KARAMA
DIGNITY AND EQUALITY

Guidance Document

Training of Trainers on Women, Peace, and Security

Engaging Relevant UN Security Council Resolutions to Advance
Women's Political Participation

October 2013

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I. Theoretical Framework

To engage in the matters of women's political participation and access to decision-making roles in peace-building, conflict resolution, and transitional governance, a shared understanding of key terms helps establish the theoretical framework for these policies and the problems they seek to confront.

See **Appendix 1** for our Glossary of the following terms: *conflict, culture of peace, discrimination against women, empowerment of women, gender-based violence, gender equality, gender-responsive governance, gender-responsive governance reforms, governance, human security, political participation, Track I, II, and III diplomacy, and transition.*

Women's participation in the decision-making process is one of the most important indicators of human development, as it reflects the level of democratic performance within a given society and the degree to which all segments of the population are included in the development process.

Genuine empowerment of women in general and in the political domain in particular is a long-term process. Although women are more present in various public institutions, their influence is still very weak. This is clearly reflected in the low numbers of women participating in executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, and in political parties and civil society. This can be attributed to entrenched traditional views about women's roles within the family and gender stereotypes, which negatively affect women's influence and contribution in public life in general.

Arab governments have ratified CEDAW and, as such, are obliged to take the necessary measures to guarantee and ensure women's political rights and empower them to reach decision-making positions (Article 7 of the Convention).

Steps to be taken by governments include the adoption of temporary special measures, such as affirmative action programs which allocate a proportion of seats in office for women (Article 4). Governments are also obliged to change negative social attitudes towards women, which play a role in the discrimination women face in society (Article 5). However, governments are failing to fully implement the Convention, and despite some successes, women's participation in the political process remains very weak in the region.

It is important to note that the constitutions of most Arab countries enshrine the principle of equality between men and women in terms of their civil and political rights. However, the applicable laws do not translate this principle into reality. Many policies in the Arab region include different forms of discrimination that run contrary to the principle of equality, particularly in personal status and criminal laws. Moreover, women's constitutional rights are no more than ink on paper. In sum, constitutional guarantees are not enough to materialize and effectuate women's civil and political rights.

The predominant culture of male preference in Arab societies is a significant factor resulting in women's low visibility in the political sphere. Discrimination against women, social traditions, and gender-based violence in the public and private spheres are principal obstacles to increasing women's roles in decision-making positions.

Fortunately, CEDAW and the UNSCR 1325 framework address the elimination of these obstacles specifically as imperative elements to advance women's leadership and participation and to ensure more sustainable peace.

II. Technical Framework on Political Participation

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 framework for women, peace, and security provides an important international legal framework for increasing the representation of women and women's rights in peacebuilding, reconciliation, transitional justice, and transitional governance.

Women's participation in the decision-making process is one of the most important indicators of human development and sustainable peace, as it reflects the level of democratic performance within a given society and the degree to which all segments of the population are included in the peacebuilding and development process. Yet, according to UN Women, since 2000 women have been fewer than 7% of negotiators on official delegations in peace processes and just 2.7 % of signatories.[1] Impunity for rape and sexual violence prevails, and those who seek non-violent solutions are often shut out of peace negotiations.

Forty percent of peace processes fail in the first 10 years. Even when negotiations to end war succeed, new forms of violence emerge, creating a perpetual state between war and peace for civilians, especially women.[2] Member States as well as peace mediation teams appointed by international organizations are failing to include women and their perspectives in a sustained and substantial manner. Governments and the UN must do more.

The 1325 framework is an important accountability measure for women to use or invoke for increased political participation and representation in the Arab states, both in those that are undergoing transitional periods and those still undergoing conflict.

Women's Political Representation in the Arab States

UN Women describes **accountability** as a core element of democratic politics and good governance, involving assessment of the adequacy of performance, and the imposition of corrective action or remedy in cases of performance failure.[3] Gender-sensitive accountability systems "require not just women's participation, but also institutional reform to make gender equality one of the standards against which the performance of decisionmakers is assessed."[4]

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[1] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010

[2] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010

[3] *Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009: Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability* (UN Women), 2009

[4] *Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009: Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability* (UN Women), 2009

At the heart of the 2011 uprisings across the Arab world was a demand by the people for democracy, justice, equality, and opportunity—calls for accountability from their governments to enact the people's rights to live in dignity.

In the Arab states, democracy has severely lacked accountability to women. At the end of 2010, prior to the onset of the uprisings, women sat in only 12.5% of the seats in all lower or single houses of Arab parliaments.[5] Since the revolutions, Arab women's representation has climbed—but only to 15.7% of these parliamentary seats in the region as of July 2013.[6]

Women in Arab National Parliaments (Lower or Single House), Most Recent Elections Pre- and Post-2011[7]

Country	% held by women Dec 2010	% held by women since Jan 2011
Regional Average	**12.5 % (Dec 2010)**	**15.7% (as of July 2013)**
Tunisia	27.6 % (Oct 2009)	26.7 % (Oct 2011)
Sudan	25.6% (Apr 2010)	24.6 % (Apr 2010)
Iraq	25.2% (Mar 2010)	(same body)
UAE	22.5 % (Feb 2006)	17.5% (Sept 2011)
Mauritania	22.1% (Nov 2006)	(same body)
Djibouti	13.8 % (Feb 2008)	12.7% (Feb 2012)
Egypt	12.7% (Nov 2010)	2.0 % (Nov 2011)
Cyprus	12.5 % (May 2006)	10.7% (May 2011)
Syria	12.4 % (Apr 2007)	12.0 % (May 2012)
Jordan	10.8 % (Nov 2010)	12.2 % (Jan 2013)
Morocco	10.5 % (Sept 2007)	**17.0 %** (Nov 2011)
Algeria	7.7 % (May 2007)	**31.6%** (May 2012)
Libya	7.7% (Mar 2009)	**16.5 %** (July 2012)
Kuwait	7.7 % (May 2009)	6.2 % (Dec 2012)
Somalia	6.8 % (Aug 2004)	**13.8%** (Aug 2012)
Lebanon	3.1 % (Jun 2009)	(same body)
Comoros	3.0 % (Dec 2009)	(same body)
Iran	2.8 % (Mar 2008)	3.1 % (May 2012)
Bahrain	2.5 % (Oct 2010)	**10.0 %** (Oct 2010)
Yemen	0.3 % (Apr 2003)	(same body)
Oman	0.0 % (Oct 2007)	1.2 % (Oct 2011)
Saudi Arabia	0.0% (Feb 2009)	**19.9%** (Jan 2013)
Qatar	0.0 % (Jul 2010)	(same body)

For the Arab region's transitional and post-conflict governments to deliver the accountability demanded by the revolutions and popular demonstrations, women's

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[5] Inter-Parliamentary Union, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world311210.htm

[6] Inter-Parliamentary Union, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010713.htm

[7] Inter-Parliamentary Union, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif311210.htm and http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010713.htm

political representation and access to decision-making roles must increase significantly—starting with the transitional governments and peacebuilding steps.

Political Representation Goals in the MDGs and the Beijing Platform for Action

The UN's Millennium Development Goals and Beijing Platform for Action measure all member states against the UN ECOSOC goal of 30% for women's representation in national parliaments.

ECOSOC is a founding UN Charter body established in 1946, the UN Economic and Social Council. ECOSOC is where economic and social issues are discussed and debated, and system-wide policy recommendations are issued.[8] In 1990, appraising the progress of the UN Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000, which were set in 1985 in Nairobi, ECOSOC recommended targets for increasing the proportion of women in leadership positions: **30% by 1995 and 50% by 2000.**

The 30% target as a minimum level for critical mass was conceived in the 1970s by an American feminist scholar, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, studying the behavior of minorities in task-oriented groups and observing that 'when the proportion of minority members reached about 30%, they were able to influence decision-making autonomously as a group. At levels lower than 30%, effectiveness required the minority members to act more like those of the majority and, failing that, they would be ineffective and lonely dissenters.' In the 1980s, Danish political scientist Drude Dahlerup argued that the critical mass phenomenon could apply to politics as well.[9]

In 1995, the UN's 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing reported that little progress had been made in achieving the ECOSOC target of 30% women in positions at decision-making levels by 1995.[10] The governments at the Conference unanimously adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which included strategic objective G.1: 'Take measures to ensure women's equal access to

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[8] See http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/ ECOSOC coordinates the work of 14 UN specialised agencies, 10 functional commissions and five regional commissions; receives reports from 11 UN funds and programmes; and issues policy recommendations to the UN system and to Member States. Under the UN Charter, ECOSOC is responsible for promoting higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress; identifying solutions to international economic, social and health problems; facilitating international cultural and educational cooperation; and encouraging universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. ECOSOC's purview extends to over 70% of the human and financial resources of the entire UN system.

[9] United Nations Targets for Proportion of Women in Leadership and Decision-Making Positions, Equal Opportunities Commission, 2003, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr02-03/english/panels/ha/papers/ha0314cb2-1636-1e.pdf. In some countries in Scandinavia in the 1980s, critical mass levels were being approached at some levels of government and it was possible to see whether 30% made a difference. The findings made considerable sense: if a critical mass was not achieved, any gender differences that might exist would remain uninfluential in decision-making and the stereotype of "no difference" would remain confirmed.

[10] See http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/fwcwn.html.

and full participation in power structures and decision-making. Actions to be taken by governments: Commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary, including, inter alia, setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions.'[11]

The Millennium Development Goals (or MDGs) are the eight international development goals adopted in 2000 by all 189 member states of the United Nations, to be achieved by 2015.[12] With clear time-bound targets and indicators to measure progress toward the 8 goals, the MDGs provide the core elements of an accountability system which all UN member states adopted.

Although Arab governments acceded in 1995 and 2000 to both the Beijing Platform for Action and the MDGs, this goal of 30% is far from being fulfilled—indeed it has been only halfway reached in the Arab region.

The Millennium Development Goals, 2000-2015[13]:
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. **Promote gender equality and empower women**
4. Reduce child mortality rates
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development

MDG 3, Eliminate gender disparity … at all levels by 2015:
*Indicator 3: Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament***[14]**

The 2010 *Third Arab Report on the Millennium Development Goals and the Impact of the Global Economic Crises,* noted the lack of progress made toward MDG3 in the Arab region, and recommends several remedies: "The representation of women in national parliaments in the Arab region, at 10% as of February 2010, is the lowest rate in the world, still far from the 30% that was recommended in the Beijing Platform for Action...Historically, women's political participation in some parts of the Arab world has been limited to selected appointments to ministerial and parliamentary positions. Due to that fact, women in general lack the experience and skills needed to reach leadership positions. Therefore, policies to

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[11] United Nations Targets for Proportion of Women in Leadership and Decision-Making Positions, Equal Opportunities Commission, 2003, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr02-03/english/panels/ha/papers/ha0314cb2-1636-1e.pdf.

[12] See http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/

[13] Gateway to the UN System's Work on the MDGs, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/.

[14] Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women, http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/gender.shtml

increase women's political representation should include capacity-building activities, sharpening women's skills in leadership, lobbying and political party-involvement." [15]

To ensure accountability to the MDGs, the Beijing Platform for Action, and the objectives of the Arab uprisings, the increase in women's public roles and representation in Arab states must begin with the peace-building process itself. It must continue through the conflict resolution phases and the transitional period, and finally become enshrined in new constitutions and electoral processes.

Representation of Women in the Current Transition Periods of Arab States

In Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, women's representation among the power brokers has been token or omitted significantly in the peace-building and transitional bodies. The resulting imbalance of men occupying the vast majority of decision-making roles made the goal of women's fair representation in the new electoral bodies and constitutional committees even more difficult to attain—ultimately, a few measures were enacted, although far from enough.

Egypt's women dropped from holding 12% of parliamentary seats in 2010 to just 2% in Egypt's first post-revolution parliament elected in Nov-Dec 2011. The 2013 interim government has appointed 3 women as cabinet ministers but placed no women on the "committee of experts" that will propose the revised amendments for the constitution. The amendments will be reviewed by a larger committee of 50 representatives of a cross-section of society, of which 10 shall be women and youth.[16] Women in Tunisia were 50% of the candidates in 2011 but only 5% got the top position on party lists. Women won 26.7% of Tunisia's seats, however this was lower than the 27.8% they won in 2010 under the regime. In Libya, only two women were named to the National Transition Council but women's NGOs succeeded in proposing measures in the electoral law that put nearly 17% women in the first General National Congress. However, the Constitutional Committee of 50 will have a quota of just 6 seats for women.

A different and potentially more promising case has been Yemen, where women's participation in the transitional process was stated explicitly in the November 2011 Transition Agreement, as a constituency to be represented in the National Dialogue Conference, Phase II of the transition period. After just 3 women were appointed ministers in the first post-Saleh government, the new president appointed women to 20% of the seats on the 25-person technical committee that was charged with

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[15] The Third Arab Report on the Millennium Development Goals and the Impact of the Global Economic Crises, (United Nations and League of Arab States, 2010), http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/other/undp/mdgr/regional/thirdarabreport-mdg-10-en.pdf

[16] "Committee begins revision of Egypt 2012 constitution," Al Ahram, 21 July 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/77015.aspx

defining the scope and representation in the National Dialogue Conference. As a result, in the 565-seat National Dialogue Conference, which commenced in March 2013, 30% of the seats for political parties were reserved for women, and 25% of the 160 independent seats. Women's rights are being addressed in the Rights & Freedoms Committee, but there is some concern that this is separate from constitutional reform being discussed in the Good Governance Committee.

No matter what stage each country is in, the mandate for increasing women's political representation persists according to the unmet MDGs and the Beijing Platform for Action, but even more permanently mandated through the series of UN resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, in addition to the UN's most significant conventions.

III. UN Conventions, Agreements, and Resolutions related to Women's Political Participation

> **The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted 1948)[17]:**
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> Article 21: Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
>
> **Convention on the Political Rights of Women (adopted 1952)[18]:**
>
> Article 3: Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.
>
> **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted 1976)[19]:**
>
> Article 2.2: Where not already provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take the necessary steps…to adopt such laws or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in the present Covenant.
>
> Article 3: The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.
>
> Article 25: Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:
>
> (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
> (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
> (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

Following on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' guarantee that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country, it is acknowledged that broad-based participation in elections is crucial to a truly representative government. In other words, democracy without women is hypocrisy.

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[17] Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), https://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/

[18] Convention on the Political Rights of Women (entered into force 1954), http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/e2cprw.htm

[19] International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (entered into force 1976), http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx

CEDAW (1979)

In 1979, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which has since been ratified by 20 of 22 Arab states. CEDAW spells out the obligation to ensure women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life. With Arab states' ratification of CEDAW, the States parties agree to take all appropriate measures to overcome historical discrimination against women and obstacles to women's participation in decision-making processes (Article 8), including legislation and temporary special measures (Articles 3 and 4).[20]

UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (adopted 1979) [21]:

Article 3: States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic, and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4: Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination a defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been reached.

Article 7: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:
(a)   To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
(b)   To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of the government;
(c)   To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country

Article 8: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.

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[20] Text of the CEDAW Convention, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm

[21] Text of the CEDAW Convention, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)

As mentioned earlier, in 1995 the UN Fourth World Conference on Women issued the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and included women's unequal share of power and decision-making as one of the twelve critical areas of concern. **Strategic objective G.1 was: "Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making."** Proposed actions included governments committing themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, public administrative entities and the judiciary. **Strategic objective G.2 obliged governments and the UN to increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.**

Agreed Conclusions of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (1997)

In 1997, the 41st session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women focused on women in power and decision-making processes. Governments were urged to establish time-bound targets for reaching the goal of gender balance in decision-making, and ensure gender mainstreaming in legislation. Paragraph 15 of the Agreed Conclusions stressed that "Governments and the United Nations system should promote women's active and equal participation as governmental and non-governmental representatives, special rapporteurs and envoys in all of the initiatives and activities of the system, **including as mediators for peacekeeping and peace-building."**[22]

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (2000)

In 2000, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted mandatory Resolution 1325, calling on the Member States, UN, and all non-state actors to support **and increase women's participation in decision-making pertaining to the prevention and resolution of conflict and reconstruction**. Resolution 1325 also mandated a broad array of protections for women and girls during armed conflict. See **Section IV** in this document for a complete discussion of UNSCR 1325, and see the resolution in its entirety in **Appendix 2**.

UNSCR 1325 calls on all Member States to create National Action Plans for their work with issues on Women, Peace and Security. As of June 2013, 41 states have produced National Action Plans and more are on their way

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[22] Report of the 41st Session, Agreed Conclusions, paragraph 15,
http://www.un.org/documents/ecosoc/cn6/1997/reporten/e1997-27decis.htm

UNSCR 1325 is rooted in the premise that women's presence and participation in peace processes, their perspectives, and their contributions to the substance of talks and transitional governance—will improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace. The Security Council's resolution **1325** was followed in ensuing years with related UNSCR resolutions **1820, 1889, 1890, 1960, and 2106 which are known together as the '1325 women peace and security framework.'**

UN Women's Overview of Women, War, and Peace and the United Nations Resolutions[23]

The UN Security Council now recognizes that women's exclusion from peace processes contravenes their rights, and that including women and gender perspectives in decision-making can strengthen prospects for sustainable peace. This recognition was formalized in October 2000 with the unanimous adoption of resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The landmark resolution specifically addresses the situation of women in armed conflict and calls for their participation at all levels of decision-making on conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Since the agenda was set with the core principles of resolution 1325, five supporting resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council — 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, and 2106. The five resolutions focus on three key goals:

- **Strengthening women's participation in decision-making**— Resolution 1325 (2000) calls for strengthening women's agency as peacemakers and peacebuilders, including their participation in conflict prevention and peace processes, early recovery, governance and in peace operations. Resolution 1889 (2009) complements 1325 by calling for the establishment of global indicators to measure progress on its implementation.

- **Ending sexual violence and impunity** — Resolution 1820 (2008) calls for an end to widespread conflict-related sexual violence and for accountability in order to end impunity. Resolution 1888 (2009) focuses on strengthening leadership, expertise and other institutional capacities within the United Nations and in member states to help put an end to conflict-related sexual violence. Resolution 2106 (2013) emphasizes the need for more consistent and rigorous investigation and prosecution of sexual violence crimes as a central aspect of deterrence, and ultimately prevention. It stresses women's participation as essential to any prevention and protection response

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[23] Captured from UN Women—Gender Issues—Women, War, and Peace
http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_war_peace/index.html

> • **Provide an accountability system** — Resolution 1960 (2010) mandates the Secretary-General to list those parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of sexual violence in situations on the Council's agenda. Relevant sanctions committees will be briefed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and may take action against listed parties. Resolution 1960 also calls for the establishment of monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements specific to conflict-related sexual violence.

UN General Assembly Resolution 58/142 on Women and Political Participation (2003)

In 2003, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 58/142 on Women and Political Participation. Member States were urged to "implement positive measures that would accelerate the achievement of equality between men and women" (para 1b) and to counter "negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally in the political process" (para 1d).[24]

UN General Assembly Resolution 66/130 on Women and Political Participation (2011)

In 2011, the UN General Assembly returned to this topic again, adopting Resolution 66/130 on Women and Political Participation, specifically addressing States in political transition to ensure the equal participation of women.

> **UN General Assembly Resolution 66/130 on Women & Political Participation[25]**
>
> 3. Also calls upon all States to accelerate the achievement of equality between men and women, and in all situations, including in situations of political transitions, to promote and protect the human rights of women with respect to engaging in political activities, taking part in the conduct of public affairs…;
>
> 4. Calls upon States in situations of political transition to take effective steps to ensure the participation of women on equal terms with men in all phases of political reform, from decisions on whether to call for reforms in existing institutions to decisions regarding transitional governments, to the formulation of government policy, to the means of electing new democratic governments;

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[24] Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 58/142. Women and Political Participation, http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/503/10/PDF/N0350310.pdf?OpenElement

[25] Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 66/130. Women and Political Participation, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/130

6(a). Also urges all States…To review the differential impact of their electoral systems on the political participation of women and their representation in elected bodies and to adjust or reform those systems where appropriate;…6(i) To investigate allegations of violence, assault or harassment of women elected officials and candidates for political office, create an environment of zero tolerance for such offences and, to ensure accountability, take all appropriate steps to prosecute those responsible

IV. UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security

Mainstreaming gender during times of armed conflict is difficult yet essential to set a precedent to continue during the transitional period to peace, reconciliation, and democratic governance. UNSCR 1325's attention to the protection of women's physical well-being and legal and political rights recognizes that if half the population is experiencing violence or discrimination, there is no peace or justice for anyone, and that acts of violence against women are provocations that can threaten peace and security more widely.[26]

Summary of Resolution 1325 (2000)[27]
In the 18 point resolution, the Security Council:

• Urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels.

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

• Urges the Secretary General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys.

• Urges the Secretary General to expand the role and contributions of women in UN field- based operations, including among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.

• Requests the Secretary General to provide training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women.

• Urges member states to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender sensitive training efforts.

• Calls upon all parties in armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians.

• Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse.

• Emphasizes the responsibilities of all states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide crimes, including those related to sexual and other forms of violence against women and girls.

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[26] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010, p9

[27] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates, UNWomen, 2006

• Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian characters of refugee camps and settlements with particular attention to women's and girls' special needs.

• Invites the Secretary General to carry out a study to be presented to the Security Council on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building, the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions.

Simplified version of UNSCR 1325, by Paragraph:
prepared by the International Women's Tribune Centre

1. Increase the number of women at decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions involved in preventing, managing, and resolving conflicts.

2. Increase participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.

3. Provide women candidates from a regular-updated, centralized roster for appointment as special representatives and envoys to facilitate the appointment of more women in these positions.

4. Expand the numbers and roles of women in UN field operations, such as military observers, civilian police,human rights and humanitarian personnel.

5. Ensure that a gender component is included in field peacekeeping operations.

6. Provide training guidelines and materials on (1) the protection, rights, and needs of women, (2) the importance of involving women in peacekeeping and peace-building measures, and (3) HIV/AIDS awareness in national training programs for military police, civilian police and civilian peacekeeping personnel.

7. Increase voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training.

8. Adopt a gender perspective when negotiating & implementing peace agreements in areas like:

    ♦ Special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction.
    ♦ Support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution and involve women in all of the peace agreement implementation mechanisms.
    ♦ Ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly relating to the constitution, electoral system, the police and judiciary.

9. Respect international law regarding the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, during armed conflicts.

10. Take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse and violence in situations of armed conflict.

11. Put an end to impunity and prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes,including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and exclude these crimes from amnesty provisions.

12. Respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements and, in their design, take into account the particular needs of women and girls.

13. Consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and take into account the needs of their dependants.

14. Give consideration to the potential impact of UN Charter Article 41 on the civilian population, keeping in mind appropriate humanitarian exemptions and the special needs of women.

15. Ensure the Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultations with local and international women's groups.

16. Conduct a study on (1) the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, (2) the role of women in peace-building and (3) the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolutions. Submit the results to the Security Council and make the study available to all UN Member tates.

17. Report progress to the Security Council on gender main-streaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls.

Adopted by the UN Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000.

UN Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008)

Specifically calls for criminalization of sexual violence committed during times of war. Resolution 1820 added clauses to 1325 linking sexual violence as a security issue related to reconciliation and eliminating sexual violence crimes from provisions of amnesty. It also advocates for training of peacekeepers regarding gender sensitivity and amendment of penal codes to list crimes against women and girls. 1820 was the first Security Council resolution to recognize conflict-related sexual violence as a tactic of warfare and a matter of international peace and security, requiring a peacekeeping, justice, services and peace negotiation response.

UN Security Council Resolution 1888 (2009)

It focuses on strengthening leadership, expertise and other institutional capacities within the United Nations and in member states to help put an end to conflict-related sexual violence. Strengthens tools for implementing 1820 through assigning high-level leadership, building judicial response expertise, strengthening service provision, and building annual reporting mechanisms. It directs the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative to focus on sexual violence in armed conflict, to deploy a team of experts for rapid response with regard to situations of sexual violence in armed conflict, and to include issues of sexual violence on Peace Negotiation agendas.

UN Security Council Resolution 1889 (2009)

This complements UNSCR 1325 by calling for the establishment of global indicators to measure progress on its implementation. Addresses women's exclusion from early recovery and peacebuilding and lack of adequate planning and funding for their needs. Asks for a strategy to increase numbers of women in conflict-resolution decision-making, and asks for tools to improve implementation: indicators and proposals for a monitoring mechanism.

UN Security Council Resolution 1960 (2010)

Resolution 1960 provides an accountability system for addressing conflict- related sexual violence, including by listing perpetrators and establishing monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements. It mandates the Secretary-General to list those parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of sexual violence in situations on the Council's agenda. Relevant sanctions committees will be briefed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and may take action against listed parties. UNSCR 1960 also calls for the establishment of monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements specific to conflict-related sexual violence.

UN Security Council Resolution 2106 (2013)

This resolution, "which adds greater operational detail to previous resolutions on this topic, reiterates that all actors, including not only the Security Council and parties to armed conflict, but all Member States and United Nations entities, must do more to implement previous mandates and combat impunity for these crimes."[28] UNSCR 2106 stresses that women's participation is essential to any prevention and protection response.

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[28] Statement by Lakshmi Puri, Interim Director of UN Women, June 27, 2013, http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/6/un-women-welcomes-the-unanimous-adoption-of-security-council-resolution-2106/

V. Stakeholders for Implementation the 1325 Framework

 Major stakeholders involved in implementing the UNSCR 1325 are as follows:
1. Governments (ministries, police, military)
2. National parliament (legislative policymaking)
3. National ombudsman organizations and human rights bodies
4. Civil society organizations (political parties, non-governmental organizations, unions)
5. Involved parties (parties to the conflict)

Roles of the Stakeholders for Implementation of Resolution 1325 Framework

1) Enhancing women's participation in decision-making positions:
- Ensure women's active and effective involvement in decision-making positions at the national level in areas of economic, social, cultural and political life as an equal citizen to be held responsible equally as men
- Increase representation and meaningful participation of women in national and local governance, as citizens, elected officials and decision-makers. Ensure that women are appointed or that special measure ensure women's representation in transitional government bodies, constitutional committees, and Cabinet positions.
- Fulfill the State's commitment to international standards of human rights and its application in national legislation, including the ratification of international conventions related to human rights, and lifting of reservations on ratified conventions, not inconsistent with the principles of divine law, and the ratification of the Additional Protocols especially the Optional Protocol of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

2) Strengthening the role of women in peacekeeping and peace-building and conflict prevention:
- Enact women's full participation and representation in peacekeeping forces, peace negotiations, and peace-building processes.
- Promote women's participation during civil crisis to help survivors and the injured from disasters, and to help refugees in armed conflicts.
- Raise awareness at all levels on the importance of women's role in peace-building, and of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls.
- Mainstream a gender perspective, provide training on gender equality and the principle of equal opportunities in peacekeeping operations, as

well as integrating gender equality in the programs and national strategies and reports.

3) Protecting victimized women and girls from disasters, emergencies and armed conflicts and all forms of violence; and ensuring the protection and preservation of human rights of women and girls:

- Prevent all kinds of violence against women and girls, including sexual abuse, human trafficking, and other human rights violations.
- Combat the trends and negative societal patterns that tolerate violence against women and girls, and which condone or justify the practices.
- Include provisions addressing the specific needs and issues of women and girls in early-warning systems and conflict prevention mechanisms and their implementation is monitored.
- Enhance the security of women and girls and their safety and mental health; provide access to services to support livelihoods and respect for their human rights; and address populations with special needs particularly women's needs and physical health; implement systems and mechanisms for monitoring cases of women's rights violations. Hold the perpetrators of violence in all its forms accountable, particularly to battered women and girls.
- Hold international, national and non-state security actors accountable for any violations of the rights of women and girls in line with international standards.
- Increase access for battered women and girls to justice.
- Increase access to quality education and health for women and girls with special emphasis on reproductive health and HIV / AIDS, and carry out national programs that promote awareness of the disease. Promote training programs for military personnel and police officers on prevention programs and protection from infection and to deal with the injured.

4) Capacity building, partnerships and promoting and developing cooperation and coordination between governmental and non-governmental organizations to empower their role in the protection of women and girls in conflict zones and refugee camps, and monitoring, and evaluating the National Plan for the activation of resolution 1325:

- Strengthen the capacity of stakeholders and those responsible for the administration of refugee camps, in order to provide protection and assistance, training and capacity building for refugee groups to be able to play their role in contributing to the promotion of a culture of peace.
- In the implementation of humanitarian efforts, take into account the specific needs of women and girls relative to social services offered at all

levels, especially in the design and construction of camps for refugees and survivors of the disaster and in the provision of water and sanitation.

- Improve and develop the available data on women and girls, security and peace.
- Adopt a set of policy measures to guide and accelerate the implementation of the process of disaster risk reduction, both for what is intended to achieve and how to apply.

VI. Importance, Strengths, and Weaknesses of 1325

UN Resolution 1325 was adopted in October 2000 by the UN Security Council, which consists of fifteen countries, the five permanent members (United States, Russia, China, France, and Britain) and ten temporary member countries. It should be mentioned that the countries participating in the session that unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 were: Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, the Netherlands, Tunisia, Ukraine.

The strengths and importance of the 1325 framework

1) The importance of the decision stems from being issued by the Security Council, where the decisions of the Security Council establish and arrange international obligations in terms of Member States with serious abuses. Member States in the General Assembly are required to develop national plans on the part of, and monitor the implementation of the resolution at the level of local determinants, through its specialized missions and spread all over the world, in order to provide the means and mechanisms to activate the resolution and follow-up implementation.

2) UN Resolution 1325 is the first of its kind to be issued by the Security Council, enforcing the participation of women in decision-making circles of security forces and the military, which will develop a new nature of the roles of women and levels of their political participation.

3) It is an unprecedented decision because of the topics covered in it (peace negotiations, security, removing mines, refugee camps, reintegration, international peace missions and peacekeeping forces, etc.), as well as the procedures, mechanisms and changes required to implement its recommendations. Those in turn will lead to an amendment in the structures and organizational structures, and to a fundamental change in social interactions between conflicting parties.

4) The operative paragraphs of the resolution focus on maintenance of peace and security, which requires a long-term political commitment and will require human and material resources. The Council will also address themes and their applications, to verify they are aligned with social change on women's roles in their communities.

5) The resolution also addresses the issues of peace, women and security. That means this resolution is linking politics, feminism and society in dealing with national, social and democratic problems.

Weaknesses of resolution 1325

1) Despite that the resolution provides many opportunities for women in general, it addresses only Member states in permanent war; however, even when imposed by the United Nations, the resolution is not always effective in cases of war and armed conflict.

2) In the mandatory resolution: Although the issuance of resolution 1325 by the Security Council gives it binding force on the Member States and is compulsory according to the preamble; the terms of reference contained therein are not up to the required level, for example the recommendations on protection of civilians in times of war are not enough to help women and children to live in peace, or to protect them from the risks of war; such as immigration, rape, sexual exploitation and impoverishment, nor does it guarantee to intervene to put an end to the aggressor, to deter aggression or to develop to the extent required to stop it; and it will leave the Security Council only issuing reports and condemning actions instead of enforcing the implementation of actual resolutions.

3) The resolution doesn't contain clear mechanisms and schedules: the resolution lacks clear mechanisms and time tables for implementation from the governments – member states. Also clear monitoring and evaluation tools for the UN missions.

Obstacles face the implementation of the resolution

1) The subjective factor on the performance of the women's movement: Although the women's movement could have had significant potential for feminism in the Arab region, it was not utilized for 13 years; this puts into question the decline of performance of women leaders, and the absence of women's role in general.

2) Occupation role (parties in conflict) to impede the implementation of the resolution: Resolution 1325, which passed a unanimous Security Council without facing a veto

VII. Challenges and Opportunities for Women's Political Participation in Conflict and Transition

Introduction

UNSCR 1325 emphasizes to member states undergoing conflict and post-conflict situations to increase the number of women in all levels of decision-making. It also demands from all key actors to take measures to ensure protection and rights of women and girls, especially their legal rights.

This chapter will illustrate the main challenges and opportunities for women's political participation in the four situations—**conflict, non-armed conflict, transitional periods, and post conflict.**

Karama's research team identified these challenges and opportunities in order to help identify the steps needed to empower women in political participation and decision-making roles in conflict and post-conflict, as stipulated by UNSCR 1325.

Women's political participation and gender perspectives in conflict situations

Despite all the violations women face during conflict situations, women historically play a significant role in these situations which is leadership within their communities. Yet women are frequently not part of the peace agenda nor the decision making process during and after armed conflict.

One of the common features of post-conflict reconstruction is the implementation of new political processes, such as elections, the establishment of new or reconfigured governance structures and the strengthening of civil society participation in public life. Elections can provide women with the chance to express newly developed political clout or can pose a risk to advances made by women during conflict and its aftermath.

The inhibition and denial of women's participation is due in part to the precise challenges, risks, and threats women face during armed conflict.

a) During situations of armed conflict, some of the challenges and threats women face are as follows:

      a. Spread of early marriage due to family concerns for girls' safety from rape

      b. Increase in number of widows and orphans, resulting in a low standard of living. These families need sociological attention, more access to educational opportunities, and focus on their heath conditions.

c. Pregnant women suffer from lack of shelters, which can result in poor nutrition

d. Internal and external displacement of women

e. Women and girls, men and boys all face the risk and threat of being killed and tortured. For women and girls, the risk of being tortured is often greater than the risk of being killed. All women and men, girls and boys endure the fragmentation of state institutions and fragmentation of families.

f. Women and girls face rape and sexual abuse as a weapon of war, also forced marriage, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, spread of HIV/AIDS, and the use of women as sexual slaves by soldiers which increase their vulnerability.

g. Due to non traditional roles in such situations women are at risk of murder not only by enemy forces but also from friendly forces

h. Fragmentation of state institutions, which affects the further marginalization of the role of women

i. Legal discrimination against women prior to the conflict situation (weak participation or low access to governmental bodies) may increase the violations women face in conflict situations

j. Legal discrimination may hinder the implementation of international mechanisms, and women face discrimination in public life and decision-making process

k. Lack of media coverage

There are considerable obstacles to women's exercise of political expression in post-conflict environments, stemming from restricted mobility, less access to information and education, limited time due to work burdens, cultural norms dictating men's control over women's decisions and/or coercion and intimidation of family members and communities.[29]

b) However, during conflict women often gain valuable and relevant leadership and organizing skills. In these situations, the *opportunities* women find are as follows:

1. Negotiating more space for involvement in various aspects of peace building:
   - Assuming leadership or formation of civil society initiatives during times of conflict, as women frequently assume leadership in conflict-affected communities, refugee camps, and families during wartime
   - With knowledge of the community and social fabric, providing mapping of local and national women's groups, civil society groups, and coalitions

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[29] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates (UN Women, 2006)

- Developing a women's peace agenda and analysis of root causes of the conflict, to be addressed in peace talks
- Suggesting names of women or Gender Advisors be appointed to any mediation team
- Making explicit references to all stakeholders' obligations to 1325
- Calling for a 1325 working group of UN representatives, civil society, political parties

 2. Development of youth groups to lobby and advocate for women's political participation
- Political and social movements, including the women's movement, enhance youth capacities through involving them in various initiatives formulated by civil society during times of conflict, which help in gaining skills that enable them to be future leaders.
- Attending and participating in international meetings and international human rights mechanisms, helps youth in promoting peace and co-operation, social progress, inclusion, and awareness of how to create equal opportunities with men and to take part in leadership positions in governmental and non-governmental institutions.
- Merging women, peace, and security with young activists' concerns, and merging young feminists with wider peace and democracy issues, strengthens a more inclusive grassroots base and social media presence.
- Meetings on the regional levels opens the space for exchanging experiences among male and female youth from different countries, backgrounds, and cultures.

3. Women's responsibility for leadership of communities and families, and women's role supporting or demobilizing the combatants can be parlayed into social support for public leadership or candidacy by women, as well as making a case for women's representation in peace negotiations:
- Talk to political parties early about including women in their leadership or delegations
- Insist that any delegation to formal peace negotiations include women
- Insist that formal negotiations have gender sub-committee
- Call for women to be represented in International Contact Group meetings
- Publicize the importance of a gender perspective in the peace process, and publicize war crimes committed against women
- Foster public support for the peace process and demobilization
- Campaign for gender provisions in the peace agreement, such as a quota for women in the transitional council or governing body

In some instances, non-state and opposition movements have been amenable to addressing issues of gender equality in peace processes than governments. In El Salvador, Guatemala, and South Africa in the 1990s, women from opposition movements put issues such as equal rights to land and gender-based discrimination into the discussions following consultation with their own constituents and women's rights groups.[30]

Women's political participation and gender perspectives in non-armed conflict situations

Conflict situations occur that are not armed but are led by civil protest clashing with government. The resulting states of emergency, detentions, and mass protests can also paralyze state institutions, suspend employment, and erode the rule of law. Despite the participation and leadership by women in these protest movements, the social upheaval and unrest combined with conventional media culture can elevate male figures with strong voices more than female, and lead to exclusion of women from decision making and political participation.

During such situations the *challenges* women face are as follows:

   a. Increased crime rate and lack of security
   b. Torture and sexual abuse while under detention
   c. Sexual assault or mass rape in large crowds
   d. Economic situation can result in the increase of unemployment to women as they are the first losers
   e. Increased stress holding responsibility for family safety and sustainability
   f. Work may be in a sector that can jeopardize her personal safety
   g. Lack of work can compel women into survival sex work
   h. Legislative reforms can put women back or as lowest priority

b) During such situations the *opportunities* women face are as follows:

a-During these situations, women are compelled to become head of household and take new leading roles and responsibilities in their families, either financially or socially, which empowers them to have leadership skills

b- Gaining leadership skills makes women more capable of taking leadership positions, which might create actual opportunities for her to have more effective role in her society

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[30] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010

c- In general, women highly contribute in shaping the identities and views of the next generation, and to be more aware of their rights and capabilities will help in guaranteeing long term sustainability of peace, reconciliation, equality, democracy, and rule of law.

Women's political participation and gender perspectives in transitional periods

During transition periods, it is critical that new governments, electoral commissions, institutions, laws, observation missions and complaints mechanisms involve women as active participants in their formulation and implementation as well as take into account the obstacles for and special needs of women as constituents and candidates in the political process.

During transitional periods, women may face the threat of violations, harassment, abduction, and rape in some cases due to the following conditions:

i. Lack of the security
j. Crime rate increase
k. Economic situation: which results in the increase of unemployment to women as they are the first losers
l. Legislative reforms that deny women's rights and representation, viewed as low priority during time of crisis
m. Backlash against women by extremist conservatives who took part in the conflict

Opportunities for women's participation during transition periods include:

1. The freedom and political diversity in the Arab world during the Arab spring led to several instances of women's political participation especially the engagement of youth: (i.e. Libyan women strongly participated in the revolution and the subsequent Liberation War. The first demonstrations that took place in Benghazi were co-led by women. Libyan young women speedily established news networks that were designed to transmit to the world the news of the Revolution and to sustain its presence in the world media. Also, the young women who launched the Jan25 demonstrations in Egypt, amd the women who protested in Yemen, such as Tawakkol Karman receiving the Nobel Peace Prize.

2. One form of violence against women is lack of security and the consequent economic deterioration, hindering women's political participation. Yet Arab women must go to work and hold equal responsibility for their families—this helps her to be a part of the family decision-making process. Initiatives by civil society, government, and international mechanisms to safeguard and increase women's

employment will support women participating in public life and decision-making processes at home.

3. Insist on new quotas and representation levels for women in the transitional bodies and reconciliation plans: as happened in Yemen, Tunisia, Libya, Iraq

4. Propose new constitutional amendments that guarantee gender equality: as activists sought in Morocco, Jordan

5. Raise the visibility and respect for women through female journalists covering the conflict, as well as young women raising their voices and leadership through social media

6. Launch new political parties, pursue leadership by women in parties, train more women as candidates, reach out to women voters

7. Work with military and police to protect women in public spaces, mobilize civil society against harassment and sexual assault

Decisions by newly formed governments concerning the allocation of resources, development planning and legal and social policy-making have a substantial impact on the situation of women and can have a disproportionate and negative effect on them if their needs, perspectives, experiences and disadvantages are not properly taken into account.[31]

Women's Charters[32]

Women's Charters are just one method of aggregating and articulating the needs and demands of national women's movements and gender equality advocates in the lead-up to post-conflict elections and/or transitional constitutional reviews. In cases where women's political interests do not have representation at negotiating tables, a women's charter becomes all the more important in conveying demands to the delegates and advocating for women's priorities and rights.

A Charter must be agreed upon by consensus through wide- ranging national grassroots consultations in order to carry legitimacy and authority as the voice of half the population. The Charter can also give women's representatives added legitimacy in calling for a seat at the negotiating table and the inclusion of the interests outlined in the document into all aspects of the transition.

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[31] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates (UN Women, 2006)

[32] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

The process of creating a Women's Charter involves preparing a draft framework through a steering committee of key national stakeholders such as gender equality academics, experts and women's grassroots civil society leaders. The draft framework is then widely disseminated to grassroots women's groups for discussion prior to a facilitated national consultative workshop or convention involving a broad spectrum of national women's representatives.

Targeted and organized advocacy by women's NGOs through a Women's Charter has proven to be an effective way to demand the attention of constitutional drafters. There are several reasons for this. First, if the Charter is created through broad national consultations it carries legitimacy as the voice of the nation's women. Second, engaging experts and well-known advocates in the consultations helps to build credibility. Third, a comprehensive and clear list of demands provides a rallying point for women's rights advocates and amplifies the demands being made. Lastly, Women's Charters often base demands on relevant international legal commitments and thus invoke the legal responsibilities to which a government is already committed.

See examples of Women's Charters from Egypt, Afghanistan, and South Africa in **Appendix 4.**

Women's political participation and gender perspectives in post-conflict situations

In post-conflict environments, surmounting barriers to women's full participation in political processes and their direct involvement in all aspects of decision-making are of vital importance to ensuring the foundations for meaningful democracy and the just and effective development of society.[33]

Women's organizing and cooperation during conflict usually result in the proliferation of women's civil society organizations post conflict. During post-conflict situations women face challenges that affect their political participation and public life. However, women and men have differential access to resources, education, formal political parties (often based on armed groups from the conflict) and the media. As a result, women candidates face particular challenges when running for elected office as well as direct discrimination and even reprisals for stepping out of traditional gender roles, even if non-traditional behavior became the norm during wartime.[34]

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[33] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates (UN Women, 2006)

[34] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates (UN Women, 2006)

As the security situation is unstable in the country, women face threats to their physical security in such societies. A pervasive atmosphere of fear from by ongoing violence, especially sexual violence, may hinder women from voting or running for office.

Deterioration of economic condition is a major challenge women faces in such situations as the rate of unemployment increases. Also, women are also more likely to be displaced during conflicts, which may make it more difficult for them to be included on the voter register or to have adequate access to voter registration centers or polling stations.

In the case of being widowed, women have to face non -traditional roles in which she becomes the head of household, which makes her part or the center of the decision making process in the family.

During such situations the *opportunities* women face are as follows:

1. Many post conflict countries have been effective using quotas and reserved seats to ensure women's political participation as a result of conflict that gave the chance for women to negotiate

2. For women who took on non-traditional roles in their families: it becomes an opportunity to be a decision maker. Civil society and international mechanisms should consider ensuring machinery that will promote more women to take the next step to participating in public life and the political decision-making process.

3. Most women as well as youth activists have expressed an increase in their level of confidence in their leadership skills and strategic communication skills

In post-conflict contexts, 30-40 per cent of households are female-headed. One review of post-conflict countries found that "in Angola, Kosovo, Mozambique, and Somalia, due to the great number of men who were killed, widows now make up more than half of the population of all adult women. Female-headed households are associated with poverty and substantial time-burdens on the female head of household, limiting time for engagement in public decision-making and governance reforms. In addition to the increased care burdens in post conflict situations, women often suffer from weak fundamental citizenship rights, which can compound their difficulties, especially for female-headed households. Women may not, for example, be able to (de facto or de jure) access family land or property from a husband who is missing or was killed during the conflict, which puts women heads of households at a significant disadvantage when seeking to rebuild livelihood security in the aftermath of conflict."[35]

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[35] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012
http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/05CGenderandPostConflictGovern ance.pdf

Applying the Standards

UNSCR1325 calls for increasing women's participation in decision-making at the national level and the incorporation of a gender perspective, including measures for the protection of and respect for women's human rights concerning the electoral process in the implementation of peace agreements.

These commitments have far-reaching implications, which are addressed in CEDAW. CEDAW also details the numerous steps that are needed in the area of women's equal participation in political and public life in order to ensure their enjoyment of these rights in practice – at both the national and local level. It further specifies the mechanisms needed to ensure the incorporation of a gender perspective in all aspects of government policy and programming.[36]

UNSCR 1325 mandates to all Member States:
- Incorporate a gender perspective, including measures for the protection of and respect for women's human rights concerning the electoral system in the implementation of peace agreements (Para. 8 (c)).

- Increase women's participation in decision-making in the institutions and mechanisms of conflict resolution at the national level (Para. 1).

It is important to highlight that UNSCR 1325 reassures the protection mechanisms of women in such situations.
1. Participation of women in conflict prevention and trying to find solutions to prevent the conflict
2. Key actors in the peace building process, and maintaining such a process)
3. Emphasize to all key actors on the importance of mainstreaming gender and women's political participation in all aspects of peace building

While UNSCR 1889 reassured the following:
1. Emphasize women's role in the peace process and figuring the indicators to measure the progressive in the implementation of 1325

All states that are signatory to CEDAW are obliged to fulfill the following:

- Guarantee women the right to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies (Art. 7(a)).

- Use temporary special measures (setting numerical goals or quotas and

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[36] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates (UN Women, 2006)

providing financial assistance, special recruitment schemes and training to women candidates) to ensure an increase to critical mass in women's participation (Gen. Rec. 23).

- Ensure women's right to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with public life, including through incentives to political parties to ensure women's participation in their structures (Art. 7(c)/Gen. Rec. 23).

- Ensure women's right to participate in the formulation of government policy and its implementation and to hold all forms of public office (Art. 7(b)), including through appointment of women, where in government control, to senior positions, including in traditionally male- dominated fields (Gen. Rec. 23).

- Establish or strengthen a national women's machinery, including institutions and procedures, to provide advice on the impact on women of government policies, monitor the situation of women and formulate policies and strategies to eliminate discrimination (Gen. Rec. 6).

- Place women's machinery at a high level of government and provide with adequate resources, commitment and authority (Gen. Rec. 6).

- Support gender mainstreaming throughout government departments (Gen. Rec. 6).

Due to the increase of sexual violence in conflict situations and its impact on peace building and women's political participation, a UNHCR resolution 1820 was adopted to link sexual violence to security and peace, and highlighted the sexual violence is considered a crime against humanity. This resolution specifies that all key actors of armed conflict take the needed measures to protect the civilians from sexual violence, including the training of troops.

In a follow up to the UNSCR 1820, UNSCR 1888 was adopted to emphasize the importance of the protection of women and children from sexual violence in armed conflict. It directs the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative to focus the topic, to deploy a team of experts for rapid response with regard to situations of sexual violence in armed conflict, and to include issues of sexual violence on Peace Negotiation agendas.

Recommendations

Increasing women's representation and political participation in the conflict and post-conflict periods in the Arab states will require advancement in women's **access** to decision-making roles, **presence** in political bodies, and **influence** on policymaking, civil society, and the state.

As per UN Women, the key principles to ensure women's political participation and gender perspectives in conflict situations, in post-conflict situations, in non-armed conflict situations and in political transitions, include:*37*

1. *Ensure free and fair elections for women*
2. *Encourage political parties to address gender equality*
3. *Support women's civil society*
4. *Build accountability for women's rights in public institutions*
5. *Enhance policy-making and oversight capacity of women in public office*
6. *Promote gender justice*

Based on our research, the Karama team also recommends the following:

In transition periods:
Provide the equal representation of women in transitional government and constitutional reform bodies, in order to ensure the importance of women rights and gender equality .

In conflict and post conflict situations:
1. The presence of machinery to assure women's political participation in the national government, parliament, and district councils
2. Empowering women economically
3. Protect women from the lack of security
4. Work with women who are suffering from trauma—victims of rape and sexual harassment

Invoke UNSCR 1325 and CEDAW and call upon the state to meet these goals:[38]

UNSCR 1325

- Implement measures that ensure protection of and respect for women's human rights as they relate to the constitution, the police and the judiciary (Para. 8(c)).

- Ensure women's involvement in mechanisms developed as a part of peace agreements(Para. 8(b)).

- End impunity and prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including sexual and other violence against women and girls (Para. 11).

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[37] Elements of Women's Effective Political Participation, UN Women, May 2011

[38] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates, UN Women, 2006

CEDAW

- Embody the principle of the equality of men and women in national constitutions or other appropriate legislation (Art. 2 (a)).

- Ensure protections against discrimination are effective and realized in practice through mechanisms that provide redress, including the ability to make complaints and receive remedies (Art. 2(c)).

- Enact laws, including penal sanctions, civil remedies and compensatory provisions, to protect women from all forms of violence (Gen. Rec. 19).

- Provide protective measures, such as refuges, specially trained health workers and rehabilitation and counseling for victims of violence and those at risk, including making services accessible for women in rural areas and isolated communities (Gen. Rec. 19).

- Take specific preventative and punitive measures to overcome trafficking and sexual exploitation (Gen. Rec. 19).

- Implement gender-sensitive training on violence against women for judicial and law enforcement officers and public officials (Gen. Rec. 19).

- Ensure women and men equality in all areas of economic and social life, including the same rights to bank loans and all forms of financial credit (Art. 13).

- Eliminate discrimination against women in the area of employment and provide the same opportunities, free choice of profession, benefits and conditions of service, vocational training and equal pay for work of equal value (Art. 11).

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1. Guidance Note: Gender–based Crisis Settings, UNDP, 2009
2. What Is Peacekeeping?, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping
3. What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010
4. Elements of Women's Effective Political Participation, UN Women, May 2011
5. Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges – UN Women

Appendix 1: Glossary of Terms

Conflict—Based on Karama's research, conflict is usually defined as a situation of war. However, according to the changes occurring in the Arab countries and the new challenges women are facing, we recommend widening the definition to include transition period non conflict situations and non armed conflict situations.

Culture of peace—Defined by the 1998 UN Resolution and 1999 Programme of Action adopted by the UN General Assembly, a 'culture of peace' is an integral approach to preventing violence and violent conflicts, and an alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament. The eight points ("education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between women and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament") are the eight points adopted in the Programme of Action.[39]

Discrimination against women—Article 1 of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979) defines discrimnation against women as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."[40]

Empowerment of women—The UN Women OSAGI states that the empowerment of women "concerns women gaining power and control over their own lives. It involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions to transform the structures and institutions which reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality. The process of empowerment is as important as the goal. Empowerment comes from within; women empower themselves. Inputs to promote the empowerment of women should facilitate women's articulation of their needs and priorities and a more active role in promoting these interests and needs. Empowerment of women cannot be achieved in a vacuum; men must be brought along in the process of change. Empowerment should not be seen as a zero-sum game where gains for women automatically imply losses for men. Increasing women's power in empowerment strategies does not refer to *power over,* or controlling forms of power, but rather to alternative forms of power: *power to*; *power with* and *power from within* which focus on utilizing individual and collective strengths to work towards common goals without coercion or domination."[41]

Gender-based violence—Gender-based violence is "violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman, or violence that affects women disproportionately" (CEDAW General Recommendation No. 19, para 7). The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, Article 1, elaborates further, stating that violence against women "means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty,

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[39] David Adams, December 2005, http://www.culture-of-peace.info/copoj/definition.html

[40] Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 34/180 of 18 December 1979 http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf

[41] Important Concepts Underlying Gender Mainstreaming, UN Women OSAGI, 2001, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/factsheet2.pdf

whether occurring in public or in private life." In 1995, the UN expanded the definition to include: violations of the rights of women in situations of armed conflict, including systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy; forced sterilization, forced abortion, coerced or forced use of contraceptives; prenatal sex selection and female infanticide. Finally, General Assembly Resolution 58/147 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence against Women recognized that "domestic violence can include economic deprivation and isolation, and that such conduct may cause imminent harm to the safety, health, or well-being of women."

Gender equality—The UN Women Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues defines gender equality as the following: "Equality between men and women refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development."[42] Gender equality means an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of women and men in all spheres of public and private life. It is an integral part of human rights and it aims to promote the full participation of women and men in society.[43]

Gender-responsive governance—The management of public affairs in a manner that addresses the social relations that undermine women's capacity to participate in public decisions and responds to gender biases and patterns of exclusion. Women's inclusion in oversight processes and advancing women's human rights is a key standard against which the performance of officials should be assessed.[44]

Gender-responsive governance reforms—Reforms that lead to greater accountability to women by ensuring that institutions respond more effectively to women's needs and priorities, in particular improving their access to livelihoods and citizenship rights, and require and produce more participation by both women elites and grassroots.[45]

Governance—The exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels, it comprises the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interest, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.[46]

Human security—According to the UNDP, human security represents an effort to re-conceptualize security in a fundamental manner. It is primarily an analytical tool that focuses on ensuring security for the individual, not the state. Exploring options aimed at mitigating threats to the insecurity of individuals thus becomes a central goal of policy recommendations and actions. In line with the expanded definition of human security, the causes of insecurity are subsequently

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[42] UN Women OSAGI Gender Mainstreaming, Concepts and Definitions, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsandefinitions.htm

[43] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates, UNWomen, 2006

[44] UNIFEM, 2008, *Progress of World's Women: Who Answers to Women?,* New York, p. 2

[45] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012 http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/05CGenderandPostConflictGovernance.pdf

[46] UNDP, Governance for Sustainable Human Development , 1997

broadened to include threats to socio-economic and political conditions, food, health, and environmental, community and personal safety. Policy initiatives generated through the application of the human security framework have incorporated considerations far beyond the traditional focus on military force, greatly reducing the emphasis on armies, if not replacing them altogether. Human security is therefore: 1) people-centered, 2) multidimensional, and 3) interconnected universal.[47]

Political participation—From the UN Women OSAGI's publication on women, peace, and security: "Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government. Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process. In practice, however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right. In post-conflict countries there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure their rights are respected in this regard…Political participation extends beyond political parties. Women can become involved in certain aspects of the electoral process through independent action—particularly at the local level—and by joining civil society organizations. Some women in post-conflict countries have gained political experience by participating in non-elected transitional assemblies. Women's networks, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and the media can all provide avenues for women's political participation."[48]

Track I diplomacy—Official discussions typically involving high-level political and military leaders and focusing on cease-fires, peace talks, and treaties and other agreements.[49]

Track II diplomacy—Unofficial dialogue and problem-solving activities aimed at building relationships and encouraging new thinking that can inform the official process. Track 2 activities typically involve influential academic, religious, and NGO leaders and other civil society actors who can interact more freely than high-ranking officials. Some analysts use the term **track 1.5** to denote a situation in which official and non-official actors work together to resolve conflicts.[50]

Track III diplomacy: People-to-people diplomacy undertaken by individuals and private groups to encourage interaction and understanding between hostile communities and involving awareness raising and empowerment within these communities. Normally focused at the grassroots level, this type of diplomacy often involves organizing meetings and conferences, generating media exposure, and political and legal advocacy for marginalized people and communities.[51]

Transition—A period of change from one political regime or system to another, often describing the process of emerging from conflict to peace, when there is a priority effort to create conditions for political stability, security, justice, social equality, and economic recovery.[52]

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[47] "The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports," NHDR Occasional Paper No.5, UNDP, 2006 - http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/NHDR_Human_Security_GN.pdf

[48] UN Women OSAGI, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/Chapter3.htm

[49] United States Institute for Peace, Glossary of Terms for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, http://glossary.usip.org/resource/tracks-diplomacy

[50] United States Institute for Peace, Glossary of Terms for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, http://glossary.usip.org/resource/tracks-diplomacy

[51] United States Institute for Peace, Glossary of Terms for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, http://glossary.usip.org/resource/tracks-diplomacy

[52] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UN Women, 2012 http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/05CGenderandPostConflictGovernance.pdf

Appendix 2: Resolution 1325 (2000)

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

The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision- making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

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

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

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

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

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

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

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

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

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

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

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

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Appendix 3: Case Studies of Women in Peace and Security

Burundi[53]

Women's participation in the Burundian peace process increased significantly when the organizers from the Mwalimu Nyere Foundation invited UNIFEM to brief the negotiating parties and facilitation team on how gender relates to peace accords. Experts from other countries who have made peace accords, such as Guatemala and South Africa, shared advice on how gender impacts land rights, governance, resettlement, refugee reintegration and other post-war programs. After being ignored for years, six women with observer status were allowed to take part in peace talks in Arusha thanks to pressure from international organisations. At the same time, the All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference was arranged with representatives from all political parties to discuss gender issues in the peace agreement.

More than 50 Burundian women developed a common vision for peace and presented it to the facilitator, former President Nelson Mandela. "Despite restrictions on Burundians leaving the country," Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf reflect, "the delegates found ways to get there, because it would be one of the last chances for women to affect the peace accords, which all-male delegations had been hammering out for four years."[54] The conference allowed women to lobby for the inclusion of 30 provisions for women in the Arusha Accords, which included ending impunity for gender-based violence, equal access to land and inheritance, the right to education and the inclusion of a women's charter in the constitution. Many of their recommendations, including punishment for sexual crimes against women, measures to increase women's security, and equal education for girls and boys, were included in the final peace accord. The demand for a quota of 30 percent representation for women in the transitional and post-transition institutions which was initially rejected by the negotiating parties in Arusha, was later included in the draft constitution adopted by referendum in 2005. It demonstrated that women's participation in peace talks makes a significant difference.

Colombia[55]

Ruta Pacifica and National Women's Network organized a Women's March for Peace, drawing 40,000 women and men. In 2003, they led the National Women's March to Putamayo, under the slogan Women Do Peace. The march started their campaign for demilitarization of society, with 7,000 women participating.

Simultaneously, Women's Initiative for Peace worked with other groups to create the Women's Emancipatory Constitution, a 3-year endeavor conducting consultations and consensus around a 5-pillar agenda for peace. They initiated spaces for debate and public forums on humanitarian concerns and truth, justice issues from the conflict. They targeted legislation and policies related to disarmament and demobilization of paramilitaries, and succeeded in getting some sensitivity to the needs of women and victims of violence.

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[53] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates, UN Women, 2006

[54] Women, war, peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace-building - Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1. New York, US: United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). p.80.

[55] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010, p9

The Women's Initiative for Peace and the National Women's Network lobbied the Colombian Congress for "inclusion of gender perspectives and the right to truth, justice, and reparation of women victims" into law, framing their advocacy as implementation of 1325. These efforts resulted in five articles being added to the Peace and Justice Law, with regard to sexual violence against women and children, the protection of victims and witnesses of sexual aggression, representation of victims' organizations and the Colombian ombudsman on the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation, and the inclusion of two women on the Commission.

Georgia and Abkhazia[56]

Women have often played an important role in civil society-level Track II diplomacy. In the South Caucasus, for example, women have tried to influence the peace process by cooperating across conflict lines. In July 2003, International Alert brought together women civil society leaders from Georgia and Abkhazia with their political leaders involved in the official peace negotiations in a seminar on 'Official Negotiations and Civic Diplomacy: Cooperation for Peace' at Farnham Castle in the UK. This meeting was the culmination of a long process of internal and bilateral advocacy strategy development, and was the first such event where women civil society leaders from both sides presented joint recommendations on how civil society – particularly women – could effectively support the official negotiations process. Among the issues discussed at the meeting were interaction between civic diplomacy and the process of official negotiations; the situation in the Gali region; and possible security guarantees for non-resumption of military actions. While the meeting was constructive and the exchange of opinions was open and sincere, momentum gained at this meeting was lost due to the radical political changes in Georgia in the context of the Rose Revolution later the same year.

Indonesia[57]

In 2000, over 500 women from diverse backgrounds joined in the All Acehnese Women's Congress, the first public meeting calling for peaceful resolution of the conflict. They demanded immediate negotiations and issued 22 recommendations regarding peacemaking priorities, to all parties including the Indonesian President. They lobbied international mediators who were facilitating a "humanitarian pause" in the conflict. But they were excluded from the talks 2000-2003 and in 2004. The 2004 tsunami helped precipitate the peace agreement between Aceh rebels and govt. Yet women were excluded from the political arrangements made in the negotiations, and Sharia law was imposed on Aceh in the post-conflict period.

Liberia[58]

Women from the Mano River Women's Peace Network were invited by the international community to participate in the formal process, but it was the efforts of the Women's Mass Action for Peace Network stationed outside the conference premises that made peace and history. WMAPN mobilized women across churches and mosques, dressed in white, sat in protest at Monrovi's fish market, demanding a stop to the war. They succeeded in bringing thousands of women together under the demand of "peace and no more war" in Monrovia and in Accra outside the peace talks. After 6 weeks of peace talks, they held a mass sit-in that barricaded delegates in the meeting rooms, which prompted the mediators to set deadlines and secure agreements.

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[56] Building Inclusive Post-Conflict Governance, International Alert Initiative for Peacebuilding, January 2009

[57] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010

[58] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010

Sri Lanka[59]
In Sri Lanka, a group of 7 women associated with the Organization of Parents of Servicemen Missing in Action were involved in Track II negotiations that led to a ceasefire in 2001, but women's groups were not included in the final formal talks. Using 1325, CSOs lobbied the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to ensure the effective inclusion of gender issues in the peace process. The two sides agreed to form a sub-committee on Gender Issues (SGI) comprising 5 female members of the LTTE and 5 women selected by the state including a doctor, academics and women's rights activists from NGOs. The SGI's recommendations included:
- Work towards ensuring effective provisions to enable equal represenation of women in politics
- Examine the educational structure including changing the gender biases in school text books
- Take up with the relevant police and defense authorities the issues of VAW and allegations of sexual harassment at military and police checkpoints, even during peace process.

The SGI also decided to formulate gender guidelines for other Sub-Committees such as the Sub-Committee on Immediate Humanitarian and Relief Needs, and to address relief issues for women traumatized by war.

As time passed, the Presidential Task Force for Northern Development—established in 2009 with 19 members and mandated to resettle and rehabilitate IDPs and support social and economic development in the war-affected areas—had no female members and the women's ministry was not represented, despite many of the 280,000 displaced being widows and female heads of households. The Ministry of Human Rights made no reference to UNSCR 1325 issues either. Finally, in May 2010 the President appointed a Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) comprising 8 members, including 1 woman, to inquire into events dating from the ceasefire of 2002 to the end of the war in 2009. The LLRC mandate makes no specific reference to gender perspectives or attention to the experiences of women and men. In 2010, a cross-section of women's organizations drafted a manifesto outlining the gender issues in key sectors and called on the state to ensure gender-sensitivity in its peacebuilding.

Timor Leste[60]
In Timor Leste, women's civil society and international actors partnered to advocate for a strong gender equality component to be included in the decentralization process. They were successful and the 2009 community leadership law mandated that three out of seven village leaders must be women and the 2010 ministerial directive on local development mandated that women should have 50% representation in each sub-district Assembly. The next step will be ensuring that this numeric representation is achieved and leads to substantive representation of women's needs and priorities in the local planning and financing processes.

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[59] What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325, A Case Study Assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and MIT Center for International Studies, October 2010
[60] Realizing Their Needs: Women's Access to Public Services in Sector Decentralization, IDRC, 2008

Appendix 4: Case Studies of Women and Politics

Afghanistan[61]

The Afghan Women's Bill of Rights was drafted, signed, and presented to President Karzai by women leaders from every region of Afghanistan, who participated in the third annual conference of Women for Afghan Women. The conference brought together a range of 45 diverse individuals; women community leaders in the movement for women's and human rights in Afghanistan, many grassroots women's rights activists, and women from rural provinces all around the country. The 2-page document was created entirely by the participants, with each of the 16 Rights debated and the wording unanimously agreed upon before inclusion into the document. The document was presented to the Minister of Women's Affairs, Habiba Sarabi, the Constitutional Commission of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan, and President Karzai. In addition, the conference participants distributed the Bill of Rights throughout the country to educate communities about women's and human rights and advocate for the inclusion of their demands into the constitution.

The full text is below:

Kandahar, 2003
On September 5, 2003, in the historic city of Kandahar, we, the Afghan Muslim participants in the conference, "Women and the Constitution: Kandahar 2003", from Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kandahar, Herat, Wardak, Jousjan, Badakhshan, Samangan, Farah, Logar, Gardez, Kapisa, Uruzgan, Paktia, Helmand, Baghlan, Sar-e-Pul, having considered the issues of the constitution that affect the futures of ourselves, our children, and our society, make the following demands on behalf of the women of Afghanistan. Moreover, as representatives of all of Afghan women, we demand that these rights are not only secured in the constitution but implemented.

1. Mandatory education for women through secondary school and opportunities for all women for higher education.
2. Provision of up-to-date health services for women with special attention to reproductive rights.
3. Protection and security for women: the prevention and criminalization of sexual harassment against women publicly and in the home, of sexual abuse of women and children,
   of domestic violence, and of "bad blood-price" (the use of women as compensation for crimes by one family
   against another).
4. Reduction of the time before women can remarry after their husbands have disappeared, and mandatory government support of women during that time.
5. Freedom of speech.
6. Freedom to vote and run for election to office.
7. Rights to marry and divorce according to Islam.
8. Equal pay for equal work.
9. Right to financial independence and ownership of property.
10. Right to participate fully and to the highest levels in the economic and commercial life of the country.
11. Mandatory provision of economic opportunities for women.
12. Equal representation of women in the Loya Jirga and Parliament.

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[61] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

13. Full inclusion of women in the judiciary system.
14. Minimum marriageable age set at 18 years.
15. Guarantee of all constitutional rights to widows, disabled women, and orphans.
16. Full rights of inheritance.

Additional demands affecting the lives of women:
1. Disarmament and national security.
2. Trials of war criminals in international criminal courts and the disempowerment of warlords.
3. A strong central government
4. A commitment to end government corruption.
5. Decisive action against foreign invasion and protection of the sovereignty of Afghanistan

Egypt[62]

During an event led by 500 non-governmental organizations in Cairo, a Charter was released listing the social and political demands of Egyptian women towards building a democratic Egypt. Endorsed by over half a million Egyptian men and women, the Charter calls for women's political and social representation, access to justice, a strong national women's machinery, a review and redress of discriminatory legislation, commitments to international human rights conventions as well as the establishment of social and economic rights. The Charter was announced on 4th June in Cairo at the event "Egyptian Women: Partners in the Revolution and in Building Democratic Egypt", organized by the Alliance for Arab Women (AAW), Association of International Civil Servants (AFICS) and a coalition of Egyptian NGOs. Its text follows:

EGYPTIAN WOMEN: PARTNERS IN THE REVOLUTION AND IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC EGYPT
Egyptian women constitute half of Egypt.
They have been active in January 25th revolution and side by side with men they demonstrated in main squares of Egypt, they spent the nights on streets to make sure that the revolution will not be hijacked or stopped, they nursed the wounded, lamented the dead, chanted and danced when they became victorious and also cleaned the aftermath when they withheld the demonstrations. They are still active in translating the slogans of the revolution: freedom, dignity and social justice to a reality in every Egyptian's life. They are still participating in all Fridays demonstrations in public squares confirming that democracy that they and men promised Egypt to achieve will be fulfilled soon. They want to see the themes of the revolution Freedom, Dignity and Social Justice opening new opportunities for them to obtain equality and justice.
Egyptian women have agreed that the following are their demands which they will work hard to achieve but also demand others to join them in fulfilling them
~
First: With regard to Representation of Women
• Women should be represented in the committees that deal with drafting the constitution. Such representation should take into consideration their size in the population and their present and future role in building the society.
• Women should also be sitting in all legislative committees and in all dialogue forums that discuss national issues.
• Women should occupy 50 percent of the cabinet and should be in decision making positions

[62] Egypt: Women's Charter Calls for a Democratic Transition, UN Women, 22 June 2011, UN Women, http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2011/6/egypt-women-s-charter-calls-for-a-democratic-transition/

in political parties electoral lists.

- The new constitution should spell out clearly full equality between man and women in all spheres of life and the elimination of all sorts of discrimination against them.
- The constitution should also state that the percentage of women should not be less than 40 percent in the parliament.
- Selection for leadership posts and all positions should be based on qualifications and objective professional requirements and not on basis of gender.

Second: With regard to International Conventions
- The Egyptian government should hold its commitment to all international human rights conventions including the convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women.
- Egyptian representation in International human rights committees should include women from government and non-government organizations

Third: With regard to social and economic rights.
- Egyptian women particularly the poverty groups should have access to basic services to enable them to combine their roles at home and in society.
- It is a shame that 40 percent of Egyptian women are still illiterate in the age of information and technology.
- Without the use of technology the 25th revolution would not have succeeded.
- Only 16% of Egyptian full time workers are female. In the current times of insecurity a preference can be observed to first support men as the "traditional breadwinners" in getting out of unemployment. Therefore now even greater efforts are needed to support women claiming their
- economic rights. Women should have equal opportunities in accessing the labor market, credit, capital and skills training. At the work place women should face decent working conditions, prospects for advancement as well as security with regard to sexual harassment.

Fourth: With regard to legislation
- All discriminatory legislation against women should be reviewed and redressed on basis of equality and justice. The Family Law in particular needs to be reformed to reflect human dignity and justice for all members of the family and protect the children

Fifth: Women and judiciary posts
- Women graduates of law schools should have equal opportunity to acquire judiciary posts and climb the ladder up to being judges and in all branches and ranks of the system.

Sixth: Women Machinery
- Egyptian women demand an executive ministry for women's affairs that can coordinate with all other ministries and ensure equal opportunities to all citizens.

Seventh: Media
- A national policy should be formulated to reflect a positive image of women and to help create a culture with no discrimination against women.

Egypt[63]

In 2011 in post-revolution Egypt, UN Women partnered with the government to create mobile registration units to improve vulnerable rural women's access to national ID card registration. Research prior to the initiative showed that up to 80 per cent of rural women in Upper Egypt were without ID cards, without which they could not access any other type of social, health or financial service, including an old age pension. In the past women had been reluctant to go to male-dominated police stations to register for ID cards. The mobile registration units made the process safer and less intimidating for women. In addition, more than 200 women registration officers from local communities were trained and deployed to visit vulnerable women in their homes and assist with the registration forms and explain the benefits of having an ID card. By mid-2012 more than 50,000 women had already been registered with the help of these frontline workers.

Libya

In early January 2012, the National Transitional Council (NTC) of Libya issued a draft electoral law guaranteeing only a 10 percent quota for women in the key legislative body charged with writing a new Libyan constitution. The Libyan Women's Platform for Peace, along with a coalition of Libyan civil society groups, called on all Libyans to reject this draft law and criticized four key areas: 1) the lack of adequate provisions for women's political participation, 2) possible interpretations that would exclude dual citizens from public life, 3) the risk of incentivizing political party formation along tribal lines, and 4) inadequate mechanisms to fight corruption in the electoral process. The LWPP quickly mobilized protests in four cities (Tripoli, Derna, Benghazi, Sabha) between Jan. 4 and 7. The LWPP assembled a team of legal experts and by January 20 produced an alternative electoral law, submitted quickly to the NTC. Within a week of receiving the LWPP's alternative draft law, the NTC entered into negotiations with LWPP's team of legal experts and reviewed the alternate law. The original quota the NTC proposed was rejected, and LWPP's zipper list system was adopted in February for the national elections in July, alternating men's and women's names horizontally and vertically on the political parties' lists for their 80 seats of 200 in the General National Congress (GNC). This guaranteed women up to 40 seats total. Six months later in the first national elections, women won 17.5% of the seats in the GNC. A total of 624 women candidates participated—540 on party lists—and 33 won seats in the new assembly. Two of the 33 women elected to the GNC were among LWPP's founding members. Ultimately, LWPP trained 15 women and men in 2012 who ran for office, and 7 were elected.

Rwanda[64]

There are several examples where female politicians have been able to affect positive change. In Rwanda, for example, the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians initiated and led the development of the Gender-Based Violence Bill of 2006, which was the only substantive piece of legislation introduced since the 2003 elections by members of parliament, rather than by the executive. In the case of Rwanda's Gender-Based Violence Bill, female MPs were able to strategically engage male colleagues, for example by inviting them to join public consultations or to co-sponsor the bill, and thus demonstrated that gender-based violence is not solely a women's issue. Rwandan female parliamentarians have also conducted wide-ranging consultations with women and men at the grass-roots in the development of the Gender-Based Violence Bill, as well as to discuss district development plans.

Senegal[65]

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[63] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

[64] Demonstrating legislative leadership: The introduction of Rwanda's gender-based violence bill. Washington DC, US: The Initiative for Inclusive Security; EASSI and International Alert, 2008

[65] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

An example of how to prevent and respond to electoral violence was implemented in 2012 when a 'Women's Situation Room for Peaceful Elections' was established in Senegal. The 'Situation Room' aimed to prevent election-related abuses during the first and second rounds of the presidential elections. The women leaders referred cases of violations to relevant authorities for action and also trained and deployed 50 women leaders from Senegal and neighboring countries to act as observers at polling stations, ensure the active participation of women, and monitor the security situation. The 'Women's Situation Room' was spear- headed by Femmes Africa Solidarité in partnership with the Angie Brooks International Centre of Liberia and with financial and technical support from UN Women and UNDP.

Sierra Leone[66]

To ensure that women have access to political spaces and that their participation in public life results in policy change, Sierra Leonean organisations have developed innovative strategies. For example, the 50/50 Group (founded in 2000) works to promote greater participation of women in politics and has grown from a handful of women meeting in borrowed space in Freetown to a nationally recognised organisation actively engaged in building a Sierra Leone in which women can share equally with men in the political decisions that affect their lives. Its efforts in advance of the country's 2002 elections contributed to a dramatic increase in opportunities for women to run as candidates and play more meaningful roles in their political parties. The group's activities include training and mentoring for prospective female candidates in public speaking, advocacy and campaigning, training female members of local ward committees in social accountability, and lobbying. The group also works to hold political parties accountable for 30 percent allocation of places on party lists to women candidates, to negotiate safe seats for women and to lobby traditional authorities to support women's candidature. The group also played a key role in mobilising women in the August 2007 national elections.

Another good example is the work of Enhancing Interaction and Interface between Civil Society and the State to Improve Poor People's Lives (ENCISS), which has supported women's CSOs in Sierra Leone in putting together a "women's manifesto" to encourage political parties to take up women's issues and include women in their electoral lists. As a result of widespread female mobilisation by women's networks that had been sustained for several years, the government fast-tracked three pieces of legislation right before the 2007 elections, collectively known in Sierra Leone as the "gender bills".

The three laws that were adopted were as follows:

• The law on domestic violence gives family support units in the police the necessary tools to either mediate disputes or to support women who decide to take criminal or civil action when their rights are violated. The law also requires that the government provide temporary safe houses to victims of domestic violence.

• The law on the registration of customary marriages requires the registering of customary marriages and divorces and sets the minimum age for marriage at 18. The law provides women with legal rights in customary marriage, making this a great step forward for rural women in particular, who are less likely to be able to get married or divorced within the formal system.

• The law on inheritance rights ensures that women have access to the property they are rightfully entitled to when their husband dies, without interference from extended family members.

Since the elections in 2007, ENCISS have set up a "Women's Election Watch" programme to monitor whether the recommendations of the manifesto are implemented by the new government. The organisation has continued this work by setting up the "Honoring Women's Initiatives"

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66 Building Inclusive Post-Conflict Governance, International Alert Initiative for Peacebuilding, January 2009

programme in early 2008, which serves as a platform for women's electoral campaigns for the forthcoming local elections.

South Africa[67]

The need for a Women's Charter was made evident during the 1992 transition to democracy when it became clear that political parties' delegations to the constitutional negotiating table would all be male. This provided the impetus needed to bring together the non-partisan Women's National Coalition that drafted the Charter. The coalition was not without its tensions and challenges; the drafting of the Charter took place against the backdrop of an extremely tumultuous period in South Africa. The Coalition had to deal with internal tensions and challenges, but was able to succeed by stressing inclusiveness and adding to the Charter the possibility of individual organizations retaining the right to reserve themselves from particular clauses, such as on reproductive rights.

Regarding the process, preliminary research was done to identify a wide set of relevant thematic areas. A National Strategy Workshop was then held in June 1993, to which each region sent two delegates. At the workshop, five key themes were identified as the core around which to build a draft: women's legal status; women's access to land, resources and water; violence against women; health; and work. The draft was subsequently taken to all the regions, and comments were collected and taken back to the central office for review. The draft was fine-tuned at a Steering Committee meeting and sent to the General Congress. After debate and more inputs the document was presented again to Congress and debated once more. The eight page Charter emerged from this and was adopted with the following Articles:

1. Equality
2. Law and the Administration of Justice Economy
3. Education and Training
4. Development, Infrastructure and Environment Social Services
5. Political and Civic Life
6. Family Life and Partnerships
7. Custom, Culture and Religion
8. Violence against Women
9. Health
10. Media

South Africa[68]

Mobilizing women within party structures to demand more transparent party rules for candidate selection, policy-making and accountability can be a difficult yet effective method to increase women's participation. For example, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa responded to women's mobilization and demands for equality by adopting an internal party quota during the transition in the early 1990s. Although the ANC did not adopt a quota in its executive body, the quota for candidates led to a large proportion of women in the first parliament (25 per cent) because the ANC (which put forward more women candidates than all other parties) dominated the elections and won 63 per cent of the popular vote.

Tajikistan[69]

Supported by UN Women, rural women in Tajikistan came together in 2011 to establish Women's Watch Groups, which monitor the situation of the most vulnerable households in local

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[67] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

[68] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

[69] Gender and Post Conflict Governance: Understanding the Challenges, UNWomen, 2012

communities and identify ways to improve access to civic registration documents and social protection services. The WWGs liaise with local authorities through district level joint action committees through which they provide feedback on service delivery and suggestions for improvements.

The Women's Watch Groups are increasingly being recognized in several districts as important platforms for women's leadership, and have a concrete impact on communities and a wider impact through replication. In particular in some border districts, which are vulnerable to tensions and conflict, the WWGs have begun to monitor the situation of marginalized stateless women who have been unable to access registration services and process citizenship claims.

By working with the local governments who provide services, the Women's Watch Groups today are playing a critical role in helping service providers understand the needs of rural populations and how the design of social protection services should be reformed to better meet these needs. A strong and autonomous women's civil society movement is the critical factor in ensuring that governance reforms take into account women's needs and priorities. In particular this is true when it comes to creating and upholding gender responsive legislation and constitutional provisions on issues of family law.

Appendix V: Trainer Exercises

1) Access, Presence, and Influence[70]

Review with the participants the three types of engagement: **access, presence,** and **influence:**

I) '**Access'** involves opening arenas to women (or other socially excluded groups) for dialogue and information sharing with officials, and can vary in form from one-off consultative exercises (PRSPs; reconstruction programmes, etc.), on-going participatory efforts to monitor government services, citizens' juries, even surveys. If access opportunities endow participants with real rights to information about official actions, power to pursue grievances, or issue dissenting accounts to public authorities, then a **more decisive and accountable form of participation is possible.**

II)   **Presence** involves institutionalising women's participation in decision-making (for instance, through quotas). Here the focus is on **a numeric presence** of women. Of great importance is the relationship between women in official positions and their constituencies, whether they are members and clients of a civil society association, voters supporting a politician, or the clients of a public service provider.

III)   **Influence** brings women's engagement with civil society, politics and the state to the point where access and presence is translated into **a tangible impact on policy-making, the ways laws work, and the delivery of services**. This can happen when accountability mechanisms incorporate gender equality concerns and preferences, by, for instance, engaging women in financial audits at local levels, or incorporating gender-sensitive client satisfaction measures into performance indicators for bureaucrats. This last stage is the point at which improved accountability to women may be achieved. Improved understanding of the types of laws and special measures states can use to address inequality and discrimination;

→ **The Trainer should get participants to discuss the degree to access, presence and influence women have in their community and what are the impediments to these?**

→ **Ask what are the needs in order to empower women to in order maximize women's political participation (economic-social–political)?**

→ **The discussion should conclude with a focus on the mechanisms in place at local and national levels which can support increased participation of women in decision-**

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[70] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates, UN Women, 2006

making:

o   Opportunities with political parties;
o   Opportunities with parliament;
o   Opportunities in linking Gender Focal Points;
o   National Women's Machinery?
o   Local Government structures

2) Targeting Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes[71]

→ **Open up discussion of gender-sensitive indicators that reflect opportunities for women in peace processes:**

• Number and proportion of women present at peace negotiations as official negotiators.
• Number and proportion of women present at peace negotiations as observers.
• Number and proportion of women present at peace negotiations as representatives of the warring parties.
• Provisions in peace agreement or draft constitution that promote women's equal participation in post- conflict political institutions.
• Proportion of staff on international missions that have been trained in gender-sensitivity and gender analysis.
• Resources provided for women's organizations and CSOs engaged in Track II diplomacy.

→ **Analyze the barriers and risks**

Gender-based violence, norms that legitimize unequal power relations, and forms of structural discrimination can also contribute to low levels of engagement or participation by women in formal and informal political spheres.

Negative attitudes towards women's political participation are often deeply entrenched in culture and tradition. Barriers to political participation are often considerably higher for women in rural areas, from poor urban backgrounds or from excluded ethnic groups.

These barriers are compounded by insufficient political party and media support for female candidates, lack of sufficient funds to conduct campaigns, electoral systems that are not conducive to women's political participation and a lack of expertise and capacity among women's organizations and female politicians.

→ **Set specific targets together for each indicator!**

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[71] Building Inclusive Post-Conflict Governance, International Alert Initiative for Peacebuilding, January 2009

3) <u>Ways to Increase Women's Voting and Representation</u>[72]

→ **Start with discussion questions:**
• How we can we promote women's political participation and enhance their role in peace process?
• Record each party's obligations to enhance women's political participation (government, civil society, media, women's merchandisers and political parties)

→ **Apply it to the participants' context:**
  • Does your government (also civil society – media – women's merchandisers and political parties) implement these principles?
  • What are the challenges and opportunities from your point of view?
  • What do you think should be included as more principles?

→ **Examine case studies and discuss applicability to national context:**

Voting:
• Women should be recruited as election administrators and all electoral bodies should adopt non- discriminatory policies.
• Election day should be made a holiday or polling stations should remain open for extended hours and be close to or in central locations.
• Ballots should include photos or party symbols to help illiterate voters.
• Voter and civic education schemes should use female trainers and offer sex-segregated trainings in local languages.
• Separate lines or polling booths should be available for women, depending on local cultural norms.

Electoral representaion:
Different electoral systems have the potential to produce very different results for women. According to most studies, proportional representation systems are more "women-friendly", compared to majoritarian systems, because multi-member districts provide more opportunities for women to be elected. In proportional representation systems, closed lists (where voters choose based on party affiliation only) are more conducive to the election of women candidates than open lists, provided that parties place women high enough up on the party lists or alternate them with men in a zebra style (where every other "stripe" is a woman).

The adoption of quotas for women parliamentarians has been 'one of the most decisive, but controversial, ways to ensure that women are represented among elected officials'. Quotas are an important mechanism that can give women the opportunity to enter political decision-making, but it will only work if they are considered as temporary measures rather than long-term solutions to women's marginalisation and are linked to substantive capacity-building support for female candidates. To have impact, quota policies must be specific and stipulate details of implementation, with political parties facing sanctions for non-compliance. Rwanda instituted a "triple ballot" system in 2001

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[72] Building Inclusive Post-Conflict Governance, International Alert Initiative for Peacebuilding, January 2009

that required citizens to each cast one general vote, one for a youth and one mandatory vote for a female candidate. This resulted in 27 percent of seats for women in local councils and made the election of women more socially acceptable. The constitution of the the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), on the other hand, provides for 50 percent representation of women, but as the provision has not been integrated into electoral laws, women's representation remains considerably lower.

4) Handling Challenges as Facilitators[73]

There may be conflicts within the group, or more commonly the group may be restless or loose focus and need to be brought back on track. You need to be inspiring, and you need to handle both domineering participants and to bring forth the quieter individuals. If the group is silent, you as the facilitator need to understand why this is so and to break the silence. Maybe the subject feels irrelevant or unclear for the participants? On top of this there are the common interruptions of disrespect of time frames or mobile phones ringing et cetera.

The following are typical challenges to facilitation:
*managing conflict
*managing emotional outburst
*addressing big talkers
*managing silence
*managing people who have their own agenda

→ **Have this be recognized and explored by role-play:**

Divide participants into groups and ask them to construct a short role-play on one of the challenges described above, to perform to their co-participants. Have the groups act out the chosen challenges/constructed situations, and give the other participants the opportunity to comment on what the facilitator could have done differently.

The model facilitator
... must show that she likes everyone in the group to make them feel safe
... must be the leader and manage the program etc
... must also be a referee – keeping time
... must motivate and challenge the participants - while setting boundaries
... must also keep the group safe and function as a unit
... must also function as a cheerleader and a prophet to encourage people in the present and to make them want to go the extra mile for goals that are in the future

→ **One way of handling this is to form a social contract in the start of the training:**

Split participants split in groups of four to discuss the following questions:
1. What I expect to gain from the workshop
2. How I hope to feel by the end of this training
3. What fears I have

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[73] Training for Trainers: Consultative Seminar in Juba, Women as Peacemakers, Operation 1325, January 2006

4. What I need to do to ensure that we all benefit from this workshop

After the discussions, have the groups report back to the plenary. List the issues that are brought up. Ask the participants to recognize and state their responsibilities. Request that each participant regard herself as a co-facilitator and stress the need to have the workshop as a safe space for communication.

5) Using 1325 as a Tool[74]

Divide participants into pairs of two (preferably consisting of participants from the same organization) and ask them to choose and reflect on just three paragraphs of Resolution 1325 that their organizations can work with, and give a short presentation of the reasons for their choice.

Then give the organizations the task to create an outline for how – in a first step – the Resolution 1325 could be implemented into the work of their organizations, and present this to the group.

6) Women in Peace Negotiations – A Role Play[75]

Allow at least 1 hour and ten minutes

• **The Trainer is to present the "Background" and then explain the proposed Role Play exercise;**
o A group of representatives (comprised only of men) of different political parties have gathered together to prepare a strategy for an upcoming peace negotiation.
o This process started two years ago when political party leaders overcame rivalries and established a negotiation group from representatives from each of their parties. Together, the negotiation group worked out a plan and key points for upcoming peace negotiations.

• **Then Trainer should divide the large group into three small groups** - one representing the "Peace Negotiation Team" comprised of only "men"; one representing a group of "gender equality advocates", comprised largely of "women"; and the third are to be the "International Observers" who will observe the internal discussions and strategizing on the part of the first two groups, and will also observe the overall debate between the two groups. The "International Observers" will present their findings and observations at the end of the Exercise.

• The Trainer should then explain the objective of the exercise. The objective of this exercise is to put advocates from civil society into situations where he/she will have to: a) convince the Peace Negotiation Team to advocate for a core gender equality issue

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[74] Training for Trainers: Consultative Seminar in Juba, Women as Peacemakers, Operation 1325, January 2008

[75] Advancing Gender Equality Using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Training Module for Gender Equality Advocates, UN Women, 2006

relevant to conflict/post- conflict context;
b) for the inclusion of gender equality advocates within the Peace Negotiation Team and
c) agree to the agenda (what issues to be discussed) of the formal negotiations;

• Give secret notes (below) to each group and allow them 20 minutes to prepare for their upcoming meeting.

• Before beginning the internal group work, the participants are to decide if negotiations are "high level" or "middle level" negotiations and adjust their strategies/approaches accordingly.

• **After the Role Play, have a discussion in plenary about the "Constraints" to women's political participation.** Discussion points to guide this discussion:
o Ask participants to list the types of constraints to women's participation. Come to the constraints listed below through group discussion.
o Male negotiators may exclude women intentionally. In other cases, women do not participate in formal peace talks for unintentional reasons. In the Somali peace talks of 2003 for example, women's groups simply did not have enough money to send representatives to the peace talks that continued over many months. The list below details both the intentional and unintentional exclusion of women from peace talks.

• **Political Constraints:**
o Participants at peace talks may be composed only of the "warring parties" and women may be excluded from fighting or deliberately choose not to participate in the fighting.
o In peace talks that do include civil society actors in addition to the warring parties, participants may be representatives of different civil society organizations. If women are not organized into women's groups, they may be excluded because they are not chosen as representatives from civil society. Additionally, those members of civil society that are closely aligned with political parties may be selected to participate.
o Women may not be organized into groups that can send representatives to the peace talks.

• **Cultural Constraints:**
o Women may be confined to the home and prohibited from using or developing leadership capacity during times of war or peace. Women's exclusion from peace talks may reflect on social norms that restrict women from all forms of political process.
o Men may actively exclude women from peace talks because women are often stereotyped as "too emotional" and not able to think rationally.
o Women's involvement in politics is sometimes seen as a direct threat to culture and tradition.
o Women's involvement is thought to make women more vulnerable by exposing them to potentially dangerous situations.
o While new roles may be accepted during crises, after the fighting is over and official peace processes begin, women may be encouraged to return to their traditional roles.
o Women may be threatened because of their involvement in politics.
o Women may lack the political experience to know how to become involved in official peace processes.

•   Economic Constraints:

o Women often lack the economic resources to mobilize themselves to participate in peace processes.

o Women's groups may not have the funding to send representatives to take part in the formal peace talks.

•   **Questions to ask participants during "Constraints" Discussion:**

o What are the challenges to increasing women's voice at the peace table and in times of reconstruction?

o What specific stereotypes or traditions in your country limit society's understanding of the impact conflict has had on women and young girls in your country (emotional, physical, economic, social)?

o What strategies have you or your organization used to advance women's participation in decision-making; and to advance greater understanding of the impact of conflict and peace on women?

o What experiences from other countries do you think would be relevant to this national context?

o What entry points are there – through media, schools, youth, religious institutions, local governance and national government – for civil society to impact the peace and reconstruction processes in your country?

Time breakdown of Exercise #2 – Role Play:

o   10 Minutes for Trainer to explain the process of Role Play;

o   20 Minutes should be allocated for preparation of each group in the Role Play;

o 20 Minutes should be allocated for the negotiation process.

Note to Trainer – it is important to limit this time strictly as will be easy to go over as discussion will get very lively and interesting. Important that participants realize they have very limited time;

o 5 Minutes to be allocate to the "International Observers" so that they can present their findings and observations to the plenary;

o 15 Minutes for a Plenary discussion afterwards about the "Constraints" gender equality advocates face in such situations.

Handout #1- "Secret notes for the "Gender Equality Advocates" group.
Your task is to persuade the "peace negotiation team" to advocate for some core gender equality/ women's human rights issues within the peace negotiation process – these issues must be relevant to conflict/post-conflict context; and to negotiate for the inclusion of two gender equality advocates within the Peace Negotiation Team. Taking into account the level of the peace negotiation team, your task is to establish and maintain a positive relationship with Team during the upcoming meeting. Regardless of what they say, this positive relationship must be maintained to ensure continued access to the Team and to get a commitment from the Team that they will allow two women on the Team.

Handout #2 - Secret notes for the "Peace Negotiation Team"
It is a crisis situation and a resolution to the tensions needs to be reached as soon as possible. It took a while for the Team to come together, to analyze the situation, to prepare a strategy and come up with ideas which you believe is the best at this moment

to resolve/prevent the conflict. The upcoming negotiations are important for your country since it is the first time that a consensus has been reached in country between different political parties over a common interest.

However , the priorities you are negotiation for do not address some key concerns among gender equality advocates, and further, there is no female representation in the Peace Negotiation Team, despite the active women's movement in your country. Additionally, the power struggle between parties represented in the Team make for a delicate situation which must constantly be monitored.

During the discussion with the "women" your task is to "attack" the group for hindering you in finishing the mission of negotiations.

Handout #3 – Secret Notes for International Observers
You are independent and impartial international observers sent in by Organisation X to monitor civil society's engagement in the Peace Negotiation process. You are tasked with observing the internal discussions of the "Peace Negotiation Team" and the "Gender Equality Advocates" group. In your observations, you should note the strategies each group discusses internally, and how/if they successfully apply these strategies in the actual negotiation. You should be noting both sides' capacity to identify core issues and strategic actions to take to fulfill their tasks and their ability to come together as a unified team. During the actual negotiations, you should take note to see how the internal discussions are integrated into the actual negotiations; what each party does correct/ incorrectly when advocating/negotiating; and what each could have done better to achieve their stated goals, etc.

The International Observer group is allowed to see the "secret" notes of the other two groups.

Acknowledgements