Identifying Women’s Peace and Security Priorities
Guidance Note: Identifying Women’s Peace and Security Priorities: Building Voice and Influence


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Background

Women’s participation in peace processes remains one of the least well-implemented elements of the women, peace and security agenda outlined in United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and related resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), and 1889 (2009). Although no consistent information is maintained on numbers of women on delegations to peace talks, a review by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) of 24 major peace processes conducted since 1992 found on average that women made up less than 8 per cent of negotiating parties, in cases where information was available. Women’s absence from these critical decision-making forums, which determine power and wealth-sharing patterns, social development priorities and approaches to reparations and justice for atrocities, can have devastating consequences for women’s efforts to participate in peacebuilding. Women’s interest in participating in public decision-making may be ignored, along with essential affirmative action measures needed to overcome discrimination in the public sphere. Women’s urgent recovery needs may be disregarded by needs assessments and left out of budgets in priority public expenditure allocation processes. Displaced women may not be able to recover property because of a failure to anticipate the need for legal reform recognizing their rights to land. War crimes against women may go unpunished, encouraging a climate of impunity for all forms of gender-based violence. Beyond peace talks, there is a wide range of public decision-making processes involved in peacebuilding from which women are often likewise excluded: constitutional reform processes, elections planning, post-conflict needs assessments and priority-setting, donor conferences and many more.

The first paragraph of resolution 1325 (2000) “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.” This Guidance Note is intended to facilitate efforts by UN staff, women’s organizations, human rights groups and peace activists to support women’s efforts to develop a context-specific agenda for gender-equal peace, security and recovery. Based on successful cases where women effectively opened the doors and managed to voice their concerns in peace negotiations and donor conferences, it addresses the challenge of enabling women to communicate effectively with decision-makers on peace and security: national leaders, national or international mediators in peace negotiations, participants on peace negotiation delegations, leaders of peacekeeping missions, post-conflict planners, public expenditure managers, organizers of donor conferences, international and national implementers of post-conflict recovery processes and the like. It is intended as a means of promoting implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) and related resolutions in every peace, security and recovery process. It is also relevant to the implementation of related resolutions on the protection of civilians.
Women are often most effective in seeking to have their views heard and needs addressed when they can impress upon decision-makers that they are not representing a narrow point of view, but rather are bringing to the table the concerns of a very significant portion of the population. For this to be credible, women in many conflict contexts have sought to debate and identify shared concerns across a wide range of social categories—class, ethnicity, race or region. UNIFEM and other organizations have often sought to constitute national or regional conventions of women in conflict-affected countries in order to support their collective voice and, in so doing, build the legitimacy and representativeness of the interests they express and the issues they raise. **This guidance note is intended for use in these collective reflections**, whether organized for the sake of influencing peace negotiations or providing input to a donor conference, a national constitutional reform process, a national post-conflict planning exercise or other major efforts to resolve conflict and set recovery priorities. The focus on supporting women to find a collective voice and build a shared agenda stems from the practical reality of women’s exclusion or very limited participation in critical conflict resolution and recovery processes. The guidance note is intended to amplify the effectiveness of women’s collective voice when they seek engagement in these processes as a group.

This guidance note is not prescriptive. It is simply a review of the types of issues that may be relevant. It contains suggestions for ways to develop or consolidate a women’s agenda on peace and security issues, as well as ways to ensure that the gender-specific aspects of peace and security questions are covered fully. It suggests means of structuring discussions to cover both procedural and substantive matters linked to women’s participation in peace and security processes. It encourages a constructive approach to opportunities for women to engage in peace talks, donor conferences and consultations with peace and security leaders, and suggests ways women can formulate concrete suggestions for consideration by leaders.

The questions and reflections recommended in this guidance note are intended to support women’s peace groups to identify **priority issues on women, peace and security** to discuss with peace, security and recovery leaders at national and international levels. It will enable the facilitation of encounters between women in conflict-affected countries so they can identify shared concerns in relation to national, regional and international peace and security processes, articulate and refine key messages and proposals to put to decision-makers, and identify means of representing views as a group through the selection and coaching of spokespersons.

### Setting ground rules

In efforts to forge a collective perspective on gender issues and women’s priorities in conflict contexts, opinions will most likely be divided on what women see as peace and security priorities. Ground rules should thus be set in collective discussions to ensure that disagreements do not produce outright conflict and are handled sensitively. The group should be asked to make its own ground rules, which might include respectful listening; ‘parking’ irresolvable issues to be discussed in other venues or at another time; taking turns to present perspectives; and so on. In addition, the group should follow standard practice and identify chair(s), note-takers and individuals responsible for preparing a cleaned-up, consolidated set of messages for presentation and communication to the decision-makers with whom the group seeks to engage, the media and other relevant actors.

Evidence suggests that the more inclusive a women’s movement is, the wider its outreach to excluded social groups and geographic areas, and the more credible and legitimate are its efforts to gain representation for women’s groups in peace and security decision-making. In settings
where a vibrant civil society operates, several simultaneous initiatives to advance a common women’s agenda can be carried out in parallel by different organizations or women’s networks. Reaching agreement on a common document and/or strategy may then require a preparatory phase wherein these initiatives, the relevant actors and their individual roles are identified. The purpose of such a preparatory phase would be to ensure that every woman involved agrees on the need to concentrate efforts to develop and elaborate one common strategy through a collaborative and inclusive process.

**Building the Messages**

1. **Identify important peace and security entry points.**

   It is important for women to agree on the specific upcoming events or processes in which they wish to be involved. The following are typical peace and security processes that often lack adequate opportunities for women’s engagement—and as a result, often fail adequately to reflect women’s concerns:

   » Humanitarian interventions, which include delivery of urgently needed relief and are often supported by significant fund-raising drives to generate resources to address urgent recovery needs;

   » Ceasefires or pre-ceasefires, including confidence-building measures and humanitarian access agreements;

   » Peace negotiations, whether they are about to start or ongoing;

   » A post-conflict needs assessment or other planning process, which identifies priorities for public investment and focuses on a wide range of issues, such as infrastructure recovery, creation of economic opportunities, health and education rehabilitation, justice and security sector reform, and basic rehabilitation of governance infrastructure and processes;

   » Donor conferences, in which the plans identified through needs-assessment processes are financed;

   » Production of an Integrated Strategic Framework for ensuring coherence between national priorities and international support, including grounding international peacekeeping missions in the national context. These can be supported by the UN’s Integrated Mission Planning and by the Peacebuilding Commission. These frameworks will be supported by multi-donor trust funds or by the Peacebuilding Fund.

   » Establishment or draw-down of an international peacekeeping or political mission;

   » Production of a Poverty Reduction Strategy; and

   » Production of a National Action Plan on 1325 to bring issues of women, peace and security into national defence, justice, interior and gender planning.

   Any of these events or processes offers women a useful entry point for engaging as a collectivity. Women can request inclusion, consultation and/or representation. They can make substantive suggestions about issues they want to see on the agenda, or they can make concrete proposals for monitoring these processes.

2. **Focus on peace and security.**

   Be specific with regard to the country’s peace and security phase of, and identify issues of concern to women accordingly.

   In other words, is the country showing **early signs of conflict**? Is it experiencing a **humanitarian crisis**? Is it in some stage of **conflict resolution**, such as **peace talks** or **peacekeeping** to stabilize the country and implement a **ceasefire** or **peace agreement**? Are **longer-term peacebuilding** efforts underway?
These different peace and security phases are not always linear: they can be happening simultaneously, for instance in different parts of the country, or if there is a peace process but conflict is nonetheless ongoing. In each phase, there are different questions to consider in order to ensure that women’s needs and concerns are met.

a. **Humanitarian crisis caused by conflict:**
   Are there large numbers of displaced people and extremely urgent needs for food, water and shelter? Are women’s and girls’ urgent immediate needs adequately addressed? Are mechanisms in place to ensure access by women and girls to distribution of resources and registration for relief aid? Is there safe passage for humanitarian actors seeking to provide assistance to families and communities? Are protection issues being addressed, including the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in camp management? Have the gender guidelines of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee been implemented by each cluster? Is the Consolidated Appeal Process (or any other process being used in its place) ensuring that gender is a criterion for the projects to be included? Is there an operational gender task force or sub-cluster with a review role?

b. **Conflict resolution:**
   Is the country experiencing ongoing or unresolved conflict? Are women adequately involved in confidence-building and conflict-resolution processes and mechanisms? Do women face a serious and present threat to their physical security? What form does that threat take, and are adequate efforts being made to address it? Are women being consulted in terms of identifying the drivers of the conflict and how these might be addressed? Have women been consulted to suggest ways to address the causes of conflict?

c. **Ceasefire:**
   Is a ceasefire in force? Does the ceasefire-monitoring commission ensure women’s safety and security, or are violations still occurring?

d. **Peace talks:**
   Are peace negotiations underway at the moment? Do women feel they are sufficiently consulted and involved? Do official negotiating delegations include women? Are there ways for women in civil society to communicate with delegations? Do delegations have access to adequate gender expertise? Are there observer seats for civil society women? Does the agenda of the talks include gender analysis and focus on addressing women’s and girls’ issues?

e. **Implementing the peace agreement:**
   What institutions have been set up to implement the peace accord, and are women adequately participating? Do the mandates of these institutions (e.g., human rights commissions; land commissions; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration [DDR] commissions; truth and reconciliation commissions; reparations commissions; constitutional reform commissions) adequately address gender issues? Are these institutions effectively addressing gender issues in practice?

f. **Peacekeeping:**
   Are UN or other forces involved in peacekeeping in the conflict-affected area? Are there suggestions and mechanisms to identify how these forces can better protect women civilians? Are there suggestions for improving communication and dialogue with peacekeepers to enhance their intelligence sources, as well as their capacity to respond to local needs? Is your country contributing with peacekeeping forces? Are they adequately trained to ensure their capacity to understand and respond to SGBV and other gender-related issues?

g. **Peacebuilding:**
   Are women participating in post-conflict decision-making at all levels? Can women assess the amount of funding that is reaching the conflict-affected area and earmarked to address women’s recovery needs? Are women satisfied with post-conflict peacebuilding frameworks? Are external actors, including but not limited to
donors, supporting investment in the activities and areas that most benefit women (e.g., market infrastructure, rural roads, domestic water supply, informal sector livelihoods, employment on public works programmes, accessible schools, health clinics, courts, socially-responsive policing, vulnerable persons units within police stations)?

3. Take a constructive approach.
Comments and suggestions should be phrased in a constructive and positive manner. Peace and security and recovery leaders—whether from the UN, the World Bank, regional banks, regional security institutions (such as the African Union or the Economic Community of West African States), or governments—can be reminded of commitments on women’s participation and women’s rights, and constructive suggestions can be made to ensure that women’s concerns are addressed.

To give an example for just one context, instead of saying broadly that ‘women’s views should not be ignored in preparations for a donor conference,’ women could suggest:

a. Official representation at the donor conference should include women.

b. There should be representation and a speaking slot for women from civil society at the conference.

c. A consultative forum should be established with women’s civil society groups prior to the donor conference to review the agenda and funding proposals in order to elicit women’s perspectives and ensure they are shared with national decision-makers and donors.

Similarly practical suggestions can be made for increasing women’s involvement and input at every stage of the peace process.

4. Use a full spectrum approach.
It is important to remember that women have many different perspectives and interests and may not agree. In particular, it must be remembered that women may also have been involved in the conflict on different sides and are sometimes the proud mothers, spouses and daughters of men involved in conflict. They may themselves have been directly engaged as combatants or associated with fighting forces. Displaced women face particularly acute problems in rebuilding their lives, as do women who have been associated with fighting forces. Their views cannot be ignored. Means for divergent views to be expressed, heard and incorporated in a common agenda must therefore be agreed upon. This can be done during a preparatory phase or when setting the ground rules. Because of divergences of views, often it is easiest to agree on procedural rather than substantive issues.

5. Distinguish between procedural and substantive issues.
For each of the above areas, procedural and substantive gender-specific issues can be identified:

**Procedural issues** have to do with the **structure and conduct of arrangements** to address any of the issue areas outlined above. For instance, the proposal that a minimum proportion of peace negotiators should be women is a basic procedural principal. It is a matter of process and procedure because it will not necessarily affect substance: more women negotiators would not necessarily result in more gender-sensitive peace accords. Other matters of procedure can relate to the design of the peace table. Procedural suggestions might be to ensure that women’s civil society groups have permanent observer status, or that half of all commissioners in institutions established to implement peace deals (such as truth and reconciliation commissions; other examples are listed above) are women. Another procedural issue could be to include provisions to earmark a basic minimum portion of post-conflict financing for addressing women’s needs. Related to this are provisions to enable women
to review and assess gendered patterns in post-conflict financing.

Procedural issues are about the how of doing things; substantive issues relate to decisions over the what, i.e., substantive matters regarding priorities in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Often it is easier to agree to procedural principles than substantive ones. Procedural issues can even include very simple suggestions to support capacity-building of women’s peace groups, for instance by providing transportation so that women can attend meetings, sharing more information on the peace and security issues affecting the country, or making funding available for organizational strengthening.

Substantive issues have to do with the detail of the many aspects of conflict resolution, peace talks, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding identified above. A substantive principle in relation to ceasefires, for instance, is that sexual violence should be treated as a prohibited act and that ceasefire-monitoring teams must be equipped to monitor sexual violence. A substantive principle in relation to justice issues could relate to proposing gender-sensitive changes to legal frameworks, or fast-tracking the prosecution of war crimes against women.

This distinction between procedural and substantive issues is used by the Afghan Women’s Network in the document annexed here, which was developed in advance of the 28 May 2010 Peace Jirga for Afghanistan (see Annex 1). Women’s statements from the Darfur (Annex 2) and Uganda (Annex 3) peace talks are similarly annexed here.

The following sections outline specific procedural and substantive issues that a common women’s agenda can raise.

6. General procedural issues relating to women, peace and security.

Procedural issues have to do with the terms of participation in and consultation about peace and security processes, the types of mechanisms that are set up for monitoring both the peace process and its implementation, and the resources and expertise available for the process. Examples of basic procedural points frequently raised by women—and phrased in active/positive terms include:

- **Mandate women’s participation:**
  - Women should comprise a minimum proportion of participants in all peace-making forums, whether consultative or formal negotiations.
  - The suggested proportion often ranges from 25 to 30 per cent.
  - This could also apply to institutions for implementing the peace deal, such as human rights commissions or transitional justice institutions, and to institutions set up to implement and monitor a peacebuilding or recovery plan.
  - The structure of the peace table should provide a space for women from civil society to participate officially, for instance, by:
    - Including a representative of a civil society collective, in which women’s groups are represented (as in Guatemala, where Msgr. Rodolfo Quezada Toruño took part in the peace talks as the representative of the Assembly of Civil Society, which included women’s groups as one of 14 ‘sectors’);
    - Allowing structured input from expert teams that channel specific concerns to negotiators (as in Sri Lanka, where an all-female Sub-Committee on Gender Issues was one of four expert groups contributing to the peace process).
b. **Devise mechanisms** to ensure that the needs and views of women are channeled to decision-makers:

» Establish regular consultations with civil society forums that address women’s issues in order to channel women's views to decision-makers.

c. Ensure that decision-makers have access to and integrate **technical guidance on gender** issues:

» Require each committee/implementation body for the peace accord or the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) to retain national expertise on gender equality and women’s rights.

» Institute a review of peace-process initiatives for due respect for or potential violation of women’s rights.

Implement the recently agreed UN guidelines on a gender marker for donor funds.

7. **Substantive, country-specific women, peace and security issues.**

Whatever peace and security phase is in effect, there will be substantive issues to consider from a gender perspective. Below are just some of the substantive gender issues that might arise depending on the peace and security phase, the type of conflict and the extent of engagement by the international community:

a. **Early Warning:** Are there early signs of impending conflict of which women are aware but that may not be visible to others? For instance, in the Solomon Islands, women became aware of the threat of impending conflict when prisoners were released and it became more dangerous to gather forest products because of the risk of attack. In other contexts, women have decreased rates of market engagement when social tensions have risen in advance of conflict. Women everywhere are also often aware of increased circulation and accumulation of small arms in homes or communities. In some cases, elevated levels of domestic violence are associated with impending conflict. What would women propose that decision-makers do to engage women in early warning processes?

b. **Conflict resolution:** There are formal and informal ways of resolving conflict. Do women have ideas and proposals about conflict resolution in their country? These can range from long-term efforts to build cultures of peace and non-violent resolution of conflict, to very specific proposals around the conduct, participants and structure of peace negotiations.

c. **Peacekeeping:** Are international peacekeeping forces helping to stabilize the country in ways that address the security threats to women? For example, if there is a reported drop in violence, does this correspond with a drop in violence against women? Does the mission need a mandate that covers protection of civilians and specifically mentions sexual gender-based violence? If it already has this mandate, is it receiving adequate priority from the leadership of the mission? Are peacekeepers willing and able to patrol and operate in unconventional space—in proximity to villages, compounds, camps, forests and fields—to respond to threats against women? Do peacekeepers engage women in the community for intelligence-gathering and/or confidence-building purposes and to inform activities? Are peacekeepers trained on how to prevent or respond to violence against women? Is the mission (military and police) striving to recruit more women?

d. **Peacebuilding:** Are women able to contribute fully to long-term peacebuilding? Have women been included in the committees designing peacebuilding frameworks or strategic frameworks that identify long-term peacebuilding threats and design respons-
es to these? Have post-conflict needs assessments included an analysis of women’s needs and identified resources for these? Have donor conferences included women from civil society, and have funding proposals for recovery and peacebuilding fully addressed women’s needs? What conditions are needed for women to participate fully? Are women able to access information on peacebuilding plans, funding allocations, actual spending, and the impact of this spending? If not, what do women propose as means to improve their engagement in peacebuilding processes? What are the neglected areas: Economic recovery? Land rights? Support for women’s enterprises? Basic social services? Justice?

e. DDR

» Cantonment: Are cantonment sites appropriately structured so that women and girls are given the option of being separated from men and boys?

» Disarmament: Are women’s groups involved in monitoring weapons collection and destruction and/or as participants in destruction ceremonies?

» Resettlement: After demobilization, are specific mechanisms put in place to allow female ex-combatants and supporters to return to their destination of choice using a safe means of transport? Do the DDR programmes ensure that female ex-combatants and supporters are free to choose where they will live? Are specific measures put in place to help reunify mothers and children? Are female ex-combatants and supporters fully informed about reintegration support services?

» Social reintegration: Are women associated with fighting forces who return to communities receiving the psychosocial support they need to cope with problems of stigma? Are women’s organizations supported and trained to participate and assist in the reconciliation and reintegration of ex-combatants?

Is the establishment of formal or informal network groups among female ex-combatants and supporters encouraged? Is there monitoring of the impact on communities of reintegrating ex-combatants?

» Economic reintegration: Do female and male participants in DDR processes have equal training and employment opportunities after leaving the cantonment site? Are widows, widowers and dependants of ex-combatants killed in action provided with financial and material assistance? Do women have equal access to vocational trainings and economic opportunities, such as the support to farm cash crops, own and use livestock and land ownership?

8. Ensure that sexual violence is addressed

Conflict-related sexual violence can constitute a war crime or a crime against humanity and is sometimes associated with genocide. It includes any kind of sexual violence that is linked directly or indirectly to a past or ongoing conflict, *inter alia* rape, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, forced impregnation, forced maternity, forced termination of pregnancy, enforced sterilization, indecent assault, trafficking, inappropriate medical examinations and strip searches. It may not have been a major feature of the conflict in question, and it may not necessarily be a matter that comes up during the process in question.

Where sexual violence was a major feature of conflict or has escalated since in the aftermath of conflict, it poses a special category of challenge to peacebuilding efforts because it has not adequately been recognized by national governments nor the international community, yet it constitutes a serious obstacle to women’s capacity to engage in peacebuilding. This has been recognized by Security Council resolutions 1820
(2008) and 1888 (2009). The website for UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict provides useful resources on this issue.\textsuperscript{7} Conflict-related sexual violence requires specific attention where it is a widespread problem, because it impacts on governance and peacebuilding in the following ways:

» Impunity for sexual violence weakens the rule of law and undermines trust in governance institutions.

» Sexual violence uproots and fractures families and dissolves community bonds, making it harder for reconciliation and easier for relapse into conflict.

» Ongoing sexual violence creates and perpetuates an atmosphere of insecurity that makes it harder for girls to safely attend school or for women to access water points, marketplaces and polling booths, thereby negatively affecting economic recovery and a return to normality.

The preparatory phase should, in contexts with high levels of sexual violence, offer suggestions for how to prioritize prevention and protection measures in security sector reform, social programmes and economic recovery efforts. For instance, security sector reform efforts to address this issue can include training police and military in recognition of patterns of systematic sexual violence and prevention measures (such as setting up protective perimeters and patrolling in evenings and early mornings near villages).\textsuperscript{8} Recruiting and fast-tracking female security personnel, setting up vulnerable persons units to make reporting of these crimes easier and improving referral systems are all useful measures. Judicial measures have been described above. Economic measures include vocational training for survivors of sexual violence, use of temporary employment schemes (e.g., post-conflict food-for-work or cash-for-work schemes) to build safe houses for women or special vulnerable persons units for police stations, and reparations programmes to provide monetary or in-kind redress for survivors. Social measures include engaging traditional leaders to combat stigmatization of survivors and to condemn and control violent expressions of masculinity; education programmes to combat stigmatization; and national recognition and support for victims, expressed for instance in the recent apology by the President of Sierra Leone to survivors of sexual violence.

9. Package the messages.

Once women have determined the key points they wish to communicate, they should consider putting them in writing for pre-transmission and for use with media. Prioritization and focus are key. The points should be communicated as actionable items. Identify a few main issues and the specific action that is required to address each of these. Examples of follow-up actions for leaders include:

» Keep women informed about peace and security processes.

» Support efforts to ensure that women’s organizations are included, consulted or represented as observers in peace and security processes.

» Ensure gender expertise at the peace table.

» Support advocacy for the appointment of \( x \) per cent of women to a specific process or institution.

In terms of solutions and or mechanisms to address the issue in question, make sure the role of all principal actors—e.g., the Government, the international community and civil society—is defined. Women can decide who among them will communicate the messages to leadership and plan an agenda for their encounters and consultations with leaders. They should also provide adequate space for constructive dialogue and engagement: it may not be a positive experience for either side if it consists of a presentation of demands without the give and take of a dialogue, in which women’s interlocutors can also
present their analysis of the situation and reactions to women’s suggestions.

10. Disseminate the messages.
Participants should also consider how they would like to share their views with the public. The media locally and internationally can serve as important allies in efforts to impress upon decision-makers the substance of women’s concerns, as well as the relative size of the constituency they represent.

Not all peace and security processes are amenable to good media coverage. To make the best use of media in the domestic and international markets:

» The most useful approach is to identify three to four key messages that need to be highlighted to the media, and which in turn will get transmitted to larger audiences.

» It is important to remember that not everyone (including media) is familiar with the intricacies of the topic. It may therefore be necessary to deconstruct the messages and educate the media, as well as new audiences.

» A strong press release with good quotes from activists and press conferences are good ideas—**if there are strong, key recommendations** to be made that require follow-up by officials and authorities.

» It is strategically important that the leading news wires and larger publications, like daily news media outlets (print, television, radio and online) be invited to the press conference, in order to have the widest impact.

» One-on-one interviews with local and international media should also be solicited for longer, in-depth discussion of the issue.

» It is important to note that in interviews, and indeed press releases, only the top, main messages should be highlighted. Otherwise there is a risk that the main points will be edited out in the final article or TV segment due to space or time constraints. By presenting only the most important points, women control the message that is disseminated.

» Anecdotes and real-life examples from the ground always help the news media as well as the audience to grasp the situation. These should be used in all media outreach, including in press conferences and interviews.

» Social media outreach through online resources should be integrated whenever possible into the outreach strategy.

In the case of peace negotiations or donor conferences, there is often a great deal of international engagement and attention. Women can work with international media—particularly from countries that have provided financial backing to the peace process—to raise their concerns about exclusion from decision-making forums or to call attention to the ways in which they have been affected by the conflict. Substantial media attention can in some cases compensate for the relative exclusion of women (if this is the case) from peace talks or donor conferences.

A good example of effective use of media is the way five women peace activists from Afghanistan dominated part of the media coverage of the London Conference on Afghanistan in January 2010, drawing attention to the fact that proposed reintegration and reconciliation with low-ranking Taliban could imply an erosion of women’s rights gains in rural areas. Their suggestion that women’s rights might be **de facto** traded off in the interests of short-term stability was put into stark perspective in view of the fact that the sole woman civil society speaker at the conference (one of this group) was given just five minutes to present women’s concerns to the conference itself.

Local media as well as virtual social networks (e.g., Facebook, twitter, microblogging)
can also be used to raise the attention and the engagement of the population concerning ongoing processes and the issue of women’s capacity and opportunities to express their views. These technologies can be useful to broaden the constituency backing women’s concerns, circulate a petition that outlines women’s concerns or generate participants for public debates and events, among other things. Based on the media landscape in-country, press conferences may be organized and press releases issued before or immediately after any peace and security or planning and donor events. Women’s proposals regarding the peace and security process, agreements regarding monitoring, and the analysis of the agreement’s impact on women can also be launched and presented at that time.

The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985), meeting in Copenhagen 14-30 July, is the second global meeting to be devoted exclusively to women’s issues.

A general view of the First Committee. The Committee reviews and evaluates progress made and obstacles encountered at the national level in attaining the minimum objectives set forth in the World Plan of Action. 01 July 1980, Copenhagen, Denmark.
UN Photo/Per Jacobsen
GUIDANCE: BUILDING PEACE FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Key principles from Afghan women for the National Peace Consultation Jirga

Afghan women are committed to building peace and they are resources for promoting justice and good governance in the country. As half of the population Afghan women must participate fully in all reintegration and national reconciliation processes, not only because women’s participation is a matter of democratic fairness, but because women have particular perspectives on conflict resolution to offer and gender-specific concerns that must be addressed for a just and sustainable peace. Afghan Women’s Network (AWN), an advocacy platform of Afghan women and the largest umbrella organization of Afghan women NGOs in the country, has produced this guidance note that sets out our key principles for building peace that brings gender equality and respect for human rights. These principles address both procedural issues regarding the national approach to building peace, and substantive issues relating to key items on the peacebuilding agenda: good governance, reintegration and security, reconciliation and justice, and economic recovery.

A: PROCESS PRINCIPLES

a. A minimum of 25% of participants in all peace-making forums—whether consultative or formal negotiations—should be women.

b. Mechanisms are needed to ensure that the needs and views of women—particularly socially excluded women and directly conflict-affected women—are represented in peace processes. This may require establishing a consultative relationship with a women’s civil society form in order to channel women’s views to decision-makers.

c. Women must be represented in any institutions that implement peace agreements— institutions such as the reintegration commission, peace and reconstruction bodies, etc.

d. Where possible, leaders in peace processes and the institutions implementing peace agreements should seek technical guidance from national gender experts.

e. International parties and stakeholders supporting conflict resolution in Afghanistan should provide oversight of any peace deals and ensure they do not violate women’s rights under the constitution.

f. Transparency is essential in all conflict resolution and peacemaking efforts.
B: SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

1. Good Governance, Peace and Women’s Rights

Peace must be founded on principles of good governance and democratic politics. If there is impunity for abuses of women’s rights, if women are not able to participate equally in public decision-making, this makes a mockery of efforts to reassert the rule of law and efficient governance. The exclusion of women also wastes an important resource for building integrity in public office and fighting corruption. Basic principles to be respected in governance and power-sharing arrangements include:

a. The government cannot make commitments or agreements that require or would produce a weakening of women’s rights under the national Constitution Declaration on Human Rights or the international human rights conventions to which the government is signatory.

b. The Eradication of Violence Against Women (EVAW), the National Action Plan for Women for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA) and other policies on women’s rights should be incorporated to the national framework for peace, reintegration, and reconciliation, and should be a core element of the legal framework in any peace agreement.

c. Women should be represented in national independent oversight bodies established to monitor and investigate corruption.

d. Political parties that do not recognize women’s Constitutional rights cannot be registered.

e. Political parties law to be revised to impose sanctions for non compliance with the 30% women’s participation

f. During election there should be a political code of conduct to ensure women’s political participation

g. Power-sharing agreements designed to provide specific social groups with representation or with engagement in governance institutions must not do so at the expense of women’s representation or women’s participation in governance institutions.

h. Good governance reforms should advance gender equality and the capacity of public services to respond to women’s needs by:

i. upgrading to senior management gender focal points in all national institutions and strengthening the gender units;

ii. extending current quotas to all branches and levels of elected and appointed government;

iii. supporting special measures to help women overcome obstacles to effective political competition (e.g.: measures to prevent political violence against women, measures to overcome access barriers to public debate, training, and resources);

iv. enforcing the 30% quota to civil service positions at all levels (including the proposed 12,000 new rural civil society posts);

v. The government should meet the constitutional guarantee of women’s public sector employment article 22

vi. Strengthening of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs and ensuring it participates in all decision-making clusters to ensure attention to gender and women’s needs.

2. Reintegration and Security

Reintegration of former combatants is an essential part of peacebuilding but must not provoke further conflict, nor should it siphon resources away from community development or women’s empowerment. Reintegration packages targeted at individuals will create the impression that combatants are able to benefit from the conflict, while their victims do not. Security sector reform efforts are essential for building women’s physical
security and therefore must be guided by a commitment to the prevention of violence against women. Basic principles to ensure women’s recovery and security needs are met include:

a. Candidates for reintegration must be vetted carefully to exclude those who have committed war crimes.

b. Reintegration packages must not be targeted to individual fighters but rather should benefit the whole receiving community, to create incentives for communities to engage in rehabilitating combatants and their families. Reintegration packages could include funding for schools, employment schemes, and vocational training.

c. Families rather than individual combatants should be reintegrated in order to support community recovery and healing.

d. The reintegration process must be monitored closely by a national monitoring body composed of government, civil society and community representatives to ensure there is no resumption of violence, intimidation, nor erosion of women’s rights in receiving communities.

e. The reintegration process should include nationality registration, and reintegration incentives should not be extended to foreign combatants.

f. Security sector reform efforts should include the six actions set out by the NAPWA (affirmative action, gender budgets, human rights training, gender planning tools, specific focus on gender-based violence, and culture of peace), and should achieve at least a 20% increase in women’s employment in the police services in five years.

g. Women should be represented in national security sector oversight bodies such as the parliamentary defense committee and National Security Council.

h. A National Action Plan for the implementation of Security Council resolutions on Women, Peace and Security should be developed by ministry of women affairs and interior affairs with cooperation from the Ministries of Finance, Justice and Defense, and monitored.

3. Reconciliation and Justice

Both short-term reconciliation and long-term conflict prevention and healing require a process to establish the truth about the conflict and to bring justice in cases of the most extreme human rights abuses. In the absence of adequate judicial capacity or of a complete peace, these processes may be postponed, but not indefinitely. In the meantime, evidence of serious abuses and war crimes must be preserved. Core justice and reconciliation principles include:

a. Commitments must be made to ensure safe conditions for women to engage in planned or future truth, reconciliation, or judicial processes. This will require mechanisms to establish complete confidentiality of witnesses, and training and preparation of judicial personnel to process these cases in ways that protect the dignity of the affected.

b. Resources must be invested in expansion of the formal justice system to give women access to justice and ensure that any customary or informal judicial mechanisms comply with the constitution of Afghanistan, women’s rights under Islam and international standards.

c. Any reparations programme should ensure provision of reparations to women who have been the direct victims of the conflict. Reparations must be provided in a non-stigmatizing way that does not expose the identities of women recipients. Community reparations may be a viable option in this regard.

4. Wealth-Sharing and Economic Recovery

Women’s capacity to engage in peacebuilding is closely linked to their economic security. Poverty prevents women from participating in public decision-making thus preventing them from contributing to good governance and long-term recovery. Basic principles on this issue could include:
a. Any financial incentive to insurgents should not divert resources from women’s empowerment and development

b. Commission on gender special fund

c. Women should be represented in the budget committees. Aid should be monitored to track its effectiveness in promoting women’s rights and gender equality.

d. Donors should ensure that a certain amount of funds are dedicated specifically to the promotion of women’s rights and addressing their urgent needs.

e. Financing for Afghan women’s organizations should increase to enable them to build capacity for engagement in national decision-making and to implement the development agenda.

f. Women’s land property and other economic support for women’s economic security which relates to women’s physical security should be guaranteed.
Women’s Priorities in the Peace Process and Reconstruction in Darfur

30 December 2005, Abuja

In 2005, a Gender Experts Support Team, composed of 20 women members and backed by the governments of Canada, Norway and Sweden and by UNIFEM was invited to participate in the seventh and decisive round of the Darfur Peace Agreement negotiations. The team gathered women from a variety of tribal and ethnic backgrounds in Darfur to create a unified platform of women’s priorities and gender issues. This outcome document contains a number of key provisions related to women and children. During the three short weeks that women were allowed to participate in the talks, they were able to negotiate for the inclusion of an impressive number of their priorities in the final agreement. The accord includes language that is gender-sensitive and, among other priorities, calls for the participation of women in decision-making bodies and in peace-building.

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Preamble:

We, the women of the Sudan participating in the 7th Round of the Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks on the Conflict in Darfur currently taking place in Abuja, Nigeria, comprising members of the Gender Experts Support Team, as well as members of the delegations of the Government of the Sudan and the two Movements, namely, the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM);

Strongly believe in the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sudan;

Affirm that democracy is the foundation of good governance, rule of law, justice, equity and equality;

Also affirm that the women of Darfur have, from time immemorial, been renowned for their historic struggles and participation in all levels of governance in their kingdoms and sultanates;

Further affirm that gender issues cannot be divorced from the political, social, cultural, developmental, and economic and security considerations in Darfur. These issues relate to the primordial role of women in the economy of Darfur where they account for an estimated 60% of the labour force in the agricultural sector, particularly in agriculture per se and livestock production,
in addition to their participation in petty manual labour and small-scale commercial activities as well as in the formal and informal sectors. Women also exhibit massive presence in the food industry sector. However, recent studies indicate that the region is one of the poorest in the Sudan, with the countryside in particular lacking in infrastructure, drinking water and primary health care services—a situation at the root of the high incidence of child and maternal mortality, as well as the spread of malnutrition-related diseases and other chronic killer ailments;

**Note** that drought, desertification and inappropriate economic policies have exacerbated poverty and under-development in the rural areas triggering male emigration which, in turn, has increased the burden of the women’s chores and female illiteracy rate which statistics have put at 75%;

**Observe** that women and children are the most affected by the war and the worsening security situation in Darfur, with the women being subjected to violence, rape and sexual harassment\(^1\), thus compelling them and the children to seek refuge away from their homes. They make up around 90% of displaced persons and refugees with all that this entails in terms of the negative impact on their lives, particularly in the sectors mentioned earlier;

**Aver** that it was in this context that the women joined the armed Movements, and have been participating in their activities including armed struggle, which in turn, have had an impact on them.

**Affirm** our support for all the agreements already signed with a view to resolving the Darfur conflict and protecting women and children.

**Appreciate** the role being played by the international community in raising awareness of women and children related issues and in drawing attention to the need to involve women in all stages of the peace negotiations and in the implementation of future peace agreements based on existing agreements and Protocols, namely:

1. UN Convention on the Rights of the Child;
2. Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights;
3. The 2005 Interim Constitution of the Sudan;
4. The Declaration of Principles (DoP) on the Conflict in Darfur signed in Abuja, Nigeria, in July 2005, by the Parties to the conflict;
5. The AU Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa;
6. Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
7. The International Humanitarian Law;
9. The Constitutive Act of the African Union, which states that gender equality is one of the objectives is of the Union;

And now wish to address the following core issues:

1. Security;
2. Power Sharing; and
3. Wealth Sharing.

### 1. SECURITY

For the population of Darfur, security is a priority. Women and children are the primary victims of the deteriorating security situation, arising from:

1. Weakness of the Rule of Law;
2. Prevailing Insecurity;
3. Unauthorized possession of fire arms;
4. Weakness of public administrations;
5. Presence of the Janjaweed (armed militia);
6. Inadequate participation of women in security structures; and
7. Outbreak of war in Darfur.

Consequences
The deteriorating security situation has resulted in human rights violations such as the killing of civilians, destruction of villages and the looting of property. It has also unleashed the internally displaced persons and refugee phenomenon, and occasioned the dislocation and disintegration of families, violence against women, rape, sexual harassment and abduction.

What do security and protection mean for women?
As far as the woman is concerned, security represents peace and tranquility for herself, her children and her family, as well as protection of her honour and dignity. It also means living a normal life in her country of origin and enjoying such rights as have been conferred by the Constitution, laws, resolutions and the regional and international instruments ratified by the Government.

Recommendations
1. The Government and armed Movements should, without delay, fully comply with the Ceasefire Agreement they have signed, and protect civilians, particularly women and children;
2. The ceasefire monitors should carry out their mission effectively and expeditiously;
3. The Government and the armed Movements should respect human rights and the International Humanitarian Law;
4. The armed militia known as Janjaweed should be disarmed immediately;
5. Rule of Law should be observed and consolidated;
6. The principles of equality and accountability should be recognized;
7. A mechanism for the protection of women and children should be put in place;
8. Women and children should be given priority during compensations/ reparations for damages and destruction caused by the war;
9. Establish a civilian police with women constituting not less than 30% of the force;
10. Build a police force capable of maintaining internal security and protecting the society;
11. At least 30% of those recruited into the regular forces and judicial organs should be women;
12. Training and skills enhancement centers for law enforcement should be established;
13. For purposes of admission into military academies and institutions, there should be positive discrimination in favour of the best female students from Darfur;
14. Rehabilitate and reform public administration structures and related regulations, eradicating therefrom all political and military polarization thereby enabling these structures to play their role as stakeholders in the maintenance of security, protection of society and reconstruction of the social fabric;
15. The status of female combatants should be taken into consideration during the signing of the Agreement on Security Arrangements;
16. Repatriate and resettle internally displaced persons and refugees in their places of origin, reconstruct such places, provide the concerned persons with protection and security, and ensure that their repatriation is voluntary;
17. Women should participate actively in the work of the Commissions responsible for voluntary return and reconstruction. Internally displaced women and women refugees should participate in all levels of such Commissions to the tune of not less than 50%;

18. Establish a Reconciliation Commission with 40% women participation;

19. Address primary and reproductive health care for women as a way of ensuring social and health security;

20. The laws relating to women should be reviewed with a view to harmonizing them with the international agreements and instruments ratified by the Government, and encourage civil society organizations to enhance women’s awareness of their rights;

21. Provide secondary education in the camps and make an appeal to the international community to accord special attention to the education of girl refugees;

22. Review, as a matter of urgency, the system of girls boarding schools with focus on the rural areas;

23. Special attention should be given to the education of women and children as a strategic plan for creating security for the future;

24. A mechanism should be put in place to take an inventory of women and children who have lost their lives as a result of the war in Darfur;

25. Women should not be involved in political disputes and assassinations, and women activists and leaders engaged in voluntary activities should be protected;

26. An organ should be created to address the situation of women and children disabled by war and provide them with legal support, psychological counseling and other relevant services;

27. Ensure the safety and security of major roads and access routes;

28. Girl delinquents and internally displaced females should be protected and given training, and homes should be established for those with special needs, female IDPs and old people without family support;

29. Provide access to humanitarian assistance for people affected by war, most of whom are women and children;

30. Encourage the Parties to assume their responsibility in the search for ways and means to reach a peace agreement as quickly as possible.

2. POWER SHARING

Women account for 51% of the population of the Sudan, and 55% of that of Darfur. Women and children constitute 90% of the total number of IDPs and refugees. However, this fact is not reflected in their participation and representation in the various levels of governance.

The factors militating against women and preventing them from fully playing their role include the following:

» Socio-cultural factors:

1. Dislocation of families as a consequence of the deteriorating living conditions and the war;

2. Customs and traditions, cultures and class-based structures that underpin gender inequalities;

3. Social prejudices whereby women are seen as weak, less intelligent, more lacking in wisdom and logic than men;
4. Discrimination and inequalities arising from the absence of complementarity of gender roles and the lack of understanding of the different biological roles of men and women;
5. Male dominance;
6. Misinterpretation of religious beliefs.

Political and Legal Factors
1. Marginalization at all levels of decision-making, particularly those of strategic nature;
2. Poor political participation and inadequate support from political parties;
3. Exclusion of women’s rights in some legislations;
4. Negative valuation of women’s contribution;
5. Inequality in job remunerations in some institutions.

Other Factors
1. Gender based injustices;
2. Illiteracy;
3. Lack of gender awareness;
4. Limited experience sharing among experts;
5. Exploitation of women;

For the above reasons, power means a lot for the women of Darfur. It represents for them the right to citizenship, democratic participation in the federal system, good governance and predominance of the rule of law, to achieve justice and equality for all (see Legislative Authority 1 and 2 hereunder).

To enable women to effectively play their role and boost their presence especially within the conflict areas of Darfur, it is needful to present the following recommendations in pursuance of women’s demands for Power Sharing:

Accord women all the rights stipulated in the Interim Constitution of the Republic of the Sudan as well as in international and regional instruments. Empower them to participate and be represented at all levels of decision making, while ensuring that such representation is to the tune of 30% at national level, and 50% at Darfur governance level, in accordance with the agreement to be concluded between the Government and the Movements (see Legislative Authority 2, 4 and 7).

a. Executive Organs
1. The Presidency: Women to be appointed Presidential Assistants and Representatives, as well as the Assistants and Representatives to the two Vice Presidents;
2. Council of Ministers: Women to be appointed to senior positions in Ministries especially such strategic Ministries as Finance, Economic Planning, Energy, Education, Higher Education and Scientific Research as well as the Census Board and Urbanization Department.
3. Women to be appointed to senior positions in all Commissions, especially key ones such as the Petroleum Commission.

b. Legislative Organs
1. Women to participate effectively in the Parliament and be appointed Chairpersons of Specialized Commissions;
2. Women to participate actively in the National Electoral Commission.

To enable women to effectively play their role and boost their presence especially within the conflict areas of Darfur, it is needful to present the following recommendations in pursuance of women’s demands for Power Sharing:
3. WEALTH SHARING

We regard national wealth as property belonging to all citizens, be it men, women or children. Wealth includes human resources, human capital, land as well as surface and underground natural resources.

For the women of Darfur, wealth is of vital importance because the women are a factor of production; they are involved in all areas of activity and constitute nearly 60% of the labour force in the agricultural and animal resource sectors. Yet, women do not have anything to show for their immense contributions to the economic service sectors such as financing, training, savings for production and production protection, as well as social service sector and infrastructure. In addition, women play the role of family heads among IDPs, refugees and migrants, as well as in situations of natural disaster.

In view of the aforesaid, we the women of the Sudan hereby present the following recommendations (Legislative Authority 2 and 4):

1. Ensure equitable participation of women at all levels of economic and financial decision-making, and thereby enable them to participate in the preparation of pertinent strategies at all levels (Legislative Authority 4 and 6);

2. Women should participate actively in negotiations, as well as in Structures and Commissions dealing with power sharing at all levels to the tune of not less than 40% (Legislative Authority 4, 6 and 7);

3. Undertake affirmative action with a view to enhancing the productive capacities of Darfur women, and provide them with credits, production inputs and technical advice (Legislative Authority 6);

4. Establish programmes and networks for exchange of experience;

5. Take decisions aimed at bridging the educational gap for women and young girls, especially herdswomen and nomadic women and boost their awareness through increased number of educational institutions and literacy structures that undertake professional and vocational training;

6. Provide secondary education in displaced persons camps, and appeal to the United Nations and national commissions to do the same in refugee camps;

7. Women should participate in all levels of local administration;

8. Create an advisory board for women’s affairs in Darfur;

9. Women should participate in associations and trade unions.
4. Undertake positive discrimination measures for skills upgrading and capacity building at leadership and grassroots levels in civil society institutions and establish institutions and training centers especially in rural areas without ignoring urban centers;

5. Institute free and compulsory education for girls at least up to secondary school level; reorganize the boarding school system; provide compulsory adult literacy as a vital element of income generating programmes and projects; and establish Faculties not presently available in the Universities of Darfur;

6. Set up a special fund to finance the poor women in the rural areas, and in particular, promote small-scale food industries for women; encourage savings for agricultural sector and livestock production as well as for small-scale service industries, with priority given to female family heads. Such a fund should be financed by the allocations to gender matters under the national resource fund, the Darfur reconstruction fund, donors, the federal state fund and by other available resources (Legislative Authority 6 and 7);

7. Establish branches of the Investment Bank in all regions of Darfur to facilitate loans and credits for projects;

8. Involve women in the Land Commission to the tune of 40% and enact equitable laws to facilitate access by women to pastoral land and to land designed for construction and investment;

9. Women should be represented to the tune of 40% in farmers', livestock producers, and employers' associations as well as in chambers of commerce and gum arabic production enterprises;

10. Formulate policies and enact and implement laws and regulations that open up investment opportunities for women;

11. Ensure effective participation of women in the Joint Assessment Mission (JAM);

12. Protect the housewife by implementing laws relating to employment and housemaids; enact laws to protect women in the informal sector (Legislative Authority 2 and 4);

13. Give priority to women in the payment of reparations/compensations in view of the fact that they are the worst affected by the war;

14. Establish an institution for the development of female arts and artistic creativity;

15. Involve women in all the Commissions dealing with the return of refugees, at all levels;

16. Encourage the production of alternative energy resources, address all factors contributing to environmental degradation and popularize environment development programmes.

Legislative Authority:


5. IGAD Gender Policy Framework.
15. UN Charter on the Rights of the Child.
Uganda Women’s Coalition for Peace, 2006

BACKGROUND TO THE COALITION

The Uganda Women’s Coalition for Peace herein the Coalition was formed at the end of July 2006 at the inception of the Juba Peace Talks between the Government of Uganda and the Lord’s Resistance Army/Movement. The mission of the Coalition is “attainment of sustainable peace in Uganda” and the objectives of the Coalition are as follows:

» Lobby and encourage the negotiating Parties to stay committed to and sustain the talks until a comprehensive and amicable solution is reached.

» Engender the Peace process by advocating for the inclusion of women’s concerns in all the 5 Agenda items.

» Lobby for space for the inclusion, involvement and participation of Ugandan women at the negotiation table and different levels during the Peace negotiation process for purposes of enabling, then engage further and guide stakeholders in the implementation of post conflict reconstruction and development program.

» Provide space for women to give technical legal and gender expert advice to the parties to the talks including the Mediator and his team.

» Prepare the affected communities to receive and sustain the peace and ultimately the implementation of all outcome documents of the Juba Peace Initiative.

» Give feedback especially to the communities of Greater Northern Uganda and donor/development partners.

» Monitor and evaluate the performance of the parties to the talks within the context of resolution 1325 (2000).

COMPOSITION OF THE COALITION

The coalition comprises of the following member organizations. At the national level they include: Uganda Women’s Network (UWONET) which is the Coordination secretariat of the Coalition; the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA-U) which is responsible for legal and policy technical advice and legal representation during the post conflict reconstruction process; Isis-Women’s International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE) in partnership with Telemedia Communications Limited which is in charge of women’s involvement in the Juba talks; Center for Conflict Resolution (CECORE) charged with the duty of capacity building on mediation, conflict/dispute resolution and negotiation among others;
Action for Development (ACFODE), National Association for Women in Uganda (NAWOU) and Mystic Media responsible for publicity and media outreach and Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWPOA) accountable for legislative advice and reform including lobbying the Legislature and Government.

At the District levels the Coalition works and partners with the District Women’s and civil society organizations/community based organizations, the District Leadership, religious/traditional leaders in the regions of: Acholi, Lango, Teso, Karamojo, Kasese and West Nile and the include the following- Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative—Women’s Empowerment Strategy (ARLPI-WES); Teso Women’s Peace Initiative (TWEPA); Kitgum Women’s Peace Initiative (KIWPA); Lira Women’s Peace Initiative (LIWPA); Northern Uganda Women Communicators Organization (NUWCO); National Association for Women in Uganda (NAWOU); PRAFORD; Gulu Women for Peace Reconciliation and Resettlement (GUWOPAR); People’s Voices for Peace (PVP); Coalition for Peace in Africa (COPA); and Concerned Women’s Organization for Peace and Development (CWOPDED).

The coalition is supported technically through provision of advisoral support and financially from the United Nations Fund for Women in Development (UNIFEM) through SIDA-Sweden and Norwegian Embassy and the UN Special Envoy to the Conflict Affected Areas.

MANDATE OF THE COALITION

The Uganda Women’s Coalition for Peace is collectively mandated and guided by a number of legal instruments and conventions at used at the national, regional and international level which have the binding force on Uganda as a state party and signatory. These instruments notably the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), Optional Protocol for Women Sections of the Constitution of Uganda, 1995 as amended by Constitutional Amendment 2005 which calls for protection and participation of women in decision making, governance and democracy among others have given engage in the ongoing talks, for instance the UN Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) to which Uganda is a signatory requires state parties to ensure women are given the opportunity to play a central role in matters of conflict prevention, peacebuilding and dispute resolution. It is these instruments that have guided the Coalition in formulating specific provisions for inclusion in all the outcome documents thus reflecting national commitment and conformity to international human rights, governance and rule of law standards and principles. Thus the women’s priority issues are as follows:

1. CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES:

Essentially the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities and subsequent addenda focuses on military aspects, requiring parties to conform to acceptable standards that call for the ceasing of hostilities and hostile propaganda against each other that may undermine the Peace talks.

The same Agreement provides in Section 9 thereof for the establishment of a Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team (CHMT) whose major task is to among others monitor implementation of the Agreement.

Considering therefore the relevance of this Agreement and it’s implications on Agenda item V- Permanent ceasefire and the interests of women, girls and gender aspects the women of Uganda deemed it necessary for the parties to redefine ceasing of hostilities to incorporate gender aspects and to include ceasing of all forms of hostilities against the bodily integrity of sexual and gender based violence.

I. That the redefinition of cessation of hostilities and the inclusion of gender based violence be treated with utmost care as an area requiring observance of
cessation of hostilities within the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement.

Thus we recommend that the parties consider using an expanded definition of Gender Based Violence drawn from Articles 1 and 2 of the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) and Recommendation 19, paragraph 6, of the 11th Session of the CEDAW committee:

“…gender-based violence is violence that is directed against a person on the basis of gender or sex. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty… While women, men, boys and girls can be victims/survivors of gender-based violence, women and girls are the main victims/survivors.

…shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to the following:

a. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual exploitation, sexual abuse of children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation.

b. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in education institutions and elsewhere trafficking in women and forced prostitution.

c. Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State and institutions, wherever it occurs.”

II. In fulfillment of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) women need to be at the forefront of conflict prevent and resolution of conflict in peacebuilding. The implication of this is that women would have to play a central role in the maintenance and promotion of peace security and increase their role in decision making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution:

» The women request that women be included on the mediation table; and

» That more women be included as observers in the Peace Process.

› That Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team includes women to conform to the 1/3 quota Constitution principle on affirmative action to ensure due consideration is given to the planning, assessment, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of women and girls interest using gender responsive mechanism.

› That the Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team holds itself accountable together with the parties to the talks and informs all affected persons and civil society as stipulated in the Agreement about the salient features of the Agreement and the implications thereof especially on Demobilization, Disarmament, Rehabilitation, Re-integration and Resettlement and how parties intend to adhere to agreed positions.

› That the Government and the LRA/M conform to international instruments and put in place mechanisms that will ensure that no children, women and citizens are unduly coerced into engaging in hostilities and recruited as soldiers.

› A road map is drawn on re-habilitating ex-combatants who have been demobilized from Assembly areas into society and investing in life skills training including the establishment and provision of psychosocial support centers for persons affected by the war and
those involved in the war for purposes of harmonious living in society.

2. COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTIONS:
Whereas the Agreement seeks to address the root causes of the said conflict it is imperative that the issues be addressed taking into consideration the national character and ongoing processes to address the imbalances, marginalization, inequalities and inequity issues. That some of the root causes identified include among others: Good Governance, Rule of Law, Constitutionalism, Equality and sharing of the national cake, addressing the gender imbalance.

I. Economic Empowerment of Women In The Greater North: This was considered by the women as an area requiring serious Government interventions as a measure of attaining equality through availability of equal opportunities

Recommendations:

a. Application of the principle of affirmative action and the provision of grants or interest free loans to enable the women to become economically independent and empowered.

b. That Government of Uganda through the Office of the Prime Minister which is charged with the duty of implementing the reconstruction Program as stated in the PRDP review the document to include these concerns.

II. Girl-Child in the War torn areas: It has been noted with concern that the girl-child has not effectively been able to attain an education and benefit from non conflict affected areas. The majority who have attained secondary school education have done so under difficult circumstances with a number of the girls dropping out of class due to societal pressures such as early marriages, distance to school, defilement, poverty which forces girls to look for alternatives, hence unwanted pregnancies and child motherhoods.

Recommendations:

a. Tailored programs to address the plight of the girls so that they can attend and finish education or be equipped with life sustaining skills.

b. Policies and laws are put in place in order to address the issue of early marriages.

c. Infrastructures are put in place such as safe water and health to the communities, services of reproductive health to be put near the people.

d. Awareness raising on the benefit of the girl-child attending school.

e. Affirmative action on education from Primary to University/Tertiary institution level.

3. RESETTLEMENT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLES

With the relative peace that is being experienced in the Greater North, we appreciate Government’s initiatives and strategy developed for resettling IDPs who for the last twenty years have been temporary residents in their own homes. We note the arrangements made by government to gradually resettle the Internally Displaced Persons in their former areas of residence. However we note with concern the challenges identified under the Decongestion and Resettlement process to especially women and men thus the need to critically understand and handle the dynamics.

WOMEN AND RESETTLEMENT

Although Government is giving out resettlement packages to the IDPs to enable them to start up their lives and put up structures, women are concerned by a number of factors, for instance the need to redefine concepts such as Household to include female-headed households. Evidence gathered during a field visit to Gulu and Pader
districts revealed that female headed households were marginalized and left out during the distribution of iron sheets. Iron sheets are given to male-headed households, yet the majority of women lost their husbands to war. The other issue has been in instances where the man has several wives. The question that comes to the minds of the women activists is which women takes the iron sheets—the first or the latest wife.

**Recommendations:**

a. Government needs to carry out a needs assessment based on gender-disaggregated data of the internally displaced people to guide its decision making process and strategy of redistribution.

b. Women need to be considered equitably under the welfare program and share in items being distributed by government, Development partners and CSOs i.e. iron sheets should be equally distributed to all genders.

Land, Women and Children Born in Internally Displaced People’s Camps (IPDs)

Women have been caught up in the LRA in the Greater Northern Uganda against their will and this has been to their detriment. As a security measure, government issued a directive to people to live in IDP camps. In the IDP camps, the situation has been so appalling and dehumanizing without provision for secure settlements; worsening living conditions; lack of and poor water and sanitation systems; poor hygiene; lack of food and warm clothing; lack of medicine to mention but a few. The resulting effect has been high child mortality; increased poverty; increased human rights abuses; increase in poverty levels; increase in child pregnancies; unwanted children and a high degree of irresponsibility; loss of property and land and therefore loss of the only source where most people derived their livelihood.

Customarily women’s rights to land are limited to user rights. Close to 80% of the land in Uganda is held under customary tenure. To date, women hold only 16% of registered land. The women in the North fall under customary tenants, users and owners of land but the majority do not own land because of the cultural and patriarchal systems. Culturally women rarely inherit land from their father’s preference being given to the male children. Thus the system as it is favors the male children. Thus the system as it is favors the male children more leaving women in a disadvantaged position considering that they shoulder most of the responsibilities in the home. The war in the North complicates matters further, increasing the number of child headed and female headed households. This leaves the already marginalized and wary beaten women in a more vulnerable position where they are expected to fend for their children and yet on the other hand they do not own this resource called land. This position has been compounded by placing people in camps leaving especially women, children and orphans in destitute situations where for instance besides finding your place in society they are caught up in identity conflicts, land conflicts where boundary marks have been removed as vast pieces of land and anything on it had to be cleared during the war. Widows and orphans have had their land taken by either the clan or sold out leaving them stranded. It is this that concerns us because most of these do not have alternatives and nowhere to go! The women cannot go back to their fathers’ homes with children from another clan to settle and derive a livelihood. Neither can they buy land because their hands are tied.

The land question needs to be addressed in the context of the war taking into cognizance among others gender, poverty, culture, patriarchy and threatening to rob peasants off the only livelihood resources left.

**Recommendations:**

a. Government should use its already estab-
lished institutions to put in place measures that protect and guarantee that everybody in the camp will get back their land and that women, children and orphans’ rights to land will be protected.

b. Given that there is lack of a resettlement policy, Government should put in place a comprehensive strategy that caters for and controls the massive exodus of people from other parts of the country to “vacant land” in the greater north as this may cause more serious land conflicts than the one caused by the 20 year war.

c. Government should sit and discuss with clan/cultural and religious leaders to map out strategies for resettling people in their family/clan land and also explore other options of land ownership other than limiting their solutions to customary ownership, because this ownership tends to leave out the women and children.

d. Awareness raising on critical issues among others land, conflict and dispute resolution, gender, governance and the rule of law, human rights etc. among the IDP camps needs to be done. This will enable both men and women to accommodate each other and equitably share the land and resources that are available.

WOMEN AND PSYCHOSOCIAL SOCIAL SUPPORT PROGRAMS
Ugandan citizens and even soldiers in the Greater North have experienced telling degrees of trauma. Most of them, including children born and raised in camps under a war situation, have not had the opportunity to lead a normal life. Children who bear the brunt of the insurgency and are traumatized and mothers/women who have had to be pillars for their family, taken everything in their stride and have been at the centre of the sufferings, bear the scars of war and are twice traumatized! We are talking of youth and young men who under duress were forced to kill friends and relatives and due to the situation in the camps and the horrid environment, have lost face and do not believe in themselves any more. It is from such a background that we recommend the following:

Recommendations:

a. Government with the support of donor partners to put in place continuous psychosocial support systems to address the needs of all formerly abducted women, men, and children and systematic reintegration of those groups into the community to be done.

b. Government should actively include women to participate in designing and implementing rehabilitation programs in post conflict situations that are more tailored to help them reintegrate to a normal community life.

c. Sanitary pads and other basic requirements be given to the girl-child to restate her self esteem.

Health care and social services
» Basic care for mothers
» Medical care
» Increased maternity rates and nutrition care for children
» Infrastructure and roads
» Government needs to invest more in the health needs of the people because if they are ill then they cannot live.

1. ACCOUNTABILITY AND RECONCILIATION:
Women and the Justice System: Justice, law and order institutions have not been able to operate effectively in the greater north because of the war. In most areas there is lawlessness and breakdown in systems and the non observance of the rule of law. There have been serious abuse of human rights and violation of women’s rights with limited interventions. There is lack of information on Constitutional provisions and the current legal regime
and presence of government institutions. People do not know whom to turn to when seeking legal redress. Women’s rights and bodily integrity have been abused and children’s rights violated and gone unattended.

**Recommendations:**

a. The Government strengthens the systems of justice, law and order in the war torn areas. The Police, Courts and Local Courts need to be effective with the resources and personal on the ground.

b. Government and donor partners should support the establishment of legal aid services and strengthen those on the ground to handle legal and human rights issues affecting women and children. Professional and civil society organizations such as FIDA- Uganda and Uganda Law Society in particular need to be aided to complement government services in the delivery of justice.

c. Ensure access to justice and provide legal aid with a view of promoting gender justice to address women rights and violations.

d. Institute accountability and justice mechanisms that are gender sensitive and responsive to women’s issues.

**INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT VIS-À-VIS THE JUBA PEACE TALK**

We note with concern the controversy posed by the indictments issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC) against five top LRA/M leaders (two of whom may be deceased) for war crimes and crimes against humanity. From a legal and technical perspective although Uganda is signatory to the ICC Rome Statute it has not domesticated it into its national legislation which is in itself a lacunae that could cause serious breaches and lead to a miscarriage of justice if the ICC fails to expedite the process of indicting the top LRA commanders.

Whereas it is noble, this may stall and or cause delays in the already delicate peace process or even plunge the parties back into war. It is therefore incumbent on the parties to the talks, including the Chief Mediator and his team, to ensure that the parties develop mechanisms that conform to the principles of complementary other that those that condone impunity.

**Recommendations:**

a. Propose that Government deals with first things first, which at the moment is the Peace process. In this aspect, Government should guarantee the safety of the LRA within its spheres of operation, and, request the UN and the ICC to give the peace talks a chance by stalling their request.

b. That the Ugandan Government sets a clear framework of dealing with the political process in the peace talks and makes it a priority.

c. In addressing the gender justice question, mechanisms put in place must at all times ensure the provision of legal aid services by professional and civil society organizations as supported by Government and donor partners.

d. Establish community support to women (space for women to share their pain and experiences) and to families especially to address the Psychosocial Support Programs.

e. The need to popularize the current Peace, Conflict and Security into a national issue because at the moment it is being viewed as a “Northern” affair.

4. **DEMOBILIZATION, DISARMAMENT, RE-INTEGRATION AND RESETTLEMENT:**

A successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme is critical for the attainment of an “effective transition from war to peace” and, on the other hand, unsuccessful DDR processes can threaten the stability of peace agreements and long term sustainable peace.
Disarmament meaning the collection of weapons, should occur in assembly areas predetermined during the Peace negotiation (and this is where the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement and other subsequent addenda are important).

Demobilization is the formal disbanding of military formations and at the individual level, it is the process of releasing combatants from a mobilized state. The discharge of ex-combatants often occurs during a period of time during which they are transported to their homes and granted small initial reinsertion packages.

Re-integration has two phases namely: reinsertion and long term re-integration. Reinsertion refers to the short term period of an ex-combatant into his/her former home or a new community. Re-integration is a much longer process with a goal of ensuring permanent disarmament and sustainable peace. It includes assisting the community and ex-combatant during the difficult transition to civilian life. In this phase, former fighters may enter job placement and services, participate in skills training, credit skills, scholarships or rehabilitation programs.

In some places the international community may refer to fourth R representing Rehabilitation which encompasses difficulties such as psychological and emotional aspects of returning home, as well as problems that arise in relation to the wider community. It should be noted that nearly all DDR Programs address rehabilitation to certain extent, but DDR is the most used acronym.

Due consideration should be given to the impact of DDR on women. It is widely known that the international community and Government often overlook the impact of DDR on women as witnessed in the case of Sierra Leone. In fact the impact of returning male fighters on women and even the existence and the specific needs of female fighters have been historically overlooked. This neglect of the many but complex roles women play during conflict and war leads to a less effective, less informed DDR that does not fully extend to the community level and may not lead to long term or sustainable peace.

It is from such a background that the Coalition of Women in Peacebuilding is pointing out areas for reconstruction as follows:-

**DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION, AND REINTEGRATION (DDR) KEY FINDINGS:**

i. Women girls play complex roles during conflict. They are combatants, who carry arms and fight alongside men, and they are associated with armed forces and groups in other ways when they are abducted, forced into sexual slavery, or become “wives” of combatants.

ii. While women form only 2% of the world’s regular military forces, they are more widely represented in insurgency movements, and especially among those with lower levels of education.

iii. The fact that the proportion of women associated with armed forces and groups has not been adequately recorded affects the way in which women are treated by disarmament, demobilization and reintegration DDR programs.

iv. Many of the criteria that are put in place to enable fighters to qualify for DDR programs make it difficult for women to participate.

v. Previous DDR processes have excluded women combatants as well as “wives” and abducted girls from directed assistance. Women have been excluded because they do not have weapons.

vi. Women associated with combat groups are reluctant to identify themselves as DDR processes begin and thus miss the opportunity to benefit from them.
vii. Typically, women’s needs are overlooked in most reintegration programs.

viii. Women play a significant yet often unacknowledged role in reintegrating former fighters back into communities.

ix. Women have been most active, and gender roles most transformed, in communities that receive continuing and systematic support.

x. Women own and use small arms in smaller numbers than men and have attitudes about weapons that are radically different from men.

xi. Women have been active in launching small arms awareness campaigns.

xii. Women most affected by guns often have the best ideas about incentives to support the removal of arms from the community and can play a significant role in convincing people to surrender their weapons.

xiii. Disarmament education helps women be more assertive and involved in family decision-making processes. It also assists them in dealing with the authorities and helps them gain access to paid work.

Recommendations for designing DDR processes:

a. Ensure women’s participation in negotiations and decision making regarding DDR.

b. Include gender experts in designing, implementing, and monitoring DDR programs.

c. Consult with various social groups, including women, in designing DDR. Consult separately with women to ensure that DDR programs meet their needs.

d. Include a gender-sensitive monitoring mechanism in DDR programs.

e. Extend the definition of combatant to take into account the supporting roles played by other women associated with armed forces and groups.

f. Accept females into DDR programs when unaccompanied by men.

g. Design and implement public information programs to encourage women combatants and women associated with armed forces and groups to participate in the DDR process.

h. Ensure conformity with international standards on DDR, including following definitions:

   › Female combatants: Women and girls who participated in armed conflicts as active combatants using arms.

   › Female supporters/females associated with armed forces and groups (FAAGs): Women and girls who participated in armed conflicts in supportive roles, whether coerced or voluntarily. These women and girls are economically and socially dependent on the armed force or group for their income and social support. Examples: porters, cooks, nurses, spies, administrators, translators, radio operators, medical assistants, public information workers, camp leaders or women/girls used for sexual exploitation.

   › Female dependents: Women and girls who are part of ex-combatants’ households. They are primarily socially and financially dependent on ex-combatants, although they may also have retained other community ties. Examples: wives/war wives, children, mothers/parents, female siblings and female members of the extended family.

a. Demobilization

   › Recruit female military observers to oversee the screening process for women associated armed forces and groups.
› Ensure that cantonment sites are women-friendly—that they are safe and provide healthcare, childcare, training, etc. Establish secure centers for women, and provide health services and access to education on sites.

› Allow women combatants to report to women field workers and train support workers to recognize and address women’s needs.

› Give women the option of registering separately and obtaining separate ID cards.

› Utilize gender-disaggregated data to identify the socio-economic profile of groups.

› Allocate special funds for women and provide financial assistance to women combatants and associates separately from their male family members.

› Inform women of benefits available to them and their legal rights.

› Protect women from gender-based violence within sites and during transport home.

› Recruit and train women ex-combatants for positions in the police and security forces.

b. Reintegration

› Establish secure centers for victims of domestic violence and abuse.

› Provide access to legal aid for women to combat discrimination.

› Provide basic care and education and skills training for women emerging from fighting forces. Provide a transitional safety net to help resettled women with housing, healthcare and counseling, and offer educational support.

› Provide support to look after wounded disabled, and traumatized ex-combatants and other returnees so that women in the community are not overburdened with care-giving work.

› Develop innovative economic support systems that benefit women. Establish women only programs to encourage economic and political participation, and provide childcare to allow for women’s participation in programs.

› Offer community awareness raising programs with specific efforts directed towards women, to provide information and education about the DDR process.

**CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, we recommend that the parties:

1. Increase the participation, involvement and inclusion of women at all levels in matters of peacebuilding, conflict resolution and security.

2. Enhance participation, active involvement and inclusion of women in national development initiatives such as the implementation of the PRDP, PEAP and Economic Empowerment Development Fund.

3. Provide adequate funding for women’s participation in the ongoing Juba Peace Initiative, including subsequent interventions and outcomes.

   a. Recognize women’s role as provided for under resolution 1325 (2000) as key partners in matters of security, peacemaking and conflict resolution within the communities, at the household and national levels.

   b. Prepare women to engage in the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) at all levels right from the household, community, grassroots and national levels.
4. Put in place mechanisms at all levels for the protection of women and girls from Sexual and Gender Based Violence. This would require:
   a. Assessment of Institutional, regulatory/policy and legal frameworks to ensure their responsiveness to women’s issues.

5. Support and build capacity of women in their peacebuilding efforts especially at the grassroots levels.
   a. Fund women’s initiatives.
   b. Strengthen synergies and cohesion between national and grassroots organizations.

6. Treat the financing for women’s specific and gender concerns as a priority in the promotion and advancement of women’s participation within the context of resolution 1325 (2000).

7. Enhance security for women at all levels especially in conflict affected areas.
   b. Security of property.
   c. Addressing the rights of women to secure environment.

8. Institute monitoring and accountability mechanisms taking into consideration the gender factor.

9. Ensure that outcomes of all the Agenda items in the ongoing Juba peace talks address incorporate gender and women specific concerns.

Ensure that all protocols and the implementation framework of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement include women’s issues and provide for women’s participation in the implementation processes.
Endnotes:


3 A first version of this note was developed for the June–July 2010 United Nations ‘Open Days on Women, Peace and Security.’ These meetings between women peace activists and senior UN leaders in conflict-affected countries provided a space for women to express their views on means of resolving conflict and building peace more effectively. The first version of this note was intended to support women peace activists and civil society organizations (CSOs) in identifying issues of common concern and proposing actions for consideration in order to improve international, regional and national efforts to protect women and promote peace. See the report from the Open Days: ‘Women Count for Peace: The 2010 Open Days for Women, Peace and Security,’ UNIFEM, DPKO, UNDP and DPA, September 2010.


7 See http://www.stoprapenow.org/.


10 See http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/8258_afghan_women_share_recommendations_with_international_donors.cfm

11 Source: www.peacewomen.org/resources/Sudan/Womens_Priorities.doc

12 Source: http://www.unicef.org/sowc07/docs/sowc07_panel_4_3.pdf

13 While the majority insisted on this formulation, there was a minority that would have preferred ‘violence against women in all its forms’.

14 Source: Uganda Women’s Coalition for Peace Five Point Agenda, 2006