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G is for Gendered: taking
the mystery out of gendering
peace agreements

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The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre) is an independent mediation organisation dedicated to helping improve the global response to armed conflict. It attempts to achieve this by mediating between warring parties and providing support to the broader mediation community.
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Preamble

This short opinion piece should ideally be read as a companion piece to “UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements” by Christine Bell & Catherine O’Rourke.¹ Bell and O’Rourke’s article is based on an extensive empirical study. It lays out some of the key problems in ‘gendering’ the language of peace agreements and provides vital analysis on where peace agreement and Security Council Resolution language has got to in terms of the inclusion of women and gendered perspectives. language has got to in terms of the inclusion of women and gendered perspectives.

Introduction

“G is for Gendered” is a short article for the HD Centre’s “Women at the Peace Table” Asia Pacific project. It takes the question of the lack of gendered peace agreement language (especially in Asian peace processes) and, proposes some basic steps that the crafters of agreements could take

to address this issue. The arguments for why this is important are touched on, but not deeply explored, as the intention of this opinion piece series is to float ideas which need to be further fleshed out in research or practice; to provide tasters and incentives for the peacemaking community, rather than comprehensive academic analyses and sets of recommendations. Thus the article assumes basic background knowledge about the difference between sex and gender, the content of the women, peace and security related UN Security Council Resolutions (see endnote 6), and the status of the general policy discourse around Track One, and to some extent Track Two, peacemaking.

The article also seeks to remind us of some of the thematic areas in peace agreement crafting where gendered language can make a powerful difference. It will draw examples from some agreements from the Asia region to show how there could be simple and non-controversial ways to use gendered language to open up space for women and their specific conflict and peace related issues. It deliberately eschews some of the most complex and sensitive areas, like language relating to sexual and gender based violence, precisely because these are so delicate and contextual. These will be the focus of more detailed work in this area by the HD Centre over 2011-12.² Instead it looks for ‘quick wins’ on the language front which should give the crafters of peace agreements who do not feel like ‘gender experts’ confidence to go further into more challenging subjects. It also suggests how the use of gendered perspectives could help peacemakers improve their practice with regards to inclusiveness in general.

‘Gendered’ itself is an adjective deployed with caution, as it can be off-putting for both men and women. However, a ‘gendered peace agreement’ is useful shorthand for a longer phrase, which is set out here to avoid confusion: a gendered peace agreement is one which has taken into account the perspectives, rights and needs of all people affected by it from the particular standpoint of their sex and how that is interpreted within the culture they inhabit.³

The idea, therefore, is simply to give some examples of how language or phrasing could be used in a way which reflects the concerns of both sexes in the interests of building sustainable peace, and specifically ensures the

rights of women given their habitual marginalisation. The intention is to avoid phrases like “taking into account religious affiliation, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status, etc.” (in which gender is indeed found, but is buried as an equal alongside other, also important, dimensions of identity) and to find some specific ways to highlight it in its own right.

Opening the door to inclusive processes and substance

Reflection on this effort will show that there is a larger piece of work to be done on how conflict analysis, peace-brokering (including agreement crafting), and peacebuilding can be done in a way which is rooted in a more profound and inclusive understanding of its context. In a discussion of how complexity of context calls for comprehensiveness, Conciliation Resources (CR) links comprehensiveness and inclusion, and explains why they are important and interrelated:

Comprehensiveness is often linked to inclusiveness. Groups who are a part of a process are more likely to support it. By ensuring that their own interests and needs are addressed, they are more likely to accept the terms of agreement. There are different dimensions of inclusiveness: (a) engaging all belligerent groups (or at least giving them the choice to participate); and (b) involving the main political and social groups affected by the conflict, including women, youth, displaced people and marginalized communities.⁴

The language of the agreement, which should, as CR points out, be developed by the stakeholders not be mass-produced by outsiders, should flow from the process.⁵ Not, as Lederach argues, that the process alone is enough:

Peace is neither a process nor a structure. It is both. Peace building requires us to work at constructing an infrastructure to support a process of desired change, and change is permanent.⁶

Thus, what is offered here are simply some formulations which show that, ideally as the result of an inclusive and consultative process (which most processes claim to be by name, but few are in fact), it is possible to find language which does not scream gender jargon, or suggest a diversion from the ‘real business’ at stake. Rather such language can serve the needs of a gender-inclusive discussion without prioritising that issue in an unnatural

way over and above the many other issues the peace process needs to deal with. It may also be that helping open the window on gender gives a helping hand to achieving inclusion more broadly. For example, such language could be used in working sessions to help people think through any of the range of relevant issues from a different standpoint than their normal one.

Gendered perspectives still out in the cold

In the international peace and security business, the 10 year old UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325), and its now quartet of sister resolutions⁷, is well known if patchily implemented and still too often ignored.⁸ At national and local levels these potentially powerful international legal norms may still be less well known. The ten year anniversary of SCR 1325 has aroused a round of calls for it to be better disseminated and put into practice, including through the development and implementation of National Action Plans. On the resolution's tenth anniversary US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced that the US would produce such a plan in 2011. This has created an inevitable stir of interest in the issue of women, peace and security emanating from Washington DC, and going well beyond the confines of UN-related discourse.

Among the SCR 1325 implementation and accountability gaps found by analysts and activists, a particular problem has emerged: a lack of confidence or knowledge around what a gendered perspective really means for a peace agreement and what it would look like in practice. Rather like the, now widely accepted but less well understood, 'rights based approach' in humanitarian and development programming,⁹ the gendered perspective seems to fall into a hole: its advocates are often guilty of wrapping it up in mysterious and complex language, which seems to undermine the will and capacity of implementers to use either their common sense or imagination in working through what it actually means and applying it.

Language lacunae: still more potential than progress

In 2003 as a preamble to her seminal piece of work for the then UN Division on the Advancement of Women, *Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women*, Christine Chinkin wrote:

“[T]he reality is that there is no peace agreement that provides an overall model for appropriate provisions for ensuring that the needs of women within the conflict zone are served alongside those of the men... Typically peace agreements are framed in gender-neutral language, that is they are assumed to be equally applicable to, and equally appropriate for, the needs of both women and men within the society in question. Yet while women within a war-torn society share the goal of termination of the violence, it cannot be assumed that their interests and priorities in reconstruction are identical to those of men.”¹⁰

As the work of Bell and O’Rourke proves, things have not changed much in terms of peace agreement language in the eight years since Chinkin made her comment.¹¹

This is not, of course, to suggest that there has not been progress on a number of important fronts relating to SCR 1325. The issue of gender has clearly had its profile raised at the international level where a number of important initiatives have been achieved including the upcoming placement of a gender expert in the UN Mediation Standby team roster; the presence of gender experts across technical fields in the UN such as within DPA and DPKO; and gender audits of these and similar organisations undertaken by experts. In partnership with the Department of Political Affairs, UNIFEM provided a Gender Adviser to the Secretary-General’s Special Envoy to LRA-Affected Areas (2007–2008). UNIFEM also supported the participation of a Gender Expert and Support Team (GEST) in the Abuja Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks in 2006 and seconded a Gender Expert to the Mediation Team. The EU is also paying considerably more attention to these issues with an improved and articulated policy framework on women, peace and security known as the “Comprehensive Approach.”¹²

The progress that there has been on language has been more marked outside Asia. For example, a 2010 UNIFEM study showed that women’s involvement

at some level in peace agreements ensured that issues like sexual and gender based violence and related justice issues, women's participation in security arrangements, and women's access to employment and economic opportunities were included. Burundi, Darfur (Abuja), Uganda and Liberia provide particularly strong examples.¹³ Beyond Africa, Guatemala is another oft-cited example where Luz Mendez, in her capacity as the only female member of the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca delegation, was able to influence the process to ensure, for example, the inclusion of a whole section on the role of women in social and economic development that specifically recognises their “undervalued contribution” and lays out detailed provisions to guarantee women's rights.¹⁴

These examples are, however, clearly still more the exception than the rule. While SCR 1325 may have been poorly implemented, the recent media and policy dialogue around women, peace and security sparked by its 10 year anniversary demonstrates that in the halls of power (such as in Washington DC or in New York with the launch of UN Women) the issues are no longer so much about *why* women and their voices should be included in peace and security discussions, but *how* to do it:

“No one here is opposed... it's in the national security strategy and it's a whole of government effort, not just the State Department. But we need ideas on how to make it work.”¹⁵

Gendered themes

There is broad agreement over the kinds of thematic areas where gendered perspectives and language may be particularly relevant in peace processes – and which are consistently highlighted by women in conflict-affected situations:¹⁶

- **Dealing with sexual and gender based violence:** one of the important changes of the last ten years has been the international, legal recognition of this kind of violence against women as a weapon of war. The number and complexity of UN Security Council Resolutions relating to it show how complex, far-ranging and difficult a subject this is. However, UNIFEM's research shows that responses to it are still patchy and muted.¹⁷
- **Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration:** women may have been combatants in a conflict, or played a specific support role to combatants either officially or because of family identities. Women

will undoubtedly form a significant part (in some cases, possibly even the majority) of the communities into which ex-combatants are re-introduced. If they are not the object of the programmes, they may be in competition with the programme participants for job/income generation opportunities, access to land or services.

- **Relationship between nation and state;** this issue touches on the keystone of identity and how that is expressed in the infrastructure of the state, for example what ministries to have, and what members of a cabinet with what portfolios and powers. Issues of diversity will always be the challenge here especially in intra-state conflict, but again this topic provides an opportunity to look for ways of explicitly including those who have been previously marginalised, and thus constructively co-opting their support for the ongoing peacebuilding process.
- **Conflicting expectations of religious and ethnic minorities;** other potential divisions exist among both women and men including religion, ethnicity, political views and class. However, women's documented experience of being able to organise above or beyond those lines (the 2002-2003 Sri Lankan Sub Committee on Gender Issues is a recent example although the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition remains perhaps the favourite example) suggests the possibility of creating spaces where trust and co-existence can be built over time.¹⁸
- **Power sharing, and the requirements of modern democracy and civil society;** this topic brings up all the questions about participation, voice and choice which tend to be already allied with the topic of women's representation and rights (and all sorts of other groups too). This is the place where quotas are discussed (and surprisingly often accepted in post-conflict societies), and where parties try to define how to ensure space for civil society to grow (or grow back, or develop). They may also cover how to connect civil society (in a more than token way) to the policy-making process at governmental level, and to the evaluation, or holding to account of, government performance.
- **Employment and transition to a market economy:** economic growth and employment will be major drivers of the successful transition to peace. Women may have undertaken roles and developed skills in conflict which could be well used in the peacebuilding period. In many cases they will be sole providers for households,

needing access to income, opportunity and the market to survive. Planners at government level should be taking into account not just their needs but their vital potential roles as economic contributors.

- **Land use, access and ownership issues:** traditionally legal title for women as wives or widows in their own right has been an issue of concern as many societies they have no such legal rights. Conflict provides an arena in which these issues can become significantly more problematic, while also offering new opportunities: for example, single female-headed households may lose access to vital land/livelihood security due to the death of a male family member in the conflict or disaster.
- **The role of the media:** the media is obviously a vital organ of communication and information throughout any given process. The way that different sides in the conflict, and different groups (including women) are portrayed and given voice, can be extremely influential in positive and negative ways. People involved in peace processes need to know who controls the media, and what efforts it makes to represent diverse views and voices, in order to neutralise it as a negative force and capitalise on it as a constructive one. Women are often portrayed as victims, and their voices and views on the process are seldom sought or aired by the media.

From themes to agreements

As discussed above, a few of these themes will be examined through actual language from peace agreements from the Asia Pacific region, the rather longer Bougainville Peace Agreement of 2001 and the more minimalist 2005 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding on Aceh. These two peace agreements were chosen as examples of post SCR 1325 agreements where the presence of activist groups of women at the Track Two level was not able to break through in any significant way, and where the language of the peace agreement text was not significantly influenced by such groups, or any external gender technical assistance. The idea is to show what could have been done, even from such an unpromising (from a gender perspective) starting point in some of the less politically contentious areas of the agreement.

The proposal is to take a couple of the key issues of substance, which the bulk of peace agreements tend to cover and where women's rights and needs have to be better elucidated, and to offer some suggestions on a couple of clauses within each agreement, just to show a starting point. Ideally, what might help peace agreement crafters would be to have a collection of real or

potential clauses gathered according to the kinds of themes outlined above, to help kick-start discussions on the ground, another piece of work this piece would recommend is undertaken by relevant actors.

Bougainville

The Bougainville Agreement of 2001 is a fairly comprehensive framework agreement, which contains only two ‘official’ references to women.¹⁹ The first is the possibility of reserved seats in the Congress (see below), and the second is that it was signed by the Women’s Peace Monitoring Group (although the link between this and what was evidently an active but unconnected Track Two ‘women’s process’ was never made). Women’s groups on both sides of the conflict used diverse means to create successful momentum for peace and talks but were shut out of the negotiations.²⁰

The clause on women’s representation in government is very weak, non-binding and does not tend to equality:

4. STRUCTURES OF THE AUTONOMOUS BOUGAINVILLE GOVERNMENT

28. The Bougainville Constitution will provide that the institutions of the autonomous Bougainville Government will include a legislature which shall be a mainly elected body, but may also include members appointed or elected to represent special interests, such as women, youth, churches.

An alternative version might read:

4. STRUCTURES OF THE AUTONOMOUS BOUGAINVILLE GOVERNMENT

*28. The Bougainville Constitution will provide that the institutions of the autonomous Bougainville Government will include a legislature which shall be an elected body, **including a [time limited] quota of at least 30% women**, but may also include members elected to represent special interests, such as youth and religious groups, **also represented at 30% by women or girls.***

Quotas, whether time limited or not, have been implemented in a large proportion of post-conflict societies, leading to the high proportion of such societies at the top of the Inter-Parliamentary Union’s statistics for women in parliaments.²¹ There is then the important discussion about what needs to go alongside a quota to build the capacity of women to participate meaningfully in these assemblies as well as move into decision making positions within parties, but the existence of the quota provides the key

starting point.²² Similarly, an opportunity for clarity and strength in this agreement is missed in Section B (Autonomy) part 3, articles 16 and 17 on developing the constitution:

Constitutional Commission to Develop Proposals

16. A Constitutional Commission broadly representative of the people of Bougainville will make proposals for a Bougainville Constitution.

17. The Constitutional Commission will consult widely with the people of Bougainville to understand their views on a Constitution for Bougainville, and will prepare a draft Bougainville Constitution for consideration by the Constituent Assembly.

A more inclusive version could read:

Constitutional Commission to Develop Proposals

*16. A Constitutional Commission broadly representative **and inclusive of the men and women** of Bougainville will make proposals for a Bougainville Constitution.*

*17. The Constitutional Commission will consult widely with **the women and men** of Bougainville to understand their views on a Constitution for Bougainville, and will prepare a draft Bougainville Constitution for consideration by the Constituent Assembly.*

In this example we can see that, while the process is not changed, we have built in a basis for ensuring that it is not only men who are consulted. This gives leaders, civil society and others a helpful basis from which to work on inclusivity.

In a different kind of example, we can see in the provisions for the withdrawal of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force from Bougainville, that no thought has been given to dealing with other issues – be they economic, involving community relations or even individual relations – that may ensue from the departure of the force, many of which could apply to, or affect, women.²³

It is not a given that a peace agreement will contain language on human rights at all, so the presence of a whole section (no.8) and an article (no.54) is already constructive – and could have included mentions of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)²⁴ and UNSCR 1325:

54. The powers and functions of the autonomous Bougainville Government will be subject to Papua New Guinea's international obligations and human rights:

- (a) existing international obligations of the National Government will remain in place;*
- (b) the National Government will consult the autonomous Bougainville Government before new obligations are entered into.*

However, in the section on human rights and customary law, there are some potential traps which are worth unpacking. Articles 128 and 129 deal with the integration of customary or traditional law into the formal rule of law system. Customary law of course varies hugely from context to context, but can be extremely inimical to women's rights – in the view of the women subject to those customary laws themselves, not only of external legal experts. Article 129 reads:

- 129. The terms of reference for the commission will direct it to have full regard for:*
- (a) the aspirations of Bougainvilleans for the integration of custom and introduced law;*
 - (b) the national human rights regime;*
 - (c) the justice system in Bougainville and Papua New Guinea as a whole; and*
 - (d) the international human rights system and other relevant aspects of international law.*

Could the framers of the agreement have been tempted to add to sub-article d) *“highlighting in particular CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 safeguarding the rights of women against discrimination and to play their equal role as agents, not only victims, in conflict resolution and peacebuilding”*? Ideally, one could look for opportunities to insert a blanket reference to CEDAW and SCR 1325 plus the relevant further UNSCRs on sexual violence in conflict in the preambular section of any agreement, to give government the powers, and civil society groups and others the leverage, to hold implementers to account and provide advice on how implementation can be achieved. For example:

“Given the role the women of our communities have played in building and fostering peace, and our desire as a nation/people/group to lead by example, we reaffirm the commitment of our nation to CEDAW and UNSCRs 1325,... and will ensure properly resourced and empowered mechanisms at all levels of government to ensure their implementation throughout our peacebuilding process and beyond.”

Aceh

The Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement has broadly been considered a success, though it has been criticised for its thinness; the ambiguity of some of its key clauses on justice, governance and human rights; and particularly for the absence of women in its crafting, or of their perspectives in its clauses.²⁵ The Free Aceh Movement's only woman participant in its nine member team felt herself isolated and unable to be effective. She points out that the agreement failed to break open the problems of political patronage, or to safeguard the interests of those with least power and voice in a post-conflict, post-disaster period which had a disproportionate focus on infrastructural recovery not balanced by support to governance and inclusivity.²⁶

Turning to look at the text, one suggestion is simply to replace all references to the 'people of Aceh' or 'persons' by 'the women and men (of Aceh)'. This provides opportunities for implementers and readers to consider if there is any difference between the two with regard to the implementation of any given provision.

The all-important clause on political participation reads:

1.2.1 As soon as possible and not later than one year from the signing of this MoU, GoI agrees to and will facilitate the establishment of Aceh-based political parties that meet national criteria. Understanding the aspirations of Acehnese people for local political parties, GoI will create, within one year or at the latest 18 months from the signing of this MoU, the political and legal conditions for the establishment of local political parties in Aceh in consultation with Parliament. The timely implementation of this MoU will contribute positively to this end.

The alternative version could read:

*As soon as possible and not later than one year from the signing of this MoU, GoI agrees to and will facilitate the establishment of Aceh-based political parties that meet national criteria **including on the representation of women**. Understanding the aspirations of **the men and women of Aceh** for local political parties, GoI will create, within one year or at the latest 18 months from the signing of this MoU, the political and legal conditions for the establishment of local political parties in Aceh in consultation with Parliament. The timely implementation of this MoU will contribute positively to this end.*

Such a clause could provide a useful hook for groups promoting women's political participation to work from in pushing decision-makers to implement the agreement. If used, it could have also opened up opportunities for synergies to develop between women's political caucuses in Jakarta and any that existed, or were established, in Aceh.

Moving from political representation to the no less political question of multi-million dollar post-disaster reconstruction, we find another opportunity missed: there was no provision to ensure that the all-important body to oversee that reconstruction (the BRR) had decent representation by women. This could have helped women's priorities in the reconstruction be better met, addressing Marhaban's concern:

1.3.9 GAM will nominate representatives to participate fully at all levels in the commission established to conduct the post-tsunami reconstruction (BRR).

An alternative could be:

*GAM will nominate representatives, **at least 30% of whom are women**, to participate fully at all levels in the commission established to conduct the post-tsunami reconstruction (BRR).*

In the Rule of Law section, an opportunity also presents itself to provide emphasis without altering the fundamental intention of the clause:

1.4.2 The legislature of Aceh will redraft the legal code for Aceh on the basis of the universal principles of human rights as provided for in the United Nations International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

This could be redrafted to reflect Indonesia's (and therefore Aceh's) commitment to CEDAW and SCR 1325 as follows:

*The legislature of Aceh will redraft the legal code for Aceh on the basis of the universal principles of human rights as provided for in the United Nations International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, **noting in particular commitments made to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the role of women in ensuring peace and security.***

On re-integration into society, the memorandum states:

3.2.5 GoI will allocate suitable farming land as well as funds to the authorities of Aceh for the purpose of facilitating the reintegration to society of the former combatants and the compensation for political prisoners and affected civilians.

This is the kind of clause which leaves women ex-combatants or supporters to combatants wide open to being left out of any compensation or re-integration support. To avoid this, an alternative might read:

*GoI will allocate suitable farming land as well as funds to the authorities of Aceh for the purpose of facilitating the reintegration to society of the former combatants and the compensation for political prisoners and affected civilians, **recognizing the different needs of women and men in each case.***

Finally, there are ways to ensure that the international community, whether through a “Friends of” group, an international contact group, or formal monitoring mission, can help to ensure the inclusivity of the process. The following are the clauses which established the Aceh Monitoring Mission:

5.1 An Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) will be established by the European Union and ASEAN contributing countries with the mandate to monitor the implementation of the commitments taken by the parties in this Memorandum of Understanding.

5.2 The tasks of the AMM are to:

- a) monitor the demobilisation of GAM and decommissioning of its armaments,*
- b) monitor the relocation of non-organic military forces and non-organic police troops,*
- c) monitor the reintegration of active GAM members,*
- d) monitor the human rights situation and provide assistance in this field,*
- e) monitor the process of legislation change,*
- f) rule on disputed amnesty cases,*
- g) investigate and rule on complaints and alleged violations of the MoU,*
- h) establish and maintain liaison and good cooperation with the parties.*

It may not have even been controversial to add a final sub-article (or better still, add it in above article a) at the start of this section of the agreement):

i) ensure that all these tasks are undertaken in the light of the AMM's and both parties' commitments to women's rights as enshrined in CEDAW and UNSCR 1325.

Conclusion

This patchwork of examples from across the key issues in peace processes are, of course, limited by being taken somewhat out of context. Peace processes have an organic flow and structure which makes the pursuit of model or stand-alone clauses perhaps seem like a misdirected effort. However, the options suggested above do show that, on non-controversial issues (or less controversial ones) language opens up vital spaces for implementers, without costing much to some of the most contentious issues within the process.

The aim of this opinion piece was to start the process of unpacking how to bring a practical, gendered perspective to peace agreement drafting. It suggests the benefits this could have for inclusiveness and buy-in, a prized goal in peacemaking. For gender technical experts, it could seem sophomoric; but for the many, well-intentioned people who work in and around peace processes and who can't claim this expertise, it is hoped that it provides a useful foothold on what might seem a difficult climb.

This is but a rough and ready start, but hopefully it begins to show that other views and perspectives open different windows on the sometimes stale air in the negotiation chamber. And this is not only to the all-important benefit of hitherto neglected women's rights, but to the inclusiveness, quality and sustainability of the whole precarious enterprise. By undertaking exercises like these, those that support and facilitate peace processes – and even better, those that actually negotiate them – can broaden and deepen their analysis, understanding and strategy development, to the benefit of all those affected by conflict and its aftermath.

Endnotes

- 1 Bell, Christine & O'Rourke, Catherine, Transitional Justice Institute "UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements" (Geneva, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2010) - www.hdcentre.org/files/UN%20Security%20Council%201325_2.pdf
Accessed 9 April 2011.
- 2 For more information write to Cate Buchanan - cateb@hdcentre.org
- 3 See, for example, helpful definitions of key gender terms like "gender perspective" at www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/key-gender-terms
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- 4 Accord, *Ending the War: the need for peace building support strategies*, Policy Brief, (London: Conciliation Resources 2009), p.4.
- 5 Accord (2009), p.3.
- 6 Lederach, Jean Paul, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.44-6 on the process-structure gap.
- 7 UNSCRs
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- 8 For some examples of 10th anniversary implementation analyses see *Women, Peace and Security*, Report of the Secretary General (New York: UN, September 2010); *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiation* (New York: UNIFEM, 2010) www.unifem.org/attachments/products/0302_WomensParticipationInPeaceNegotiations_en.pdf
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All accessed 22 March 2011.
- 9 See discussion of challenges and progress of rights based programming from the UN's perspective at http://hrbportal.org/?page_id=929
Accessed March 18th 2011.
- 10 Chinkin, Christine, *Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women*, Background paper for the Expert Group Meeting, (New York; UN DAW, December 2003), p.2.
- 11 Bell and O'Rourke (2010).

- 12 In December 2008, the Council of the European Union adopted two documents outlining the EU strategy to further implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820: *Comprehensive EU Approach to the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820* <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st15/st15671-re01.en08.pdf> and *Implementation of SCR 1325 as reinforced by 1820 in the context of European Security and Defence Policy* (post-Lisbon known as Common Security and Defence Policy) <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st15/st15782-re03.en08.pdf> These documents set out a common EU approach to implementation, complementing what already exists at national level in terms of national action plans and strategies. Accessed 7 April 2011.
- 13 UNIFEM (2010), p.21 ff.
- 14 *Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation, concluded on 6 May 1996 between the Presidential Peace Commission of the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (1996)*, Section B, article 12, p.6 available at <http://peacemaker.unlb.org/index1.php> Accessed April 7 2011.
- 15 Remark made by a US government official during a session at the Institute for Inclusive Security, 12th Annual Colloquium, Women in Mediation, Washington DC 16th-21st January 2011.
- 16 UNIFEM (2010), p.20 ff., Chinkin (2003), pp.7-8.
- 17 UNIFEM (2010), p.3.
- 18 Samuel, Kumudini, *The Importance of Autonomy: Women and the Sri Lankan Peace Negotiations*, Opinion, (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, November 2010). www.hdcentre.org/files/The%20importance%20of%20autonomy%20-%20Women%20and%20the%20Sri%20Lankan%20Peace%20Negotiations.pdf Accessed 29 March 2011.
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- 25 Aspinall, Edward, *The Helsinki Agreement: a more promising basis for peace in Aceh?*, (Hawaii: East West Center, 2005).

26 Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, *Peacemaking in Asia and the Pacific: Women's participation, perspectives and priorities* (Geneva, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2011). Reference is to footnote 11 (p.12) in relation to a reflection made by Shadia Marhaban at the Experts Meeting: Women at the Peace Table – Asia Pacific, Kathmandu, Nepal - September 27-30, 2010 organised by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in collaboration with Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace and the Alliance for Social Dialogue. See also Marhaban's blog on <http://peacetalks.hdcentre.org/2010/08/aceh-the-maintenance-and-dividends-of-peace/> and ICTJ's brief at www.ictj.org/static/Factsheets/ICTJ_ID_AcehMoU_fs2010.pdf Accessed 7 April 2011.

About the author

Antonia Potter has more than 16 years experience across a wide range of humanitarian, development, peacemaking and peacebuilding issues in the not-for-profit sector. She now focuses on diversity and inclusion issues and most recently specialised in women's empowerment and gender. Educated at Oxford and the London School of Economics, she has worked in Afghanistan, Cambodia, East Timor, Switzerland (Geneva), India, USA (New York), and Indonesia for non governmental organisations including Save the Children, Concern Worldwide, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Oxfam GB and Médecins du Monde.