SCR 1325 and Women's Participation:
Operational Guidelines
for Conflict Resolution
and Peace Processes
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Operational Guidelines for Conflict Resolution and Peace Processes
Initiative on Quiet Diplomacy

The Initiative on Quiet Diplomacy (IQd) seeks to address the root and proximate causes of violent conflict – before they escalate into violence – by helping develop institutions in regional, sub-regional and other inter-governmental organizations, providing key actors with tools and techniques to identify, assess and respond to recurring issues in conflict situations, and supporting and facilitating dialogue and mediation processes.

IQd brings normative and security perspectives to the development of effective institutions at inter-governmental, national and local levels to help peacefully mediate the differences that can lead to tensions in any diverse society. Our value-added is knowledge of recurring issues in conflict situations, and experience developing and implementing responses via a quiet diplomatic approach that bridges the gap between norms and action.

IQd is working to achieve a just and stable world without violent conflict, in which individuals and groups can peacefully reconcile their interests, enjoy their rights, satisfy their needs, and pursue social and economic development.

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Foreword

United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) is a landmark which has inspired considerable discussion, study, reflection and action. Its impetus and promise are laudable and vital – a matter, prima facie, of global consensus. Yet ten years after its adoption and broad dissemination, the evidence indicates modest change of practice ... indeed, in some respects there have been set-backs. The challenge, thus, is to scrutinize the provisions and the practice with a view to overcoming obstacles and narrowing the gaps and, thereby, achieving progressively changes in practice that may generate momentum and better outcomes for sustainable peace and development.

In pursuit of the effective implementation of SCR 1325, it seems less and less necessary to explain why, when or where (or even who exactly), but more important to answer the persistent question of ‘how’. This is a matter of operationalization. It is to this challenge that the present guidelines respond in a hopefully clear and practical manner. Specifically, these guidelines take up one part of SCR 1325 which seems key to other progress, notably the need to achieve better representation and participation of women in peace processes.

From personal experience, the literal or virtual absence of women in peace processes is startling. It seems that not only war, but also peacemaking are men’s worlds, despite the established fact that women bear heavily the consequences of both. From personal experience, I have also noted that when women do participate in peace processes, it is often apparent that the processes change in atmosphere, method and conduct and sometimes with regard to issues on the agenda. Universally, it seems, men tend to change their own behavior when women are present, and more so when women actively participate. These changes, sometimes perhaps minor, are for the better ... and better peace processes can only be good. Leaving aside the many important specificities of any situation and process, it seems in principle that a better process will contribute to a better, more durable peace. As such, even without adding or emphasizing the inherent value of women’s experiences, perspectives and interests, the effective participation of women in peace processes holds an irrefutably instrumental value.

John Packer
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Introduction

The October 2000 adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) was celebrated as a defining achievement for women’s peace and security on a global scale. This landmark legal and political framework acknowledged the impact of conflict on women, and the importance of the participation of women and inclusion of gender perspectives in decision-making, conflict resolution and peace processes, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding.

With the arrival of the resolution’s ten-year commemorative anniversary, attention has shifted from policy and planning to critical analysis of progress and impact. At this stage, considered reflection is merited to assess how and to what extent the international community has translated the language and aspirations of SCR 1325 into action. One fundamental question is whether the resolution’s potential as a useful operational tool has been realized. Current practice strongly suggests that it has not.

SCR 1325 has four key thematic areas: participation, protection, prevention, and mainstreaming of a gender perspective. This publication focuses on participation. It aims to provide an easily accessible ‘how to’ reference, in the form of operational guidelines for key actors, to enhance the participation of women in conflict resolution and peace processes. It identifies areas of policy and practice, measures and activities to promote women’s involvement specifically in dialogue, mediation, peace processes and related activities for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. It also highlights examples of women’s representation and participation in specific situations, and seeks to identify what has worked and what has not. Options, challenges and policy-relevant recommendations are presented to inform good practice and maximize women’s meaningful involvement in the indicated areas.

The target audience includes policy and decision-makers in government, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, community and civil society actors, official and non-official mediators and other intermediaries (so-called ‘third parties’), and the professional staff that support their work.

The publication seeks generally to capture current discourse, practice and trends in this specific area, and to contribute to the further advancement of other approaches to achieving meaningful implementation of the provisions of SCR 1325. Given the level of support and awareness raised over the past ten years, the question is no longer whether to support the enhancement of women’s participation, but how most effectively to achieve it.
Summary Guidelines

The following summary of recommendations addresses key areas of policy and practice to enhance women’s participation in dialogue, mediation and peace processes. It should be noted that the distinctions drawn between various areas, and indeed between ‘policy’ and ‘practice’ themselves, are made with the understanding that some may in reality mix and overlap.

**GUIDELINES FOR POLICY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Area</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership positions</td>
<td>• Identify individuals representing women in a peace process and begin active support and guidance at an early stage.</td>
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<td>• Develop mentor programs for early/mid-career women with senior mediators and negotiators.</td>
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<td>• IGOs should establish targets and actively recruit women for mid- and senior level positions.</td>
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<td>• Assess how quotas have been used in peace processes, agreements and post-conflict societies to increase women's participation and to what effect.</td>
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<td>• Assess and proactively address real and potential negative perceptions about quotas.</td>
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<td>Developing knowledge and skills</td>
<td>• Establish a network of women who have received training in dialogue, mediation, negotiation, team building, and communication strategies.</td>
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<td>• Develop a roster of experienced women practitioners to serve as intermediaries and mentors, develop skills, deliver trainings, etc..</td>
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<td>• Develop practical, accessible resources for training and reference to reach and develop the knowledge and skills of women who are otherwise unable to attend formal trainings.</td>
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<td>Valuing women's experience</td>
<td>• Identify the skills, abilities, and knowledge that women develop informally and determine how to transfer these to the negotiating table and other areas.</td>
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<td>• Develop methods, training and work programs to enable the continued meaningful involvement of pregnant and lactating mothers and mothers of young children.</td>
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<td>• Introduce structures and measures that encourage men to take on more family responsibility.</td>
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<td>Coordination</td>
<td>• Build local partnerships and collective approaches, such as community-based projects in cooperation with women’s organizations, community groups and others.</td>
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<td>• Develop and support processes of consultation, dialogue and information dissemination to inform stakeholders of different interests and ensure equal voice and participation.</td>
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| Protection and security | • Increase physical protection for women in both official and non-official processes.  
| | • Consider needs and resources for all involved in peace talks regardless of gender, and ensure sufficient funding is allocated for this purpose throughout the process. |
| Access and power dynamics | • Leverage gender considerations by demonstrating how gender priorities directly affect other components of the peace agreement and peacebuilding process.  
| | • Create links between the mediation team and civil society women’s groups and establish a forum for informal dialogue and sharing of perceptions, priorities and expectations. |
| Resource allocation and support | • Guarantee specific funding allocation to support women’s participation throughout the process.  
| | • Full participation of women should be a prerequisite, established by the UN Security Council, for UN-led negotiations and support to peace processes.  
| | • In principle, UN Member States should refuse to fund or support any UN-sponsored peace negotiations that do not have women as meaningful participants at the table. |
| Monitoring and evaluation | • Create guidelines for monitoring the impact of peace agreements, adherence to agreed standards, commitments and timelines, and measures to ensure compliance.  
<p>| | • Review progress, according to monitored measurements, on an annual basis and take steps to stimulate forward movement (i.e. increases in effective participation) and to stop backsliding. |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Type of Engagement</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
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| Consultation            | • Third-party actors should plan and pursue formal and informal consultative activities for information-gathering and develop links with and between actors at different levels.  
• Define aims of consultation(s) and identify a representative group of participants.   
• Women leaders and organizations should prepare talking points, actively pursue opportunities to participate, and propose permanent consultative mechanisms. |
| Confidence-building     | • Use consultations and conflict analysis to identify 'low-hanging fruit', the low-risk and relatively easy issues to address. Include if possible a tractable gender-specific concern.   
• Use confidence-building measures to integrate women into the earliest stages of a process. |
| Facilitation, mediation and negotiation | • Intermediaries should seek technical support through the appointment of a gender focal point or gender advisor to their team to identify points of entry and liaise between women's organizations and the various parties in the process.  
• Intermediaries should to the extent possible seek to ensure women's presence among representatives of conflict parties.   
• Women's groups and civil society organizations should seek out and offer to assist the third-party actor and facilitation/mediation/negotiation team(s).   
• Governments and IGOs should reflect on recent UN peacekeeping practice (all-women police forces in PKO) and assemble all-women mediation teams with a mandate to engage parties in conflict and pre-conflict situations. |
| Implementation          | • Women at community level should continue to lobby local, national and international implementing agencies for a voice in policy and project decisions.   
• Intermediaries should seek to secure concrete plans for policy, procedural and other measures to address key issues, and seek guarantees of women's involvement in their implementation with the commensurate resources. |
| Technical advice and assistance | • Women representatives should be engaged as technical advisors around gender and other issues of concern which relate to the peace process.   
• International experts should identify opportunities for direct operational support to women in non-official processes, and to empower women to participate in official processes.   
• Third-party actors and international experts should carefully assess and devise strategies to address the resistance of men to women's involvement in peace processes. |
| Monitoring and evaluation | • Informal monitoring and evaluation networks of women should be developed with links to relevant official institutions and non-governmental organizations. |
1. **Approach**

There are normative and instrumental arguments for the participation of women and incorporation of a gender perspective in dialogue, mediation and peace processes. From a normative perspective, the meaningful involvement of women is a fundamental political right and a goal in itself, regardless of outcomes. From an instrumental perspective, women constitute half of the population, with particular experience and valuable perspectives, and their participation is essential to the success and sustainability of any process. Neither rationale is mutually exclusive, and both should inform appropriate action.

What is perhaps most important is that peace agreements set the parameters for political, economic, security and socio-cultural reforms in a post-conflict society. Support for, and local ownership of agreements and their implementation will be broadest when women contribute to defining these parameters and help identify the roles they may play to support the transition to peace. There is also a social justice dimension to women’s empowerment in peace processes, particularly when inequality, discrimination and exclusion from political power are root causes of the conflict. Negotiating the peace exclusive of the needs, interests or priorities of half the population, and failing to recognize how gender inequalities may have contributed to, or been impacted by, the conflict may jeopardize the sustainability of the process. Outcomes which represent the concerns of women, their families and communities are more likely to be just, credible and sustainable. Positive peace is peace that benefits the whole population and becomes self-generating.

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Consistent with other guides for practitioners developed by the Initiative on Quiet Diplomacy (IQd), the approach and recommendations presented in this publication derive from three principal sources: comparative practice; various normative frameworks, particularly human rights; and good governance.  

**Comparative practice**: While contexts and situations may differ, precluding universal policy prescriptions, useful lessons can be drawn from past practice. The publication provides brief examples (as opposed to detailed case studies) to indicate key issues and effective and ineffective approaches for further investigation.

**Human rights**: Given the diversity of contexts and practice, a general normative framework can be identified for the application of basic principles for the inclusion of women in dialogue, mediation, peace processes and similar activities. The system of human rights sets some useful parameters for, inter alia, gender equality, equal participation and non-discrimination, provides a basis for discussion, and can indicate benchmarks for policy and procedures.

**Good governance**: Basic principles of good governance call for the equal and meaningful participation of women in all aspects of public life, and experience shows inclusiveness promotes sustainable outcomes of peace processes. Just as governing institutions should create comparable conditions and equal opportunities, official processes should provide equal access.
1.1. General principles for women's participation

A number of general principles should guide policy development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, as well as practice, with regard to women's participation and representation.

- The involvement of women should begin at the earliest stages of engagement and continue in a meaningful manner through all phases of dialogue, mediation and negotiation, and subsequent implementation and evaluation of policy measures, legislation and programs. Women should be represented among third-party intermediaries (i.e. envoys, mediators, advisors, etc.), conflict parties, and other affected groups.

- Women representing communities should be selected by those communities, through their own decision-making procedures and representative institutions, where they exist and to the extent possible.

- Policy measures, consultative processes, dialogue and other engagements should reflect the diversity within groups and communities (i.e. gender, ethnicity, class, caste, language, religion, socio-economic status and political affiliation).

- Confidence-building measures may be needed to de-escalate tensions and (re)establish trust before consultation and dialogue between parties is possible. Each step presents opportunities to include women and each is fundamental to a successful peace process.

- The development of knowledge and skills can assist women to articulate the causes of, and propose effective responses to, the problems they face and otherwise contribute to the content and direction of dialogue, mediation and negotiation processes. Women can benefit from a deeper understanding of potential decisions, their implementation and effects.

1.2. Other considerations

In addition to the principles to be observed when seeking to involve and engage women, other factors to consider in promoting effective participation include:

- Community-centered approaches designed to meet people on their own terms, facilitate their own identification and analysis of their needs, draw on existing roles and relationships, and develop ‘home grown’ solutions help promote ownership and ‘buy-in’.

- Arrangements for the meaningful participation of women must be sufficiently flexible that they can evolve and adapt to changing group structures and relations.

- Incremental processes and implementation of agreements, policies and measures facilitate ongoing assessment and adjustment.

- Ongoing review is essential for the evaluation, modification, enhancement and effectiveness of measures and processes.
2. Achieving Enhanced Participation: Policy

POLICY FRAMEWORK: SCR 1325

SCR 1325 marked the most significant progress to date to make questions of gender, peace and security for, about, and relevant to women. The resolution developed a broad agenda that touches upon multiple sectors and UN institutions. With its adoption, a barrier was broken in acknowledging a link between international peace and security and the promotion of women’s rights.1 The evolution and development of policy, practice, procedures, tools and materials have advanced significantly across sectors in the intervening years.

While the resolution remains the cornerstone to calls for support for gender equality from the international community, and for the commitment to protection and security of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, it continues to face challenges of implementation. The lack of progress and impact in some areas encourages an objective assessment of how and to what extent policies and activities to date have increased the inclusion of women and gender perspectives in peace processes, consistent protection for women and girls, and women’s involvement at all levels. A decade after its adoption, motivation to establish a new generation of gender accountability has renewed momentum for action.

Women’s participation in conflict resolution and peace processes has a particular meaning in the context of SCR 1325 which is indicated in the first three operational clauses of the resolution. Participation is called for at all levels and in all sectors of activities, encompassing senior leadership and decision-making positions in, and the relevant activities of, inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), grassroots and civil society organizations (CSOs), and international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The three operational clauses are as follows:

The Security Council

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

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

3. Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster.
Security Council Resolution 1325 seeks to establish a more equitable gender balance by increasing the diversity of women’s roles and representation so that their interests, concerns, and needs are better integrated into decisions and agreements. Equitable representation is meant to ensure adequate attention to these issues, and to bring about concrete outcomes around gender concerns. In addition to this instrumental function, representation can also serve as a measure by which the UN and other institutions can monitor the integration of women into senior level and other positions of influence.

Though not explicitly stated, the call for increased participation must be understood to mean meaningful and substantive, not simply representative, and much less token, participation. Simply ensuring women are present does not guarantee their influence or an active role. As such, the presence of women must be accompanied by access and/or mechanisms that enable them to impact processes and decisions. This is to be contrasted with representation, which indicates numerical presence. This is not unimportant, but if it is not empowered representation it cannot be considered meaningful participation. It is therefore necessary to identify first if women are at the table, and, second, whether and to what extent they are able to bring issues of concern forward to be heard and considered. Participation therefore requires appropriate knowledge and skills on the part of the women involved to effectively engage and develop the confidence of other parties, and influence processes and outcomes.

**KEY POLICY AREAS**

With SCR 1325 providing the general international policy framework, a variety of challenges exist in specific policy areas. Systemic problems are perhaps the most intractable, including institutionalized inequality of opportunity within groups, communities and organizations, and systematic gender-based discrimination across societies. Women generally enjoy fewer rights and more limited access to, and influence upon, the processes and decisions which shape society and institutions. This has obvious and significant repercussions for the operationalization of SCR 1325 in the practice of conflict prevention, management and resolution. Political will remains insufficient to change cultural and other traditions and beliefs, and to dedicate necessary resources. Preparation, in particular relevant knowledge and skills, is also an issue in many places, and protection and security may be particularly problematic for women. Each can present additional obstacles to their meaningful participation in dialogue, mediation and peace processes. Moreover, addressing such systemic problems generally takes time.

The following are key areas for policy measures to ensure, increase and enhance the effective participation of women. Each policy area is accompanied by a brief description of the issue to be addressed, existing obstacles to effective measures, and related recommendations. Where possible, examples of notable practice – both effective and ineffective – are provided to illustrate the application and results of specific measures, and for further reference.

**2.1. Leadership positions**

**ISSUE**

There is a dramatic absence of women in leadership and other high-level positions within the UN, other inter-governmental organizations, and government. By one account, the number of women in senior positions is actually declining in spite of policy development and advocacy. Underrepresentation of women remains particularly acute in most peace
and security sectors, including among decision-makers, third-party intermediaries, and conflict parties in peace processes. As a result, women's perspectives, needs and interests are often excluded from peace agreements. The following figures are indicative of the current state of women’s leadership in decision-making positions:

- The 30% minimum quota for women in decision-making positions, agreed by the world’s governments in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, remains unachieved in most international and national bodies.
- In the UN system, women currently hold only 6.5% of senior positions in the area of peace and security. Of the 30 current Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSGs) and Deputy SRSGs, only nine are women: five female SRSGs and four Deputy SRSGs. Less than one-third (nine of 30) of other high-level appointments of the Secretary-General are women. No woman has ever been appointed lead mediator in UN-sponsored peace talks.
- Although the recently created post of High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is held by a woman, the EU counts no women among its current or former Special Representatives (EUSRs), senior diplomats who are often mandated to act as intermediaries in conflict or potential conflict situations.
- The Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the high-level decision-making body for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, currently has no female members.

**OBSTACLES**

Inequality, gender bias, discrimination and power dynamics continue to pose significant obstacles to women’s leadership and participation. Indeed, UNIFEM has noted decreases in women’s participation among high-level officials and at the grassroots level since the adoption of SCR 1325. Women who have taken part in peace processes claim it is not uncommon for senior male negotiators to exclude them from formal negotiations. A broader problem is that the focus of formal peace agreements on ending violence addresses, and often empowers, the men who perpetrated it (including in many cases gender-based violence), while women continue to struggle for their right to sit at the table.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Identify individuals representing women in a peace process and begin active support and guidance at an early stage to nurture their learning and develop experience and skills.
- Develop mentor programs between early/mid-career women and senior mediators and negotiators.
- IGOs should establish targets and actively recruit women for mid- and senior level positions.

**2.2. Quotas**

**ISSUE**

In response to the continuing underrepresentation of women in leadership and decision-making positions, gender quotas have been used as a mechanism to guarantee and
improve women's representation in the political sphere. Electoral quotas, for example, can be seen as a measure to compensate for structural discrimination against women. In peace processes, enhancing effective participation requires an assessment of the reasons women are not at the negotiating table in any given situation. There may be political, social and practical obstacles which must be identified and addressed.

If we recognize that barriers exist which prevent women from entering the realm of politics or gaining access to an official negotiation, then quotas can be understood not as discriminating against men, but rather as necessary positive measures to overcome unequal opportunity. When obstructions are removed, it is argued, quotas will no longer be necessary. A UNIFEM study concluded that quotas cannot guarantee the emergence of a ‘gender perspective’ in the political process, although such a perspective may develop when a critical mass of women are in decision-making positions. Quotas must be viewed as a temporary solution to redress gender imbalance and they should not replace long-term strategies.

**OBSTACLES**

Gender-based quotas can become purely symbolic (and so not acted upon) or women may be given token positions without real decision-making ability or power. Quotas may also prove disempowering or otherwise counterproductive to the extent that they may create perceptions of unfair ‘positive discrimination’, and may lead to reactions against them (and/or the women). Perhaps more damaging is the perception of ‘token women’, such that women may in the end be seen to have gained their positions as a result of quotas and not for their qualifications, talents and contributions.

**NOTABLE PRACTICE**

1. The recent Kenyan peace process established a quota which led to 25% representation of women on the negotiation teams. For this reason it is cited as an example of good practice to ensure participation. Indeed this was a higher than average level of participation, but a more important consideration is whether the women were truly representative of their communities and women’s needs and interests. Members of INGO observer organizations challenge the assumption that greater numbers of women indicates better representation.

2. Sudan’s National Elections Act, a result of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, stipulated that women should hold a minimum of 25% of seats in Parliament. Today, through the implementation of this Act, women hold 31% of the seats in the Southern Sudanese Regional Legislative Assembly.

3. Quotas were introduced in the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994 and resulted in 27% representation of women. Parties determine quotas internally, and women today hold 44.5% of the permanent seats in the lower house of parliament, and 30% in the upper house.

4. A 30% quota was implemented in Kosovo for women in politics, however, it did not apply to positions at the decision-making level and thus women filled positions with little or no authority.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Assess how quotas have been used in peace processes, agreements and post-conflict societies to increase women’s participation and to what effect, and determine: how and to what extent quotas have been developed, implemented
and managed over time; whether and how they have improved representation and enabled women to attain decision-making positions; and the nature of the community response to the quotas.

- Assess and proactively address real and potential negative perceptions, including by informing leaders and the public about why quotas are necessary and beneficial.
- If quotas are used, they should apply to all levels of decision-making.

2.3. Developing knowledge and skills

**ISSUE**

Effective participation in dialogue, mediation and peace processes requires specific knowledge and skills. Women’s associations and organizations can benefit from outside support to prepare themselves to participate in the various stages of formal and informal processes through activities such as national consultations, formation of networks, and capacity-building consultations, trainings and workshops. Knowledge of terminology, concepts, issues and areas of concern – as they are likely to be presented, for example, by an outside third party – enables women to communicate effectively and garner respect and support for their views, interests and agenda.

**OBSTACLES**

Women frequently complete fewer years of education and are less likely to have the opportunities men have for external trainings and professional learning. Access to trainings, workshops, and resources remains difficult for most women for a variety of reasons including: the high cost of attending such programs; the significant time commitment; and the distance from home. In many cases, women who might benefit from such opportunities are unaware they exist. Yet without developing basic knowledge and skills relating to conflict resolution, negotiation theory and practice, and comparative situations and recurrent problems, women may, even if involved, fail to contribute meaningfully to a process. At the same time, there is among senior officials, high-level mediators and other key actors a significant lack of knowledge of the needs and concerns of women at community level, and of the content of SCR 1325 and approaches to incorporate its provisions into peace processes.

**NOTABLE PRACTICE**

1. **Training women for the negotiation table:** Club de Madrid’s Women’s Leadership for Peace and Security program, in the Horn of Africa, found that their female program participants needed to train and rehearse before going to the table and speaking confidently. Participants in the program received training in lobbying, advocacy, conflict resolution and team building, issue analysis, messaging, and policy terminology. Similarly, in Nepal, the Swiss Special Advisor to Peacebuilding engaged Nepali women in capacity-building seminars and trainings in negotiation, mediation, bargaining styles and approaches with the goal of bringing women to the negotiation table.

2. **Skill-building among women leaders, advocates and practitioners:** Various organizations, including The International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), The Institute for Inclusive Security (IIS), Club de Madrid, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre), and Harvard University’s Program on Negotiation, have created opportunities for dialogue between female negotiators, leaders and community advocates through trainings and workshops focused on building skills. Participants have gained access to
information and tools that were otherwise unavailable or inaccessible to them. Skills and experiences include: leveraging links between women in civil society and political spheres around mediation processes; making better use of national, regional and international mechanisms to improve women’s representation in mediation; strengthening women’s knowledge and capacity to shape and sustain policy; conflict resolution; and lobbying, advocacy and speaking confidently and communicating effectively with greater topic fluency.

3. Enhancing knowledge of SCR 1325: A Joint Strategy between UNIFEM and the UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA) around gender and mediation seeks to identify and train women mediators and increase the availability and quality of gender expertise for mediation processes. The Joint Strategy identified and has attempted to address through workshops and discussions between women mediators the knowledge gap among high-level mediators around SCR 1325 and how to incorporate its provisions into peace processes. However, communication and dialogue for this purpose remains infrequent and largely ad hoc. The Joint Strategy also includes the prospective development of guidelines and practical tools for mediators.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Establish a network of women who have received training in dialogue, mediation, negotiation, team building, and communication strategies.

• Develop a roster of experienced women practitioners to serve as intermediaries and mentors, develop skills, deliver trainings, etc.

• Develop inexpensive, accessible, practical resources for use as training and reference tools to enable local women who have been trained to continue to educate and train other women, individuals and organizations, thereby reaching a large number of women who are otherwise unable to participate in formal trainings.

2.4. Valuing women’s experience

ISSUE

The responsibility of raising a family falls most often on women and can have a significant impact on their professional qualifications, perceived expertise, and availability. Children and family are frequently viewed as compromising a woman’s ability to progress from mid- to senior-level positions within national and international institutions. For this reason, women often postpone the start of a family or forego family altogether in pursuit of a career.

Women are often decision-makers and mediators within the home and in informal situations and settings. They tend to have real ‘hands-on’ experience in building trust, enabling dialogue, and mediating differences – gained through daily interactions within their families and communities. This knowledge and skill is frequently dismissed due to its informal nature.

OBSTACLES

Standards used to evaluate and promote men and women disproportionately penalize women and thereby inhibit their attainment of leadership positions. Also, there are many women involved in community-based peacebuilding endeavors, but their experiences,
knowledge and skills are not sufficiently valued or considered relevant or appropriate for official positions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Identify the skills, abilities, and knowledge that women develop informally and determine how to transfer these to the negotiating table and other areas.
• Develop methods, training and work programs to enable the continued meaningful involvement of pregnant and lactating mothers and mothers of young children.
• Introduce structures and measures that encourage men to take on more family responsibility, e.g. paternity leave in IGOs.

2.5. Coordination

ISSUE 1: COORDINATION BETWEEN OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL ACTORS IN PEACE PROCESSES

Linkages between official and non-official processes do not always exist and have not always been deemed necessary or useful. Past practice at official, or ‘Track I’, level often left the interests of non-official actors for brief consideration in the final days of a process. It is now understood that interaction and ‘cross track’ communication encourages a common agenda and more cohesive representation and consideration of interests. Experience – and logic – suggests that the involvement of grassroots and civil society actors, and consideration and inclusion of their agendas, enhances the prospects of fully representative agreements.

OBSTACLES

Demonstrating the practical benefits and establishing sufficient confidence and trust to enable meaningful linkages between civil society and participants in formal peace talks remains difficult.

NOTABLE PRACTICE

The IIS convened in 2007 a consultation on the ongoing peace talks in Uganda which helped create new links between negotiating teams and women civil society observers around women’s effectiveness in the negotiations.

Coordination in practice: Sudan

A partnership between the Government of Norway, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and UNIFEM contributed to women’s active participation in the Abuja Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks in Darfur. A process of engagement was initiated to ensure consideration of women’s issues in peacebuilding and development. Together with the Joint Assessment Mission for Sudan (JAM) – led by the UN with support from the African Union, World Bank, Norway and other donors – and the Oslo Donors’ Conference, Sudanese women had an unprecedented level of support to advance the women, peace and security agenda in the country. The Norwegian Government took a leading role in facilitating dialogue among Sudanese women by convening conferences and providing platforms where they could articulate their priorities and recommendations.

Outcome: With their close involvement in the lead-up to the 2005 signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), Norway supported and sought to enhance the participation of women. However, in the end, the only female signatory to the DPA, and the only woman at the table, was the representative of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. In this case, the peace agreement did not hold. (Goetz. 2009.)
Lessons: While women's presence was notable during these talks, their ability to engage and present their interests was limited. The perception during the peace talks of women as victims rather than actors or facilitators of change contributed to their marginalization. It has been argued that although women were nominated to the delegation, they were left out of the actual discussions and not given adequate time to prepare a common women's peace agenda.

ISSUE 2: COORDINATION OF ACTION TO IMPLEMENT SCR 1325

Criticism over the general lack of operational coherence for implementing SCR 1325 provisions is common among gender experts and others working to implement the resolution's agenda. The failure to coordinate resonates within the UN system and affects the broader international community of IGOs, NGOs, national and local entities.

It is argued that the patchwork of interventions is falling short of goals not for a lack of integrity, but for insufficient long-term commitment and political will to ensure coordinated efforts.

A more systematic approach in the form of comprehensive, coherent and coordinated action is needed to achieve the goals of the women, peace and security framework. Though prior approaches, expectations, and outcomes have varied greatly, there is consensus that a more robust, coordinated approach is needed to ensure necessary steps are taken and political will is sufficient for further implementation of SCR 1325.

OBSTACLES

Initiatives are not systematically coordinated by international or governmental institutions, and measures have therefore often failed to deliver meaningful benefits for women. Progress at community level has been ad hoc and largely driven by civil society and women's groups, acting in response to needs and issues as they arise and informing their experience, but without broader support.

NOTABLE PRACTICE

1. In response to SCR 1325 provisions urging action at national level, governments are developing National Action Plans (NAPs), documents in which they outline planned activities to achieve the resolution's aims through a policy implementation strategy informed by gender issues and considerations. Once drafted, NAPs provide a focal point for linking civil society groups with government entities and encourage the development of a common agenda towards sustainable peace. Building political will, determining responsibilities, and establishing accountability, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms remain significant challenges, but NAPs have the potential to serve as an important tool for direct action, coordination and support for implementation. To date, 18 countries have adopted NAPs, and many others are reportedly in the process of drafting plans.

2. A Civil Society Advisory Group (CSAG) was established in 2010 to advise the UN High-Level Steering Committee for the 10th Anniversary of UNSCR 1325. Co-chaired by Mary Robinson and Executive Director of Femmes Africa Solidarité, Bineta Diop, and comprised of gender experts linked with grassroots and civil society networks, the committee seeks to enhance implementation of SCR 1325, and enable closer coordination, engagement, support and reflection on how official and non-official actors can turn policy into meaningful outcomes. CSAG members bring forward civil society interests and concerns from women across the globe.
RECOMMENDATIONS

• Build local partnerships and collective approaches, such as community-based projects in cooperation with women’s organizations, community groups and others, especially ‘hard to reach’ groups (within groups).
• Processes of consultation, dialogue and information dissemination can be particularly useful for informing stakeholders of different interests and ensuring equal voice and participation.
• Create linkages, develop trust and rapport early to draw on the power and knowledge of communities, and involve their representatives throughout the peace process.
• Develop communication, engagement and partnerships between civil society and official leadership to determine interventions concerning women and girls in conflict-affected communities.

2.6. Protection and security

ISSUE
Women often approach the negotiating table under the threat of violence, without the security afforded official delegations, which generally receive far greater protections and assurances than those who represent the affected population. Many women who participate either through a parallel process or formal negotiations risk their personal security in order to represent the interests and needs of women and of their communities.

OBSTACLES
In these instances, women often rely on their reputation, transparency and credibility within local communities for protection. Nevertheless, many women who attempt to become involved find themselves labeled and their families threatened, without protective support mechanisms. These insecurities preclude many women, and the issues they would introduce, from reaching the table. The issues may as a result remain unaddressed and/or only approached after the agreement has been signed, often as a thematic issue to be treated later, and without direct accountability for implementation.

NOTABLE PRACTICE
In Sierra Leone, women’s visibility and participation in informal peace processes left them vulnerable to targeted attacks from rebel groups. In Uganda, women risked their lives and informally acted as intermediaries among members of the Lord’s Resistance Army, travelling to LRA camps without protection in the midst of a conflict.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Increase physical protection for women in both official and non-official processes.
• Consider needs and resources (such as translators, escorts, advance materials, etc.), for all involved in peace talks regardless of gender, and ensure sufficient funding is allocated for this purpose throughout the process.
2.7. Access and power dynamics

ISSUE

Women representatives of civil society and women’s organizations tend not to have a place in official peace processes, but rather participate in parallel, non-official dialogue, conferences and meetings. They depend on an invitation to make formal presentations of their agenda in the official forum, which leaves them without bargaining power and leverage to ensure the agenda is considered. Their access is limited and contingent.

At the same time, power is an overriding concern for many parties at the table, and is often a central issue in negotiations. The needs and interests of women and affected communities are of secondary importance. Indeed gender concerns frequently appear as an addendum to the formal agreement, to be addressed (eventually) but neither signed nor legally binding.

OBSTACLES

Access to mediation teams and formal processes remains extremely limited for women, and their concerns are not often directly written into a peace agreement. Implementation of relevant measures is therefore less certain. Power dynamics, and the short-term goal of ending and avoiding violence, continue to strongly favor the role and contribution of men.

NOTABLE PRACTICE

Female leaders from a conference convened by the HD Centre cited the need for guarantees that women’s issues be directly incorporated into the official process, not addressed in an ad hoc post-agreement manner.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Leverage gender considerations by demonstrating how gender priorities directly affect other components of the peace agreement and peacebuilding process.
• Create links between the mediation team and civil society women’s groups and establish a forum for informal dialogue and sharing of perceptions, priorities and expectations.

2.8. Resource allocation and support

ISSUE

Women who are not part of official delegations to peace negotiations may lack the resources to attend the negotiations either as observers or in other informal capacities. Representatives for women’s organizations are frequently unable to participate in peace processes due to a lack of funding. Key actors and institutions with sufficient influence and capacity could support women’s participation and affect change by refusing to take part in a process if women and gender issues are not included.

OBSTACLES

Financial resources and donor support for gender priorities in peace processes remain limited. Rhetoric is not matched by budgets, and funding for specific interventions around gender, peace and security remains insufficient to fulfill objectives. A lack of resources to
support women’s efforts at an early stage can preclude their effective participation in agenda setting, and constitutes a significant challenge to their sustained involvement. Limited funding and outside support can also jeopardize implementation of an agreement and lead to a loss of gains that may have been made during negotiations or in an agreement. Parties and institutions may backslide and not uphold commitments related to SCR 1325. Donors accordingly have a key role to play.

**NOTABLE PRACTICE**

Donors have particular, and in many cases potentially effective, leverage to insist on the integration and fulfillment of SCR 1325 objectives by mediators and conflict parties.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Guarantee the allocation of specific funding to support women’s participation throughout the peace process.
- Full participation of women should be a prerequisite, established by the UN Security Council, for UN-led negotiations and support to peace processes.
- In principle, UN Member States should refuse to fund or support any UN-sponsored peace negotiations that do not have women as leading participants at the table.

### Resource constraints in practice: Aceh

Women failed to receive funding and assistance from the Government of Indonesia or the international community to participate in the Aceh negotiations in 2005. They were largely absent from the process and continue to remain absent from peacebuilding activities and decision-making. Acehnese women’s appeals for support went unmet.

### 2.9. Monitoring and evaluation

**ISSUE**

Mechanisms for accountability, enforcement, monitoring and evaluation remain weak and/or underutilized. The dearth of measurable outcomes for SCR 1325 make it difficult to assess the actual impact of the resolution, and at the same time facilitate backsliding on implementation. Reviews conducted for the tenth anniversary have further highlighted this inadequacy and generated momentum for the development of systematic monitoring mechanisms. Although few such mechanisms are currently in place, the recent adoption of global indicators for tracking and monitoring the progress of SCR 1325 is expected to advance this effort.

**OBSTACLES**

In the absence of strong global monitoring, evaluation and accountability measures, the true impact of initiatives and processes remains largely unknown. This has been a central criticism of SCR 1325. Assessment of progress remains slow and baseline data is limited. The lack of measurable benchmarks has also hindered identification of approaches for moving forward.
NOTABLE PRACTICE

Paragraph 17 of SCR 1889 (2009) called upon the Secretary-General to propose a set of indicators on SCR 1325 which could be used to track and monitor the implementation of SCR 1325. This provision laid the groundwork for a common basis for reporting to be used by the UN, Member States, international and national organizations.

The UN anticipates that if a common set of indicators are in place, they could enable a common, transparent review and evaluation, and serve as an early warning mechanism. Indicators could inform and assist the improvement of programming, project management and decision-making by providing a uniform measure to inform stakeholders, to enable greater consistency and accountability, and to identify points for action.

In response to the call for a monitoring mechanism, a Technical Working Group on Global Indicators for Resolution 1325 (TWGGI 1325) was established, with UNIFEM serving as the technical lead. Comprised of 15 entities, the TWGGI 1325 consulted with various civil society organizations, UN agencies and Member States to develop common indicators.

Their efforts resulted in the identification of four thematic areas: prevention; participation; protection; and relief and recovery. These four areas reflect the aims of SCR 1325, with each indicator linked to a specific goal in the resolution.

Seven of the indicators can be used to monitor women’s participation, or lack thereof, and will hopefully contribute to a more accurate understanding of the progress being made in this area.

In cooperation with offices for the national implementation of SCR 1325, Member States are encouraged to incorporate the indicators into their National Action Plans (NAPs). Linking global indicators with NAPs is one method to encourage national governments to establish similar measures of accountability and advance effective implementation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Create guidelines for monitoring the impact of peace agreements, adherence to agreed standards, commitments and timelines, and measures to ensure compliance.

• Review progress, according to monitored measurements, on an annual basis and take steps to stimulate forward movement (i.e. increases in effective participation) and to stop backsliding.
3. Achieving Enhanced Participation: Practice

Peace processes are given particular attention in SCR 1325 because they provide one of the first opportunities to transform institutions, structures and relationships within societies emerging from conflict, and accordingly often set the foundations of the post-conflict political and economic order. Official processes generally lead to the signing of a formal peace agreement which can determine arrangements for sharing political power, and priorities and policies for economic reconstruction, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups, and access to land and resources. Non-official processes also play a fundamental role in, inter alia, identifying issues and priorities, confidence-building and reconciliation.

Involvement that begins early provides the greatest chance for engagement and inclusion of women at the negotiation table, and incorporation of gender priorities in the broader peace process. Experience has shown that if women are not actively consulted and engaged their concerns will often not be addressed. However, women remain underrepresented among official and non-official third-party intermediaries, and among delegations from the conflict parties. Women who organize for peace in their communities and at national and regional levels are rarely part of official processes. It is also reported that the awareness on the part of senior mediators of the importance of gender considerations is limited.

What then is the cost of not including women in peace processes? This question is far too infrequently asked of the parties, intermediaries, donors and others who can influence the content, participants and agenda. A peace process that fails to include women in agenda setting, substantive talks and implementation loses legitimacy and misses potentially useful ideas by excluding half of the population. Experience suggests that the content and outcome of a process is also likely to be different, with agreements more likely to focus only on military and political arrangements when women are absent. Fully inclusive processes are more likely to represent not only gender, but societal priorities, and are more likely to produce durable agreements – and a more sustainable peace – by generating the broadest possible sense of ownership.

Third-parties acting as conveners, facilitators and mediators, and the teams that support them, have numerous issues to consider and prioritize when preparing for and conducting a peace process. The women, peace and security agenda is not always central to their thinking or their mandate. Yet the third-party actor often has sufficient influence to establish parameters for dialogue, and an interest in ensuring that all key groups (and groups within groups) are represented. A well-informed intermediary can guide the process by identifying common interests of stakeholders in inclusiveness and representativeness. S/he can also identify and seek to address biases and other potential hindrances to the participation of women.

Observers to official talks have suggested that the UN Security Council, the UN Secretary-General, or heads of other leading inter-governmental organizations such as the African Union, include gender issues in the mandate of their appointed envoys, special representatives and mediators. Placing this on the agenda at the outset establishes its
legitimacy and increases the likelihood that it will make it into the official discussion. Practitioners have noted that women, peace and security issues can be divisive, and even a hindrance to the timely signing of agreements. As a result, these issues are often omitted or included in separate, non-binding agreements.

Bringing women into a peace process is conceptually simple, yet actions taken by third-party intermediaries and parties to the conflict consistently fail to translate rhetorical awareness into active representation of women or women’s issues at the table. The following section presents a number of areas of practice in which women’s participation can be effectively and usefully pursued.

**LEVELS OF ENGAGEMENT**

Enhancing women’s participation in dialogue, mediation and peace processes can be achieved at local, national, regional and global levels, and among a wide range of actors. Local and national level actors include representatives of communities and conflict parties, non-state actors including NGOs and civil society organizations, and representatives of local, municipal and national government. At the regional and sub-regional level, representatives of inter-governmental organizations often play the role of a third-party intermediary via special envoys and special representatives, with advisory and other support staff. On a global level, the United Nations is the only organization with the mandate and legitimacy to play the third-party role in any situation, usually and most prominently via the “good offices” function of the Secretary-General through the actions of his Special Representatives (SRSG). Some private citizens and non-governmental actors also have sufficient credibility and capacity to actively engage around the world.

Processes are nearly as diverse as the actors, though a few useful general categories can be identified for our purposes. Official, or ‘Track I’, diplomacy is conducted by representatives of government and/or inter-governmental organizations, engaging official decision-makers. Non-official or, ‘Track II’, processes involve unofficial interactions of a variety of actors, including NGOs, private citizens and civil society representatives. ‘Track I½’ describes mixed processes which may involve non-officials engaging or acting on behalf of official actors, or official actors serving in an unofficial capacity. ‘Track III’ indicates community-to-community processes undertaken by private groups and individuals. Situations can vary significantly, but each likely blends various options and techniques that may include interaction with other processes. Activities often mix and overlap in practice. Opportunities exist for meaningful women’s involvement whatever the context, level or process.

**TYPES OF ENGAGEMENT**

Within the various levels and general categories, participation can be enhanced in specific processes including, but not limited to, consultation, confidence building, facilitation of dialogue, mediation, negotiation of peace processes, implementation, technical assistance, and monitoring and evaluation.

Identifying at an early stage strategic entry points for women’s inclusion in each of these areas can increase the credibility of a process and ensure gender priorities are not postponed or neglected until its final stages, or omitted altogether.

The following section presents each area of engagement with a brief description of its function, opportunities for and obstacles to women’s participation in each area, followed by corresponding recommendations. Examples are included where possible to illustrate notable practice and for further reference.
3.1. Consultation

**FUNCTION**

Consultations are a useful approach to developing contacts, gathering information, reviewing and evaluating policy measures, and exchanging knowledge and skills. They can inform the analysis of a situation, help establish facts, identify key actors and issues, and develop a general understanding of the context. Consultations also create space for individuals and communities to express their needs and share their perspectives around issues of common concern, providing a mechanism for public voice and input. Indeed they also create space in which to facilitate and encourage engagement between officials, members of specific communities, other interested parties and outside experts.

Consultations may be conducted via formal or informal meetings, surveys, national and regional conferences, public panels, roundtable discussions, seminars, social events, and other activities.

**OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION**

In addition to community groups, CSOs and local women leaders, women should be represented among all participants in the consultation(s), including among government and intergovernmental official, outside experts and others. A consultation can create opportunities for open access to all, and actively invite input.

**OBSTACLES**

Consultations frequently take place behind closed doors or in an *ad hoc* manner without public notification. Women are rarely delegates or representatives of conflict parties, and are infrequently granted access to peace processes as providers of information, observers, leaders, and signatories.

Consultation in practice: Uganda

A gender advisor was appointed by the Department of Political Affairs and UNIFEM to the Secretary-General's Special Envoy to LRA-Affected Areas.

*Outcome*: UNIFEM supported a series of national consultations and provided issue expertise that contributed to a 'gender-responsive draft peace agreement' which addressed specific issues women faced during the conflict. The gender advisor encouraged a more inclusive national ownership process and built trust between capital-based organizations and those in conflict-affected areas. (Goetz: 2009)

*Lessons*: Creating space for women as stakeholders, able to engage as strategists throughout the negotiations, has remained a challenge for women during the talks.
Consultation in practice: Sierra Leone

Before and during the peace process, which culminated in the July 1999 Lomé Peace Accord, women held consultative conferences which served as important rallying points for civil society groups to harmonize their views, and as a forum where women could integrate their perspectives on various issues. Women from the diaspora and international community played a key role in drawing attention to the concerns and issues facing women in Sierra Leone.

**Outcome:** The Lomé Accord was promoted to Sierra Leoneans at large by CSOs and generally accepted. Though important for drawing attention of political leaders to the situation and needs of women in the country, women in the international community were unable to secure women’s inclusion in the negotiations.

**Lessons:** Negotiators failed to integrate gender perspectives into the peace agreement, despite earlier efforts at both the national and international levels. Even significant international support may not achieve effective representation. At the same time, women’s visibility and participation in the informal process left them vulnerable to targeted attacks from rebel groups.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Third-party actors should plan and pursue a combination of formal and informal consultative activities for information-gathering and to develop links with and between various actors at different levels.
- Define aims of consultation(s) and identify a representative group of participants.
- Women leaders and organizations should prepare talking points and actively pursue opportunities to participate.

3.2. Confidence-building

**FUNCTION**

Confidence-building measures seek to (re)establish, develop, and/or reinforce trust and reduce tensions between parties. They can encourage parties (and individuals) to recognize points of commonality and work together to address common challenges. Specific initiatives can identify low-priority and low-risk issues of strong shared interest for initial collaboration and resolution, to develop trust and early progress/success. Confidence-building can also help manage anxiety within parties.

**OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION**

Confidence-building can consist of engagement with all parties as well as local communities to encourage greater support for peacebuilding activities and objectives.

**OBSTACLES**

Women may not actively represent one of the conflict parties, and so may miss opportunities. Official actors are unlikely to pursue community-based initiatives. Women also face discrimination and security concerns, and are not granted adequate protection.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Use consultations and conflict analysis to identify ‘low-hanging fruit’, the low-risk and relatively easy issues to address. Include if possible a tractable gender-specific concern.
- Use confidence-building measures to integrate women into the earliest stages of a process.
3.3. Facilitation, mediation and negotiation

Facilitation

FUNCTION
Facilitation provides a forum or space conducive to discussion and possible settlement of issues and disputes. It may imply a minimal or substantial involvement of the third party depending on the situation and (most importantly) the will of the conflict parties. ‘Facilitated mediation’ describes a more substantive engagement which actively seeks to solve the matters in dispute by bridging positions and advancing alternatives. These activities present opportunities for issue identification and, more importantly, problem-solving, and can enable groups and organizations to work together and to work more effectively. Facilitation can therefore be an effective tool for the prevention of violence before it emerges (or to prevent its recurrence).

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION
Women can play a facilitative role across party lines, ideological, social, ethnic, and caste boundaries in complex societies.

OBSTACLES
Few women have access to, or knowledge of, organized workshops and meetings. Information is not disseminated, invitations are not forthcoming, and accommodations for special needs are not afforded.

Mediation

FUNCTION
Mediation is a non-coercive and often non-binding form of assisted negotiation in which a third-party helps parties to reach an agreement. Parties seek the assistance of, or accept an offer of help from, the outside actor to change their perceptions or behavior, and bridge differences and positions, without resorting to the use of force or the authority of law. The mediation process seeks to affect, modify, prevent or otherwise resolve the conflict.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION
Women may be lead mediators or supporting members of mediation teams. They may be delegates of conflict parties or represent other interested parties, including community organizations, CSOs, NGOs and any other group which may participate in or observe the mediation process.

OBSTACLES
Women often have limited or no access to the mediation process and are not represented on mediation teams. Again, they are left uninformed, not invited, and not accommodated.
**Negotiation**

**FUNCTION**

Negotiation is broadly any interaction or communication between parties with an intention to persuade, influence, resolve disputes or reach an agreement. It may involve bargaining for individual or collective benefit or to reach outcomes to satisfy various interests.

**OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION**

As with mediation, women may be members of a negotiating team, represent conflict parties or other relevant group(s). Negotiation presents a forum for the presentation and consideration of women's interests and needs, and potential responses. Women often serve as community and family-level negotiators, and have relevant skills for such processes.

**OBSTACLES**

The lack of formal training or skills of many women at community level, and the perception that they are therefore not valuable contributors to a process present significant barriers to their involvement.

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**Negotiation in practice: Liberia**

At the 2003 Liberian peace talks in Accra, Ghana, Liberian women from the diaspora joined the talks on behalf of women's organizations. Female Liberian refugees were transported to the talks from camps within Ghana. Using their social networks, women encouraged others to join and to add their stories and voices to the talks.

**Outcome:** The presence of civil society representatives encouraged consideration in the negotiations of women's stories and needs by bringing a sense of urgency and real-life tangibility to the process. (Hayner: 2007)

**Lessons:** The selection of participants from civil society must be carefully undertaken and monitored in order to avoid biased selection based on political affiliation, ethnic, religious, or other characteristics.

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**Counter example: El Salvador**

Despite the participation of three female commanders in the 1992 El Salvador peace negotiations, advocacy for women and gender issues was absent from the talks. At the time of negotiations, the female participants did not raise gender issues.

**Outcome:** The 1992 Chapultepec Peace Accords focused on political and military issues and lacked reference to gender and women's interests and rights.

**Lessons:** Civil society groups had no access to participants in the talks to raise awareness and advocate particular issues. The inability or unwillingness of the female commanders to raise gender issues suggests the importance of preparation and support around these issues, and the need to recognize that women do not automatically bring these issues to the table.
RECOMMENDATIONS

• Intermediaries should seek technical support through the appointment of a gender focal point or gender advisor to their team to identify points of entry and liaise between women’s organizations and the various parties within the process.

3.4. Implementation

FUNCTION

Implementation describes the process of turning decisions, policies, plans and measures into specific actions toward a determined goal. It may encompass the elaboration of project activities, the development and execution of procedures based on a new policy, and the delivery of concrete outputs and other measurable outcomes or results in a given timeframe.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION

Women should be involved in decision-making around the development and execution of implementation strategies, including determinations of priorities, methods, oversight and evaluation, the elaboration of benchmarks, and other considerations for planning and delivery.

OBSTACLES

Resources allocated for implementation are often insufficient to achieve identified goals, and funding for women, peace and security initiatives is especially limited.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Women at community level should continue to lobby local, national and international implementing agencies for a voice in policy and project decisions.
• Intermediaries should seek to secure concrete plans for policy, procedural and other measures to address key issues, and seek guarantees of women’s involvement in their implementation with the commensurate resources.

3.5. Technical advice and assistance

FUNCTION

Technical assistance is the provision of outside expert support, advice, assessment, knowledge, skills and resources around specific issue areas, processes, analysis, planning, implementation and evaluation of policy, programs and practice, and other areas.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION

Intermediaries can engage female delegates or observers for technical advice on specific issues. Direct transfer of knowledge and skills from intermediaries to women from communities and conflict parties can take place in dialogue fora, workshops and consultations, and through formal training programs and exercises.
OBSTACLES

Women are rarely part of formal technical skills training programs. A lack of formal education often leaves women with fewer formal skills, or the confidence to learn new skills, than their male counterparts.

NOTABLE PRACTICE

1. The UNIFEM-UNDPA Joint Strategy will provide planning and implementation support to train women mediators and increase the availability and quality of gender expertise for mediation processes. Intended outcomes are: a roster of high-level women mediators who will serve in UN-supported mediation processes; a roster of technical experts on mediation, gender issues and conflict-related sexual violence; development of trainings on mediation and gender issues to be used by mediation teams, peacekeeping missions, and field offices; and guidance materials on ensuring women’s participation in peace processes.

2. In Sudan, a delegation of 30 women participated in the Abuja talks as technical advisors on the content of the negotiations, together with two senior gender advisors.

3. The UN supported women’s advocates in Uganda to meet parties to the negotiations in 2006, and assisted the development of women’s peace priorities through a national women’s coalition.

Technical assistance in practice: Nepal

Women were excluded from the main negotiations that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2006. They were however seen as stakeholders who could play a facilitative role between the conflict parties. Their solidarity with the victims of the civil war and understanding of Nepal’s systematic forms of exclusion helped overcome ideological, social, ethnic, and caste boundaries.

Outcome: In preparation for the negotiations, a group of Nepali women was trained by the Swiss Special Advisor for Peacebuilding in Nepal on negotiation and mediation techniques. Though they were not able to utilize their skills in the actual peace talks, the women gained valuable skills and confidence, and drafted the Charter for Equality 2006, a working document for parliamentarians which highlights social issues not being addressed by the state.

Lessons: Despite their preparation, women did not engage in the peace process. Men did not want to include women as they feared their involvement would challenge or impede their gains and otherwise negatively affect the outcome.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Women representatives should be engaged as technical advisors around gender and other issues of concern which relate to the peace process.

- International experts should identify opportunities for direct operational support to women in non-official processes, and to empower women to participate in official processes.

- Third-party actors and international experts should carefully assess and devise strategies to address the resistance of men to women’s involvement in peace processes.
3.6. Monitoring and evaluation

**FUNCTION**

Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms help ensure accountability, encourage progress toward goals, discourage backsliding and facilitate enforcement (where applicable) of compliance. Such mechanisms also set parameters and allow adjustment and improvements to program activities in progress. They help assess outcomes, impact, and whether and how objectives have been achieved.

**OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION**

Women and civil society organizations can be engaged to evaluate progress, monitor and report on implementation. They might with their local knowledge also help identify and report on appropriate and specific indicators of progress, and contribute to establish systematic methods for assessment.

Increased awareness and more accessible information, including gender disaggregated data on women's participation in negotiations, is being evaluated by UNIFEM, thus providing detailed information on women's participation.

**OBSTACLES**

Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are largely absent from peace processes, and are very limited in the broader area of women, peace and security. More generally, no strong global monitoring, evaluation and accountability measures currently exist, which has hindered planning, goal-setting, implementation, and identification of approaches for moving forward.

**RECOMMENDATION**

- Informal monitoring and evaluation networks of women should be developed with links to relevant official institutions and non-governmental organizations.
4. Conclusion

Women's participation and gender issues in peace processes and peacebuilding have gained tremendous international support since the adoption of SCR 1325, and are without doubt more widely accepted. This is increasingly reflected in policy and practice, but much remains to be done to achieve meaningful, and ultimately equal, representation of women in the maintenance of peace and security, and in the specific decision-making processes that define the institutions of societies emerging from violent conflict. Humanitarians, peacekeepers, policymakers, diplomats, and bureaucrats are familiar with the 'gender call', but commitments to gender-specific priorities remain more rhetorical than real. At the negotiating table, gender issues are frequently set aside under the pressure of time constraints, different priorities and gender biases. Experience shows that women's participation cannot be deferred, ignored, or undermined if a sustainable, comprehensive and durable peace is to be achieved.
Appendix: SCR 1325 and the “Gender Quartet”

SCR 1325 has several key provisions or pillars of action: participation, protection, prevention, and mainstreaming a gender perspective. Each pillar represents a call to action by respective sectors, yet their overlapping mandate supports the resolution as a whole. UNIFEM has identified the following designation for each pillar:

- **Participation** of women at all levels of decision-making. This includes: in national, regional and international institutions; in mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict; in peace negotiations; in peace operations, as soldiers, police and civilians; and as Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General.

- **Protection** of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence. With a focus on emergency and humanitarian situations; through training of peace operations personnel on the rights of women and girls and effective protective measures.

- **Prevention** of violence against women through the promotion of women’s rights, accountability and law enforcement. This includes prosecution of violations of international law; respecting the rights of those in refugee camps; excluding sexual violence crimes from amnesty agreements; strengthening women’s rights under national law; and supporting local women’s peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes.

- **Mainstreaming** of a gender perspective in peace operations. This can be facilitated through: the appointment of gender advisors to all UN peace operations; consideration of the specific needs of women and girls in all areas of policy development and design; and incorporation of perspectives and contributions of women’s organizations in policy and program development.

Four separate resolutions establish the framework for issues of women, peace and security as adopted by the UN Security Council beginning in 2000. Taken together, this “quartet” provides a platform for international policy and acts as a general guide to promote and protect the security, voice and rights of women in conflict and post-conflict situations. At the same time, their effective implementation, or ‘operationalization’, requires the political commitment of key actors, the dedication of necessary resources, and practical ideas and plans to turn general principles into specific action.

**SUBSEQUENT RESOLUTIONS TO SCR 1325**

Three resolutions adopted in 2008 and 2009 complement and build upon SCR 1325. Together they represent a critical framework for improving the situation of women in conflict situations and conflict-affected societies. Though this publication focuses on SCR 1325, it is important to understand how subsequent resolutions have evolved as a result of SCR 1325 and how they support its mandate.
SCR 1820 (2008):

- recognizes sexual violence as a matter of international peace and security
- establishes the link between sexual violence and sustainable peace
- requires the UN and UN peacekeeping operations to develop mechanisms to prevent and respond to sexual violence through trainings, deployments and policies

SCR 1888 (2009):

- supports implementation of SCR 1820 through commitment to the appointment of leadership and other mechanisms such as expert teams and advisors that will actively support the coordination of responses to sexual violence
- calls for peace processes and mediation efforts to openly address sexual violence

SCR 1889 (2009):

- emphasizes importance of women’s involvement in post-conflict / reconstruction phases
- calls for an increase in the number of women among peacebuilding and peacekeeping personnel, highlighting the need for women’s involvement during all stages (especially early) of these processes
- calls for greater implementation of SCR 1325 through global indicators for monitoring and tracking progress
- informs the strengthening of national and international responses to the needs of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict settings

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United Nations
Security Council

Distr.: General
31 October 2000

RESOLUTION 1325 (2000)

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

The Security Council,

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century” (A/5-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,
Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

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

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

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

8. Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:
   (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
   (b) Measures that support local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
   (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;


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

11. Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible, from amnesty provisions;
12. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

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

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

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

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

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

18. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.
Annex I: 
Questions for the Mediator

Tools such as the following ‘Questions for the mediator’, developed by the UN Department of Political Affairs Mediation Support Unit, and the ‘Checklist’ in Annex II, created by an expert working group sponsored by the Division for the Advancement of Women, help to establish guidelines applicable at the outset of a conflict assessment. Reviewing these questions early in the process will enable a more accurate understanding of the situation facing women and guarantee inclusion of gender considerations at the early stages of a process. Identifying key issues and developing methods of response and/or engaging the appropriate stakeholders will allow the mediation team (or other third-party) to determine resources or areas of assistance that may need to be targeted as the process progresses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions for the Mediator</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the international norms for gender equality which should guide the mediation process?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Does the historical background and mapping of the conflict incorporate gender-specific data and information?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Are there oral and written briefings on the experiences of women in the conflict?</td>
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<td>4. Is there data on the gender composition of the various fighting forces at the negotiation table, especially at the leadership level?</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Who are the women stakeholders to be invited to the negotiation table?</td>
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<td>6. What are possible options to increase women’s participation in the formal negotiation process?</td>
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<td>7. What would be appropriate language for a gendered peace agreement?</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. What should be done to create a sense of ownership of the peace agreement among the population in general and women in particular?</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. What mechanisms could be put in place to guarantee implementation of the peace agreement and its gender specific provisions?</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. How can the Peacemaker ensure gender equality and women’s participation in the peace process, and that women’s perspectives and needs are addressed in the peace agreement?</td>
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## Annex II: Mediator Checklist

### Mediator checklist

*for the inclusion of women and gender considerations in peace processes*

### Required background information for the mediator:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Data on the gender composition of the various fighting forces at the table, especially at the leadership level.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical background, mapping of the conflict incorporating gender-specific data and information, and oral and written briefings on the experiences of women in the conflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification of existing civil society groups and networks, including regional networks, from a cross-section of society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information kit with all international and relevant regional legal instruments pertaining to the promotion of gender equality and women's participation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Obligations and responsibilities of the mediator – to be implemented with the active support of regional and international stakeholders:

| Takes primary responsibility for ensuring that the team includes from the start a high-level gender adviser. |
| Ensures that the composition of her/his team is gender balanced, and that all members have awareness and general knowledge and skills of how gender equality is relevant to the conflict in question. |
| Initiates a training and briefing programme for the mediation team, the co-facilitators and other international stakeholders on how to integrate the obligations of the relevant sections of Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome document of the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly (2000), and of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) into formal and informal mediation processes. |
| Ensures the development and implementation of a plan of action on gender equality aimed at ensuring women’s effective participation in the negotiation process, and at incorporating a gender sensitive approach and the promotion of gender equality in that process. |
| As part of the preparations, ensures that the parties to the negotiations are made aware of their obligations under Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and of relevant provisions of international legal and policy instruments. |
In the initial consultations with the parties to the conflict, invites parties to include women with decision-making power in negotiating teams.

In the initial consultations with the parties to the conflict, ensures that a significant number of representatives of independent women’s civil society organizations, duly elected in transparent processes, are a party to the negotiations.

In the conduct of the pre-negotiations and negotiations, creates the necessary logistical and framework conditions for the active participation of women, including those representing women’s civil society organizations.

Undertakes periodic reviews of the process to ensure compliance with the plan of action on gender equality and takes necessary corrective actions.

Ensures gender balance in the composition of mechanisms and processes established to monitor the effective implementation of the peace agreement.
Annex III: Useful Links and Publications

I. Links

INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES

African Union
www.africa-union.org

OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities
www.osce.org/hcnm

United Nations Department of Political Affairs
www.un.org/Depts/dpa

United Nations Development Fund for Women
www.unifem.org

United Nations INSTRAW
(International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women)
www.un-instraw.org

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Club de Madrid – www.clubmadrid.org

• The Club of Madrid responds to the demand for leader-to-leader support to confront today’s global, regional and national democratic leadership challenges. It is an independent organization dedicated to strengthening democratic values and leadership around the world by drawing on the unique experience and resources of its Members – more than 70 democratic former Heads of State or Government from 50 countries who contribute their time, experience and knowledge to this mission.

The Institute for Inclusive Security – www.huntalternatives.org

• The Institute for Inclusive Security uses research, training, and advocacy to promote the inclusion of all stakeholders, particularly women, in peace processes. The Institute works with a global network of over 1,000 women leaders from more than 40 conflict regions.
Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue – www.hdcentre.org

• The Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre) facilitates dialogue on challenging humanitarian issues and between warring parties to resolve conflict. It believes that high level, low-key dialogue and mediation among principal actors and stakeholders through operational projects improves the opportunities for prevention of violence and conflict resolution.

International Alert – www.international-alert.org

• International Alert seeks to understand root causes of violent conflict, support community efforts to improve their prospects for peace, shape international peace building policy and practice, and strengthen the expertise, impact and public profile of the peace building sector.

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security - www.womenpeacesecurity.org

• The NGOWG on Women, Peace and Security advocates for the equal and full participation of women in all efforts to create and maintain international peace and security. Formed in 2000 to call for a Security Council resolution on Women, Peace and Security, the NGOWG now focuses on implementation of all Security Council resolutions that address this issue. The NGOWG serves as a bridge between women’s human rights defenders working in conflict-affected situations and policy-makers at U.N. Headquarters.

International Civil Society Action Network – www.icanpeacework.org

• The International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) aims to strengthen civil society and women’s participation and influence in conflict prevention, social justice, coexistence, and peacebuilding efforts, in situations of closed political space and in conflict-affected states.

Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom - www.wilpfinternational.org

• The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is an international Non Governmental Organization (NGO) with national sections, covering all continents with an international secretariat based in Geneva, and a New York office focused on the work of the United Nations. Since its establishment in 1915, WILPF has brought together women from around the world who are united in working for peace by non-violent means, promoting political, economic and social justice for all.
II. Publications


United Nations:

End Notes


In recognition of the impact of conflict on women and the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) calls for increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in institutions, mechanisms and processes for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. Ten years since the resolution was adopted, relevant actors need specific recommendations to help translate these provisions into practice.

This publication presents a set of operational guidelines to increase women’s participation in the areas of dialogue, mediation and peace processes. It highlights key issues, challenges and examples, and is meant to serve as an accessible initial reference for conflict prevention actors in inter-governmental organizations, government and civil society to facilitate and enhance the engagement of women at all stages in official and non-official processes.

The Initiative on Quiet Diplomacy seeks to prevent violent conflict by helping develop institutions in regional, sub-regional and other inter-governmental organizations, providing key actors with tools and techniques to address recurring issues in conflict situations, and supporting and facilitating dialogue and mediation processes.

www.iqdiplomacy.org

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