of the approval of action plans by different countries that I have mentioned previously. Meanwhile, and in accordance with the requirements envisaged in Resolution 1325, certain gender elements have been introduced, in an incipient manner, in some peace negotiations. The examples of Nepal and Sri Lanka illustrate how Resolution 1325 can be absorbed into peace processes.

In the case of Nepal, although women were absent from the process, and did not participate directly in the negotiations and signing of the agreements reached between the Maoists and government in 2006, the existence of Resolution 1325 was used by women's organisations to back up their claims for greater presence of women in the political sphere, and also to create gender agendas of a transversal nature. In the area of the international community's support for the peace process, we must mention the creation of the Peace Support Working Group on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (PSWG), one of the four working groups created with the aim of driving the peace process forward. Since it was created, the main objective of this group (presided and co-presided over by UNFPA and the Norwegian Embassy, respectively) has been to promote coordination and cooperation in the implementation of the recommendations envisaged by Resolution 1325, and it has functioned as a coordination forum between the United Nations and the community of donors since it started work in July 2006.

During the failed peace negotiations in Sri Lanka that commenced in 2002, the Gender Subcommittee was created as a space in which women representatives of the government of Sri Lanka and the armed opposition group LTTE could talk, under the mediation of Astrid N. Heiberg, whom the Norwegian government appointed as adviser to the subcommittee. The creation of the subcommittee took place after the government of Norway –which facilitated the peace process– echoed the recommendations made by women's organisations to encourage women's participation in the peace process, as well as to include the gender perspective into any agreements that were reached as a result of this process.

With regard to the international civil society, promoter of Resolution 1325, countless initiatives have been carried out since the year 2000.⁵ The accent has basically been placed on monitoring the implementation of the resolution and on the dissemination of its contents, placing particular emphasis on countries affected by armed violence. Furthermore, intense debate and reflection has been promoted through the participation of important feminist academics, who have made great efforts in researching the gender dimension in armed conflict and peacebuilding and the role of Resolution 1325 in this sphere. The NGO members of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security⁶ have been particularly active in monitoring the work carried out by the Security Council, the UN Secretary-General and other UN bodies, peacekeeping missions and governments. They have continued to draft recommendations for

⁵ The web site Peace Women <<http://www.peacewomen.org>> details exhaustively the women's initiatives and organisations throughout the world, both international and local, that are working to promote Resolution 1325, in addition to providing extensive documentation on Resolution 1325 and its implementation and the translation of the resolution into 100 languages, a large number of which are spoken in the areas affected by armed conflict.

⁶ This group is made up of Femmes Africa Solidarité, Hague Appeal for Peace, International Alert, Women's Action for New Directions, Women's Division General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Amnesty International, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, International Women's Tribune Center, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children and Women's Environment and Development Organization.

improving the implementation of the resolution, and they have published reports summarising the measures adopted, the unresolved challenges and the failures of compliance by all the actors who have made commitments in this area.

In the specific sphere of Spain, the government has approved two action plans for the implementation of Resolution 1325, the "Government of Spain's Action Plan for the Application of Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council (2000) on Women, Peace and Security"⁷ and the "Action Plan: Women and Peacebuilding through Spanish Cooperation."⁸ Furthermore, an inter-ministerial group has been created with the aim of ensuring the suitable implementation of plan, even though it is a structure that is still very new and has yet to become consolidated, and which currently lacks participation mechanisms for civil society organisations. Likewise, Spanish cooperation has incorporated the gender perspective into peacebuilding through support for DNGO projects, particularly in Colombia, the Palestinian Territories and the Balkans, as well as through multilateral actions, especially with UNIFEM, INSTRAW and the UNDP and humanitarian action programmes. The third 2009-2012 General Plan for Spanish cooperation includes such priorities as the eradication of gender-based violence. Likewise, the Africa Plan 2009-2010 includes such commitments as promoting equality in the sphere of peacebuilding. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Defence now possesses an Observatory of Women which has played a very active role in fomenting women's participation in peace missions and in its decision-making organisations. To a lesser extent, other ministries (such as those of Justice, Equality and Education) have also implemented actions within the framework of the action plan.

In addition to these governmental actions, other initiatives have been carried out by civil society. These include the Seminario de Investigación para la paz (Peace Research Seminar), in Zaragoza, which in 2007 organised the conference "Women in peace processes. Security Council Resolution 1325", which featured the participation of researchers and activists from throughout Spain.

In Catalonia, the organisation Dones x Dones, the Escola de Cultura de Pau, the Institut Català de les Dones and the Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament have organised various conferences on women's participation in peace processes. In 2005 a conference was held titled "Women's mediations. A peace practice" to analyse women's participation in peace processes. These conferences featured the participation of women who had been directly involved in negotiation processes in South Africa, Sri Lanka, Guatemala and Northern Ireland as well as representatives from UNIFEM and activists from Palestine, Israel, Northern Ireland, Afghanistan, Iraq, Guatemala, the United States, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Western Sahara, in addition to leading international analysts. In 2006 a conference was held titled "African women, builders of peace", which featured participation from women involved in the peace processes of Burundi and Sierra Leone. And the

⁷<http://www.maec.es/es/MenuPpal/Asuntos/Politicasigualdaddegenero/Documents/Plan%20Acci%C3%B3n%20Espa%C3%B1a%20Resoluci%C3%B3n%201325.pdf>

⁸ <http://www.aecid.es/export/sites/default/web/galerias/programas/Vita/descargas/PLANDEACCIONmujeresypaz.pdf>

campaign "Move yourself for equality", set up by a consortium of DNGOs, has carried out numerous activities in this area.

In addition to these conferences and campaigns, numerous seminars, debates and meetings have been held on the subject of women and peace and the gender dimension of armed conflict and peacebuilding, promoted by organisations such as ACSUR-Las Segovias, Mujeres de Negro, Entrepueblos and Unesco Etxea, Prosalus, Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto, Solidaridad Internacional and Amnesty International, in addition to many other NGOs and town councils and universities from throughout Spain.

Meanwhile, most of the peace research centres in Spain possess lines of research and specialists on the area of women, peace and security. Resolution 1325 is one of the issues that have been tackled in this research, and research projects have resulted in the publication of specific books and articles as well as inclusion of work in various periodical publications and yearbooks in different research centres⁹.

In the case of Switzerland, in 2007 the Swiss government published the "National Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325 (2000) of the UN Security Council on Women, Peace and Security".¹⁰ . The Plan was elaborated by an inter – ministerial working group composed of representatives of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and the Federal Department of Defense, Civilian Protection and Sports. The process was accompanied by the NGO community and promoted by interested groups in the National Parliament. Moreover, inclusiveness was achieved through the establishment of the so-called "Gender and Peace-Building Roundtables", a forum consisting of representatives from the Swiss NGO Coalition for 1325¹¹, academics and governmental representatives, hosted by the Center for Peace Building (Swisspeace/KOFF). Since 2003, these Roundtables serve as a platform for the exchange of views and the development of strategies for complementary and coherent implementation of 1325. The Swiss National Action Plan in Chapter V foresees the duty of the Inter-Ministerial Working Group to inform interested civil society actors on the status of implementation through these "Gender and Peace-Building Roundtables" and hence, ensures continued and consistent integration of the different actors in the implementation as well as the amendment process.

The participatory nature of the amendment and development process of the Swiss NAP 1325 is further ensured by Chapter VI that foresees the right of all interested individuals and organisations to submit proposals for complementary measures to be introduced in the Plan.

⁹ Magallón, Carmen (2006) *Mujeres en pie de paz*, Madrid: Siglo XXI y Mesa, Manuela (dir.) y Laura Alonso (coord.) 1325 mujeres tejiendo la paz, Barcelona, Madrid: CEIPAZ-Fundación Cultura de Paz, Icaria.

¹⁰ http://www.eda.admin.ch/etc/medialib/downloads/edazen/topics/peasec/peac.Par.0076.File.tmp/NAP%201325%20Broschuere%20def_e.pdf

¹¹ Center for Peacebuilding (Swisspeace/KOFF), Caritas, cdf, Helvetas, Mission 21, HEKS, SAH, Terre des Hommes Schweiz).

One of the achievements of the Plan so far is the increasingly important gender mainstreaming process of peace building programmes of the Foreign Ministry, as well as the introduction of a gender budgeting process. Moreover, gender training modules for military and civilian peace mission personnel were introduced into the regular training curricula.

Currently, the Swiss NAP 1325 is in the process of revision by the Inter-Ministerial Working Group 1325. In this second phase the group counts on needs-based collaboration of the Federal Department of Justice and Police and the Federal Department for Home Affairs. The revision process is, among others, based on a progress evaluation report that was elaborated in 2008.

3. Some obstacles and unresolved challenges

All these initiatives, whether local, international or governmental, have had to deal with different obstacles, which must be analysed in order to consider how best to improve the work in the second decade of the existence of Resolution 1325. Firstly, it is important to point out that in spite of the progress made, great reluctance still exists toward considering that the gender dimension is important for the peace and security agenda. Since 2001, countries' different international agendas have to a great extent focused on the global fight against terrorism, and have integrated very few contributions from women's movements with respect to security. Sometimes, the gender perspective has even been used to justify certain international actions, thus becoming distant from the true spirit of Resolution 1325. As a result, there is a need for a genuine integration of the principles of Resolution 1325 into many countries' peace and security foreign policies. To put it simply, little progress has been made in moving from rhetoric to action.

In addition to this lack of adoption of specific measures that would bring about the introduction of public policies aimed at complying with Resolution 1325, one of the main complaints from the organisations that have been monitoring this implementation has been the virtual nonexistence of monitoring and assessment mechanisms. To a great extent, this makes it difficult to supervise the degree of compliance of governments, the United Nations and other institutions involved in the commitments agreed upon. The lack of mechanisms for supervising and for quantifying compliance also makes it difficult to demand accountability from these institutions, and makes it hard for civil society to determine how Resolution 1325 is being implemented on the ground. Having said that, some action plans (such as those of Austria, Uganda and Liberia) have defined accountability indicators¹² in the spheres of women's participation in peace processes, the prevention, protection and persecution of sexual violence and the promotion of the rights of women and young girls. These examples could serve as points of reference in order to make progress in establishing supervision and assessment mechanisms for other countries.

¹² Gwendolyn Beetham and Nicola Popovic, Conference Background Paper, "Putting policy into practice: Monitoring the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security, Oslo, 11-13 November 2009, INSTRAW and FOKUS:

Another major obstacle is the fact that women continue to be a minority in decision-making posts. While it is true that gender is something that concerns everyone, it is women who have promoted the gender agenda in different fields and who have pressed to reach the goals achieved. Thus, without women making decisions, discrimination is perpetuated and we run the risk of excluding the gender perspective from the different spheres of politics and public life. Furthermore, the field of security is one that is traditionally and historically very much masculinised, as a result of which this lack of a gender perspective is even greater.

Together with this absence of women in decision-making, there is a distinct lack of men in the forums and initiatives that have arisen as a result of Resolution 1325. As a result, the implementation of 1325 has been left almost exclusively in the hands of women, a fact that reinforces the vicious circle of the absence of women in decision-making on peace and security and the lack of men in the 1325 forums. We need to involve more men who are committed to gender equality in promoting Resolution 1325, so as to multiply the efforts.

It should be mentioned that improved training is needed in the area of gender as well as better understanding of what including the gender perspective into working for peace and security involves. Despite the progress made in this respect, the key concepts are still not sufficiently understood or integrated by those in charge of designing and developing these policies. Thus, the gender perspective often continues to be perceived as merely including women without questioning or transforming the structures of inequality and power that have led to the exclusion of both women and the gender perspective.

One of the main obstacles to the full implementation of Resolution 1325 continues to be that mechanisms for protecting women in situations of armed conflict are still very deficient. The systematic nature of sexual violence as a weapon of war in today's armed conflicts (even those in which there is a strong international presence), together with the impunity given to many of the crimes committed against women in these conflicts are an example of how Resolution 1325 has achieved very few improvements in the lives of women who have been affected by armed violence.

And finally, many of the proposals for making progress in the implementation of Resolution 1325 are not institutionalised and do not form part of the central nucleus of the action, and as a result they depend on the personal willingness of certain people and can therefore be postponed or become considered as something optional. Frequently no connection (or very little) exists between the political documents that define the lines of action and the actions that are carried out on the ground.

4. Proposals

Since Resolution 1325 was approved in the year 2000, an important step forward has been taken towards incorporating the gender perspective and women's voices into peacebuilding and conflict transformation. However, the reality on the ground shows that most of the achievements have basically taken place in the formal institutional sphere, and they have had little impact on the people that are victims of conflicts and violence. Women in contexts affected by armed conflict continue to be excluded from decision-making with respect to these conflicts. Furthermore, the impact of this violence continues to be wreaked on women's lives and bodies, in spite of the promises made to protect and guarantee all rights made by the United Nations Member States. Thus, there are many unresolved challenges that require greater commitment by all the actors involved in peacebuilding on an international, regional, national and local level.

The catalogue of proposals and recommendations to improve the implementation of Resolution 1325 has been broadly developed by many of the civil society organisations that have committed themselves to its application and which promoted its approval. Meanwhile, almost ten years of experience in the implementation and development of the resolution enable us to extract a few lessons from this process. Some of the most successful initiatives set in motion at the different levels could be used for other contexts. Thus I will now proceed to list some of the different proposals and initiatives that have been implemented in this decade. First, a series of reflections and recommendations of a general nature are presented, followed by a series of specific proposals aimed at the areas of Spain, Europe and the United Nations.

Firstly, there is an urgent need for greater support from the Spanish government, the countries of Europe and the United Nations for the women's organisations working on the ground in scenarios of armed conflict and violence. Admittedly, support for local women has increased since Resolution 1325 was approved, but it is also true that it has fundamentally been the largest and most institutionalised local organisations that have received the support, owing to their greater ability to adapt to the requirements of the funding sources and their ways of action. However, the United Nations and cooperation agencies should also make greater efforts to establish links with a broader spectrum of local actors that work in the gender dimension, as well as adapting themselves to the organisational reality and the day-to-day lives of women in these contexts. Supporting these women is a sure commitment to a broader, more inclusive knowledge of what is really going on in conflict areas, as well as of the real needs of the people who fall victim to the violence. Furthermore, this would represent real impact in terms of strengthening the social fabric, which on many occasions is maintained – albeit in the most precarious form – by local women.

Secondly, there is a need for a real, tangible and visible commitment to including women into the decision-making processes. The absence of women in this area is a result of many factors, but one of the most important is the lack of

political will to promote them. Without women there can be no gender agenda or political decisions with a gender perspective. Thus, we need to:

a) Increase the lists of women candidates for different policy-making positions.

Governments and regional and international organisations should increase their efforts to draw up databases of women candidates for these posts.

b) Remove the gender obstacles that hinder or discourage women from applying for these positions.

Application and selection for such positions must be carried out in a way that does not lead to the self-exclusion of women who might be interested in holding such posts, by providing men and women with family welfare and valuing the specific contributions that women can provide to decision-making.

c) Appoint more women to decision-making positions.

The aforementioned efforts should be accompanied by a real desire to appoint more women to decision-making positions, as special representatives of the Secretary-General, ambassadors, gender advisers, heads of delegations, heads of missions, etc.

Thirdly, action plans should include realistic targets and objectives, defining specific areas of work and priority actions organised on a time-frame basis, with a specific budget and a definition of responsibilities and functions by institutions and establishing indicators that will facilitate the monitoring of their application. They should also be results-oriented and transparent with respect to the funds allocated.¹³

Below are some specific proposals for improving the implementation of Resolution 1325 in contexts of armed conflict and peacebuilding.

a. The Spanish governmental sphere

- **Improve the dissemination of Resolution 1325 and of the government and the AECl's action plans among the major governmental and nongovernmental actors.**

At present, Resolution 1325 and the action plans are not sufficiently well known to the various strata of Spanish public administration, nongovernmental organisations and academic research centres. Only

¹³ “Civil Society Recommendations on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Europe, EPLO, Initiatives for Peacebuilding, International Alert, September 2009.

those sectors directly involved in peacebuilding from a gender perspective are aware of the existence of these instruments, but they must be made known to other sectors, especially to those that work in the field of peacebuilding and development cooperation which have not specifically incorporated the gender perspective into their work.

- **Promote the drafting of national action plans in priority countries for Spanish cooperation, especially those affected by armed conflict, in a stage of post-war peacebuilding or in a situation of serious socio-political crisis with the risk of escalation of violence.**

None of the priority countries for Spanish cooperation¹⁴ currently possess a national action plan based on Resolution 1325, though two of them (El Salvador and Timor-Leste) are now drafting such a plan. Spanish cooperation can contribute its experience to help push forward the introduction of plans in countries where they are being drafted, and especially to promote the drafting of plans in those countries where such plans do not yet exist. We must support inclusive and participative drafting processes that include contributions from local women's organisations, thereby avoiding processes that are merely institutional and thus generating the empowerment of local civil society. The implementation processes can subsequently be encouraged by disseminating these plans and providing the necessary funding to ensure that these plans are set in motion on the ground in a suitable manner.

- **Increase demands for the inclusion of specific measures relating to the implementation of Resolution 1325 in intervention projects in contexts of armed conflict, peacebuilding and AECID-funded humanitarian action.**

Among the different lines of funding for DNGOs, prioritise the application of Resolution 1325 in its different dimensions in development cooperation and peacebuilding projects. This would promote greater knowledge of the resolution among NGOs and increase the impact on the ground of the Government of Spain's Action Plan for the Application of Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council (2000) on Women, Peace and Security and the Action Plan: Women and Peacebuilding through Spanish Cooperation.

- **Create a steady forum for debate and exchange between institutions and civil society on Resolution 1325.**

With the aim of improving the coordination of efforts toward the implementation and dissemination of Resolution 1325 that are currently being carried out by Spanish governmental institutions and by different civil society bodies, the existence of a forum for debate and exchange

¹⁴ The list of countries that fall within the geographical priorities of the Spanish General Cooperation Plan for the period 2009-2012 can be found at <http://www.aecid.es/web/es/cooperacion/coop-paises/> [checked on 30 December 2009].

would strengthen this work, at the same time as it would facilitate the exchange of knowledge and lessons learned. It could be a space for creating tools to encourage implementation, monitoring and accountability with respect to the commitments adopted, to complement those that already exist.

- **Involve the parliamentary commissions of the Chamber of Deputies in the work of implementing and disseminating Resolution 1325.**

The commissions for foreign affairs, defence, equality and international development cooperation could play an important role that would encourage the transversal inclusion of the principles envisaged by Resolution 1325 in the legislative work of the Parliament. Thus, it would be necessary to study how to involve these commissions in the work currently being carried out by the Spanish government with respect to Resolution 1325. This would mean that the issue of women, peace and security could be included onto the Spanish parliamentary agenda.

- **Promote the integration of Resolution 1325 into the development cooperation policies of the autonomous and local administrations.**

The growing importance of autonomous and local administrations in development cooperation makes it necessary for these bodies to also include the principles established by Resolution 1325 in their cooperation policies.

- **Encourage research and university education in the field of gender and peacebuilding.**

Increase support for universities already carrying out this kind of research and education and promote the inclusion of the gender perspective in university education in the areas of development cooperation, international relations and peacebuilding that have not already done so.

b. The European sphere¹⁵

- **Draft an EU Gender Action Plan that includes the requirements and recommendations of Resolution 1325.**

The approval of an EU gender action plan will guarantee the incorporation of recommendations from Resolution 1325 in the area of gender, security and peacebuilding in development cooperation promoted by the EU. Likewise, within the framework of RELEX, priority could be given to drafting an action plan for the implementation of

¹⁵ Some of the recommendations have been included in the document “Civil Society Recommendations on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Europe”, EPLO, Initiatives for Peacebuilding, International Alert, September 2009.

Resolution 1325, with a broad, holistic mandate that promotes the empowerment of women in conflict zones.¹⁶

- **Increase the availability of specific information on the impact of gender on armed conflict and the role of women in prevention and peacebuilding.**

The different EU missions and offices deployed on the ground could help to improve knowledge of the impact of gender on the different armed conflicts currently active in the world. A need exists to increase the information available on the gender dimension of armed conflicts so as to improve policy design and humanitarian interventions on the ground.

- **Promote the appointing of an EU Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security.**

The holder of this position should have a mandate to incorporate resolutions 1325 and 1820 into the European Union's foreign and security policy, as well as into crisis management and development cooperation. This representative would be responsible for promoting a European Action Plan. A high-level representative for this area could ensure that European policy will have the necessary drive and leadership in the area of gender, peace and security, in addition to encouraging the transversal inclusion of this perspective into all of the EU's actions.

- **Encourage all EU Member States to have a national action plan on Resolution 1325.**

National action plans represent one of the main tools for governments to fulfil their commitment to the implementation of Resolution 1325, by offering a framework for the design and assessment of public policies in this sphere. Thus, and in accordance with the EU's institutional commitment to include the resolution's contents into its policy, efforts should be made to encourage Member States that do not possess such an action plan to draft one as soon as possible, drawing on the experience of the Member States that already have such an instrument.

- **Include measures for the application of resolutions 1325 and 1820 in the Country Strategy Papers of countries in conflict or in a phase of post-war rehabilitation.**

These measures should include funding for supporting local organisations. In the same way, the gender perspective should be included in programmes on Security Sector Reform. Furthermore, it should be guaranteed that in processes of dialogue with governments of countries affected by armed conflicts, there should be a person

¹⁶ Andrew Sherriff and Karen Barnes (2008), Enhancing the EU response to women and armed conflict with particular reference to Development Policy, ECDPM. Available at: http://www.mzz.gov.si/fileadmin/pageuploads/foto/0803/WAC_study_-_final-zenske.pdf

responsible for including Resolution 1325 in the dialogue. In accordance with the EU's primary aims to protect, support and empower women in armed conflict, the EU has agreed to include the issue into these dialogue processes.¹⁷ Thus, it must be guaranteed that there are people responsible for ensuring and supervising this integration.

- **Encourage the appointment of women to high-level positions.**

These positions should include the national, regional and international spheres, including special representatives for the European Union, peace missions and in the mediation and negotiation teams of the EU's European Security and Defence Policy.

- **Guarantee that all ESPD missions should have a full-time gender adviser.**

The existence of a gender adviser is of key importance for the integration of the gender perspective into the work of EU missions. The adviser, whether male or female, must guarantee that suitable training is provided to all local and international civil and military personnel on the subject of gender and peacebuilding, with the aim that the gender perspective should become an integral part of the mission, in addition to preventing cases of sexual abuse and/or exploitation from taking place.

- **Draft a strategy and action plan in the framework of RELEX to implement Resolution 1325.**

The European Commission, which should be the institution responsible for drafting said instruments, must identify the necessary resources, skills and knowledge. It must have a broad mandate, with a holistic approach that includes sexual violence, the incorporation of security, social, political and economic dimensions, as well as promoting the empowerment of women in zones of armed conflict.

- **Create a working group on Women, Peace and Security.**

The group should facilitate exchange between Member States on the application of Resolution 1325, identifying best practices and lessons learned, as well as the main obstacles. This group could draw up indicators to facilitate the monitoring of actions carried out for the protection and empowerment of women in conflict situations, or in a phase of post-war rehabilitation. This group should be open to participation from civil society organisations and existing networks.

- **Promote greater cooperation between the European Union and United Nations.**

¹⁷ Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security. <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st16/st16586.en08.pdf>.

Such cooperation should be especially based on the different agencies that deal with the gender dimension and peacebuilding, as well as with the Peace Consolidation Commission and on the regional actors for the application of Resolution 1325. Certain positive experiences already exist with the African Union which could be used as points of reference.

- **Guarantee that the European Parliament should monitor the application of Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security.**

Monitoring should also be carried out of the application of European directives on violence against women and young girls. Sufficient funding should be guaranteed for the application of this initiative.

c. The sphere of the United Nations

- **Provide the new United Nations agency on women and gender with sufficient powers and resources to supervise the implementation of Resolution 1325 and to make recommendations for improving this implementation.**

The creation of the new United Nations agency approved by the UN General Assembly in 2009 represents a unique opportunity for United Nations to possess a team of staff –in addition to the necessary economic resources– to give a qualitative boost to the implementation of Resolution 1325, as well as to all subsequently approved resolutions. Efforts should be made to promote periodical meetings and discussion forums with women's organisations on the ground, thereby enabling said organisations to inform the Security Council on the situation on the ground of women in contexts of armed conflict or post-war situations.

- **Promote the appointment of a Special Representative for women, peace and security.**

In Resolution 1888, the UN Security Council calls on the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for the subject of sexual violence in armed conflicts. A Special Representative should also be appointed with the function of providing "coherent, strategic leadership" and "strengthening existing coordination mechanisms". Currently it is the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women that is responsible for this coordination and leadership, but the creation of a specific high-level post for the area of women, peace and security would foster greater visibility and facilitate communication between the actors involved in the implementation of Resolution 1325 with United Nations.

- **Encourage all the countries comprising Friends of Resolution 1325 to have a national action plan to implement said resolution.**¹⁸

Despite the important role that has been played by the countries comprising the 'Friends of 1325' in the dissemination of said resolution throughout the other United Nations Member States, not all the countries that make up this group have drafted a national action plan. While action plans are not the only existing mechanism for implementing the resolution, their existence means that governments that have drafted such a plan can be held accountable to same. Thus, all the countries that make up the Friends of 1325 should be encouraged to draft action plans, and to grant them the necessary funding for setting them in motion.

- **Increase the participation of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace in the implementation of Resolution 1325.**

The Commission for the Consolidation of Peace must become an actor for carrying out specific actions on the ground for implementing Resolution 1325. Thus the necessary institutional mechanisms will need to be established, and the required human and financial resources to be allocated, so as to guarantee the full integration of Resolution 1325 into the Commission's actions in countries currently included in the Commission's programme. All the Commission's personnel should have sufficient knowledge and training on Resolution 1325 to be able to integrate it into their work.

- **Guarantee that all peacekeeping missions are provided with a full-time gender adviser.**

The existence of a gender adviser is of key importance for truly and effectively incorporating the gender perspective into the work of a peacekeeping mission. The gender adviser must guarantee that suitable training is provided to all local and international civil and military personnel on the subject of gender and peacebuilding, and everyone should be aware of the codes of conduct with respect to the prohibition of any kind of sexual abuse and exploitation. In peacekeeping operations, the Security Council must strengthen measures for prevention of, and response to sexual abuse and exploitation. Likewise, it must demand that all countries contributing troops should increase the number of female civilians and military in peace missions.

- **Promote the incorporation of the gender perspective into the different structures and levels of United Nations, as well as into all UN programmes and operations, especially peace missions and post-war rehabilitation programmes.**

¹⁸ Friends of Resolution 1325 is made up of: Australia, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Guinea, Jamaica, Japan, South Korea, Liechtenstein, Mexico, Namibia, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The incorporation of the gender perspective into the framework of the United Nations has been random and incoherent. It is often perceived as an added extra, or as an imposition. Although progress has been made with the adoption (in 2006) of a gender policy for the institution that has the support of the executive directors, and compulsory training modules have been created for all the different organisations, there is still a need to achieve greater coherence, harmonise approaches, eliminate fragmentation and maximise resources.¹⁹ Among the possibilities mooted is the idea that the Commission for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) should be made responsible for monitoring and reporting on the application of Resolution 1325.

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¹⁹ Rachel Mayanja (2009), Statement at the international conference: Women Negotiating Peace - Experience, Obstacles, Opportunities. University of Iceland, 19-20 June. Available at: www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi

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