



## **Report on Wilton Park Conference 816**

### **PEACE AND SECURITY: IMPLEMENTING UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 Tuesday 30 May – Friday 2 June 2006**

*In co-operation with the UK Government's Global Conflict Prevention Pool, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Canadian International Development Agency and in partnership with Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS).*

#### **1. Introduction**

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) was adopted in October 2000. The resolution, which sought principally to address the impact of war on women, marked a major turning point in meeting the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the document of the twenty third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly.<sup>1</sup> UNSCR 1325 reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Furthermore it urges actors to increase the role of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts.

Official monitoring of its implementation is the responsibility of the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI). In addition the UNIFEM commissioned report 'Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts'

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<sup>1</sup> 'Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty First Century in particular those concerning Women and Armed Conflict'.

Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding', authored by Ellen Sirleaf Johnson and Elizabeth Rehn, documented interviews with women carried out amidst the world's major conflicts. The authors witnessed the ways in which violence breeds new levels of violence and how impunity for these crimes becomes endemic. The report documents the ways in which the continuum of violence shatters women's lives before, during and after conflict. It is evident that women and girls are deliberately targeted in acts of war and are subjected to rape, forced pregnancies, sexual exploitation, mutilation, torture and displacement. They are also excluded from peace processes. As conflict escalates the patterns of discrimination are exacerbated and women are further marginalised, leading to a corresponding reduction in access to income, resources, markets, information, health and education opportunities and social ties- a condition aptly described as the feminisation of poverty. Key recommendations of the 'Women, War and Peace' report focus on finding ways to protect and empower women and recognises their role as active agents for change and drivers of peace processes at the local level.

## **2. The Challenges to Implementation of UNSCR 1325**

Poverty represents the major challenge to the implementation of Resolution 1325 and has been a root cause of the majority of conflicts in Africa. The reverse is also true: that conflict prevents development and poverty eradication thereby becomes a vicious circle<sup>2</sup>.

A second major challenge to the implementation of 1325 is justice. The rule of law and a just, social and political order, are critical to ensure a culture of peace. Impunity weakens the foundations of a society emerging from conflict by legitimising violence and inequality. It prolongs instability and injustice and exposes women to the threats of renewed conflict.

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<sup>2</sup> Half of the world's population live on less than \$2 a day and, according to the World Bank in 2004, 314 million Africans lived on less than \$1 a day. Africa is home to 34 of the world's 48 poorest countries and 24 of the 32 countries ranked lowest in human development. It is clear that poverty is more pronounced among women than men: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) statistics show that 70% of people living on less than \$1 a day are women, and women own only 1% of land globally. They constitute 66% of the world's illiterate, provide 70% of unpaid work (valued at one third of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and receive on average 70% of the wages of men.

Thirdly there is a need to address the long-standing inequities in women's access to resources such as land, work, education and health care. For example, gender equality is central to the efforts to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Women have traditionally been prevented from attaining positions of power because of structural inequalities within governance, including that of the United Nations system. The representation of women in the democratic process is essential and effective governance will be strengthened by their increasing participation as voters and as electoral candidates. Whilst governments increasingly recognise the need to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women, there is still much to be done to change mindsets, the gains are fragile and women's rights are not given priority. UNSCR 1325 recognises the role and needs of women at an institutional level and highlights that states should take up the challenge to raise standards of protection and promote initiatives to ensure compliance with the Resolution.

Liberia is a test case of the investment in women's leadership. This represents a shift from existing value systems and attitudes, demonstrated by the Presidency and by the appointment of women ministers of finance, police, commerce and defence. Liberia can also be seen as one of the trailblazers in meeting the challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325: there are plans to develop a gender task force and a UNSCR 1325 national action plan. These developments and serious initiatives undertaken elsewhere could change the contours of Africa.

### **3. The Role of Inter-Governmental and Regional Organisations in Implementing UNSCR 1325.**

The responsibility to promote and implement UNSCR 1325 goes beyond member states: there is an evolving role for inter-governmental and regional organisations and non-UN peacekeeping forces, such as the African Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). There are, however, widely varying responses to the Resolution. The African Union is tackling the issue of gender amongst its 53 member states and is promoting these issues through a Women's Committee which includes presidential advisers and women involved in peacekeeping missions and assessments.

On the other hand, women were excluded from the League of Arab Nations' preparatory meetings on national reconciliation for Iraq.

The UN system is at the centre of the challenge to ensure effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 and has already done much at a systemic level to take forward the work. For example, the Secretary General has submitted an action plan on behalf of thirty-seven of the UN entities, outlining their gender action plans and timelines for implementation. The role of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women is to highlight who is responsible for areas of activity and for monitoring progress. The UN system is nonetheless constrained by resource limitations which impact on the capacity to take forward work on issues affecting women. This is a real dilemma: the urgency and importance of work on Resolution 1325 has to be tempered by what is realistic and achievable. In this context it is important to identify and prioritise pragmatic steps that can be taken to improve the situation.

One of the obstacles to effective action is the under-representation of women at a senior level; currently there is only one woman Special Representative and one Envoy. There is a misconception that member states are not nominating enough women with the right profile and that women are unwilling to work under the hardship conditions that these posts can entail. However, it is noted that, there are qualified women who are willing to work under difficult conditions.

There are limited sanctions that can be applied to ensure compliance of member states to Security Council mandates and this is problematic when national priorities prevail over international responsibilities. There are instances whereby states have failed to deal adequately with peacekeepers who have abused their positions. This is not always the case: in the Democratic Republic of Congo, an entire civil police contingent from Nigeria was withdrawn by the Nigerian government following allegations of their involvement in the abuse of women.

In addition to the Security Council, there are a number of important instruments in the UN system that could be used to advance the debate on Resolution 1325.

These include the Special Committee on Peacekeeping, the Human Rights Council and the Commission on the Status of Women's Rights. The integration of gender into the terms of reference of the newly established Peacebuilding Commission would be an effective way of further supporting the implementation of 1325.

The Commonwealth is another important agent for change and the Commonwealth Secretariat is committed to ensuring the increased representation of women in peace processes: the Secretary General, for example, has used powers to appoint women as Special Envoys in Cameroon and Zanzibar. The 53 countries of the Commonwealth are bound as equals and have made an explicit commitment to the principles of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, judicial independence, gender equality, just and honest government, and sustainable development. There are mechanisms in place to deal with violations of those principles, in particular the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG), that bring swift pressure to bear for reform<sup>3</sup>. The 'Good Offices' of the Secretary General is the primary mechanism for addressing political problems and supporting initiatives to prevent and resolve conflicts.

The Commonwealth's Plan of Action for Gender Equality, drafted in the context of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, sets out the way in which gender will be incorporated into its work on: democracy, peace and conflict; human rights and law; poverty eradication and economic empowerment; and HIV/AIDS. Conflict situations can be turned around only if gender equality is integrated into all conflict transformation initiatives. In practice this is illustrated through the important work done by grass roots networks such as the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency in Bougainville and the FEMLINK Pacific Initiatives. Furthermore, six countries have, to date, reached the target of 30% female representation in parliament. Finally, the Mombassa Declaration 2004 urged governments to use education as a key agent for peacebuilding, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and nation-building.

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<sup>3</sup> In 1995, for example, Nigeria's membership of the Commonwealth was suspended on the day of Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution.

#### **4. The Role of National Governments**

Member States of the United Nations play a critical role in implementing Resolution 1325 at national and local level and a number of governments have developed or are currently developing National Action Plans on 1325, such as the UK, Denmark, Canada, Fiji, Norway and Switzerland.

In the UK, civil society is regarded as key to the successful implementation of SCR 1325 and non-governmental organisations (NGO's) play an important role in ensuring accountability. Other critical components of the UK's strategy are: early engagement to integrate gender issues (for example a gender adviser in every mission) and in the preparation of work plans on peace and security; the integration of gender mainstreaming into all mandates and the appropriate resources to carry them through; improved co-ordination; and more effective follow up on UN resolutions. The further development of cross-agency and party initiatives, such as the recently formed UK Associate Parliamentary Group on Women, Peace and Security, do much to maintain gender on the political agenda.

The UK Action Plan, which is a 'living document' designed to be refined and improved, sets out mechanisms for monitoring and reporting. It focuses on action points that can be achieved realistically and in a short time frame, acknowledges the longer-term implications of 1325 and highlights that gender issues should be seen as the responsibility of all actors.

#### **5. The Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls: Conflict and Post-Conflict**

History shows that the vast majority of wars are 'man made' and that women and children pay the price. This continues to be the case in today's conflicts including those of Sudan, Somalia and Nepal. Resolution 1325 is an important step towards improving the protection of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, but the reality on the ground shows that there is limited improvement in the way they are treated. Of the 23 current global conflicts, 15 of them are taking place in Africa and the majority of them are characterised by attacks on unarmed civilians, intimidation and uprooting of populations. There is an escalation in the number of Internally Displaced Persons

(IDPs) fleeing from conflict, who lack the resources to cross borders as refugees. The international community has a responsibility to focus on these difficult issues and to act consistently to protect civilians from abuse. However, human rights and humanitarian issues are often poor cousins to other policy and political considerations and rhetoric alone does not provide adequate safeguards. UNSCR 1325 is an important part of the international architecture but the real test is in its application. In the Abuja peace talks on Sudan, for example, only 17 out of 300 of those involved were women.

The media has an important role to play and the failure to cover certain regions and countries has a direct impact on international attention and levels of funding. Many voices go unheard: in many cases civilian casualties and deaths are unrecorded and this can distort international perceptions of a conflict. There is also a lack of hard analysis in the popular media and a tendency to portray women and children solely as 'victims'.

The deficit of global data on sexual abuse of women and children in peacekeeping and conflict situations is also problematic. Better statistics would increase the possibilities of intervention, although it is recognised that qualitative data collection can be resource intensive and particularly problematic when dealing with sensitive issues of rape and other forms of abuse. Furthermore, the international community often reacts inconsistently to conflicts, for example the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo numbered 45,000 personnel compared to 16,000 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Equality is the antidote for gender based violence and states have made positive commitments to address inequalities through a range of policy tools, including CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The Responsibility to Protect (RTP) report, which can be traced to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, is an essential doctrine designed to address responses to human suffering and fundamental issues of peace and security and could be further enhanced if more effectively integrated with 1325.

This approach can be analysed in the following way:

*Responsibility to Perceive.* The current RTP framework is generally regarded as gender blind, but there are opportunities to use the force of the international law and principles set out in UNSCR 1325 to address this deficit. The Peacebuilding Commission, for example, could use these two frameworks to accelerate cohesive and consistent policies to counter gender-based violence.

*Responsibility to Prevent.* This is the single most important dimension of RTP and incorporates the need to address root causes of conflict and the role of communities in conflict prevention. The specific experiences of women at a grass roots level provide important early warnings about the build up of tensions. The growing volatility of a situation can be identified through gender specific indicators including the increase of incidents of violations against women, changes of domestic patterns such as shopping and schooling, and displacement and migration. The recognition of these indicators would greatly enhance the accuracy of information at both a domestic and international level, and could lead to intervention at an earlier stage.

*Responsibility to React.* This applies across the spectrum and includes the appointment of women as special representatives and envoys, gender training for peace operatives, including HIV/AIDS prevention, and the inclusion of women in intervening authorities' forces and civilian support personnel.

*Responsibility to Rebuild.* Security, justice and economic development are priorities in preventing conflict and post conflict transformation. UNSCR 1325 calls on all states to end impunity, to prosecute for all crimes, including sexual crimes against women, and for women and men to be equally involved in all aspects of security, political and socio-economic reform.

## **6. Putting Policy into Practice: Grass Roots Initiatives.**

Women are motivated by a long-term interest in society and the impact of conflict on their children and have transformed some peace processes by organising themselves across political, religious and ethnic affiliations.



In spite of threats to their safety, women actively contribute to peace building as activists and as community leaders. At a grass roots level women have set up strong peace initiatives, for example in West Africa, the Liberia Chapter of Women in Peace Building Network (WIPNET) which began mobilising for peace in 2002, the 50/50 Women's Initiative in Sierra Leone and the Mano River Women's Network for Peace. Other examples of initiatives, led by women's groups and networks, include Dushirehamwe in Burundi and the women in the South Caucasus, who are working together across the border in the frozen conflict of Georgia and Abkhazia.

The nature of conflict has changed and will not remain static: in response to this, the application of 1325 needs to be customised to reflect the different imperatives. There are also different gender perceptions, which include the way men perceive themselves and the way in which they see women. Into this mix we have the emerging role of women as combatants and soldiers. The drivers on men and women to behave in certain ways begin at an early age and are subject to a range of influences. In some societies this can be seen in the predominantly male interest in computerised war games and pornography. There is a need to explore the links between violence and excluded groups, particularly of young men who, as a neglected group in post conflict transformation, have the potential to resort back to violence. In order to engage young men positively during this critical period there is a need to address the lack of employment, provide strong role models and tackle the sense of disenfranchisement.

## **6.1 The Pacific Region**

In the Pacific region women are still sidelined from traditional decision-making processes including peace and security structures. In spite of this, the women's peace movement has been instrumental in advancing peace processes and there are some highly successful initiatives, evolved from the anti-nuclear and student movements and by the political activists of the women's human rights movement.

To date, 11 Pacific Forum Island Countries have ratified CEDAW and endorsed the Millennium Development Goals at plenipotentiary level.

In addition all member countries have committed to the 1995 Beijing and 1994 Pacific Platforms for Action for the Advancement of Women. In spite of this, the current regional defence and security agenda of the Pacific region remains silent on the gender aspects of peace and security.

UNIFEM has supported the active involvement of rural women in a number of important initiatives in the region. These include the media project femTALK 1325, training programmes and the documentation of the role of women in post conflict transformation in Bougainvillea. It is essential that women are seen as intrinsic to discussions and that their views are not incorporated as an after thought. The sidelining of vital information such as the recent UNIFEM Gendered Early Warning Indicator Reports for the Solomon Islands, drawn from the communities, demonstrates the urgent need for 1325 implementation at all levels.

Better investment in communication networks that reach out to women ensure greater engagement in the policy framework. The femLINKPACIFIC's women's mobile community radio project is an example of a media outlet by which women's visibility and awareness has been increased and their ability to engage with the international debates has been enhanced. Such outlets play an important role in conflict prevention and can provide safe and reliable channels by which early warnings of conflict can be communicated to the wider world. It is also a medium whereby women can be better informed of 1325 initiatives and thereby educated and empowered.

East Timor provides another model of the way in which procedures and standards were set in place in a manner consistent with, and sensitive to, local practices. Women played a major role in the struggle against Indonesian occupation. Following the conflict (and pre-dating UNSCR 1325), an office was established under the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) to ensure that women had a key role in the machinery of the peace building process. This was an opportunity to introduce a more inclusive framework, bound by international obligations, to advance women's rights and gender equality in all areas of government and public life, rather than to reconstruct what had failed.

The Congress of Women of Timor Loro Sa'e 2001 set in motion an inclusive and consultative process which ensured civil society support via a wide range of women's networks. It requested mechanisms for transparency and accountability, fuller representation of women in governance and support through training and resources. The UN adopted the proposed Action Plan and the Special Representative to the Secretary General, supported recommendations, working closely with the Gender Affairs Unit (GAU) of UNTAET which evolved from the discussions. The GAU's comprehensive work-plan thereby laid the foundations for a sustainable model to enhance capacity building, analysis of data, policy and legislation and outreach work through Gender Focal Points (GFP) operating at the district level. The GFPs had a particular focus on raising gender awareness in literacy, health, education, violence against women and leadership as well as supporting a range of activities including income generating projects, civic education programmes and widow's groups. The Gender and Law Working Group promoted the mainstreaming of gender into the legislative process and particular attention was paid to the issues of domestic and gender based violence.

In the arena of political reform, the National Congress and the UN Department of Political Affairs rejected the East Timorese Women's Network (REDE) proposal for a 30% of women in the National Assembly on the basis that it contravened the UN definition of a 'free and fair' election. However a series of measures, including affirmative action, were put in place that resulted in 250 women candidates participating from every district. The 2001 elections saw a significant 27% return of women to the Constituent Assembly; two of the eleven ministers were women; two women advisers were appointed to the Office of the Chief Minister. The Women's Charter of Rights in East Timor, recommended to the Constituent Assembly by the SRSG, set out clear principles for equality between men and women and for non-discrimination on the grounds of gender.

East Timor is an important case study in the advancement of gender priorities in a post conflict state. Specific outcomes included the positioning of the Office for the Promotion of Equality within the Office of the Prime Minister; implementation of a UNIFEM

leadership programme for rural communities; Timor Leste acceding to CEDAW and its protocols in December 2002; 25% of civil servants are women; a quota for women in local government elections; the passing of an electoral law in 2003 providing two women specific seats on each village council and enabling them to stand for other positions including village chief.

The experience provided some important learning about the effective empowerment of women in post-conflict situations and illustrates the value of documenting good practice to inform future action plans. In particular it identified the need to ensure that initiatives are positioned within formal mechanisms at an early stage to both set the foundations and ensure the allocation of budgets: 'if you're not on the organogram you don't get a desk'.

## **6.2 Afghanistan**

Afghanistan is seen as a test case for 1325 and is a particularly challenging environment. However, there are issues common to all post-conflict countries, and some practical strategies have evolved to address gender-based violence and these could be applied to other countries if tailored accordingly.

The fundamental challenges in Afghanistan include: the lack of a functioning judicial system leading to entrenched impunity; the multiplicity of legal systems that do not cohere; perceptions of Muslim law with regard to women; illiteracy and misinformation; widespread insecurity, gender based violence and the prevalence of small arms and light weapons; and poverty, which mainly affects women.

Practical proposals identified to promote the implementation of 1325 include: mandating military forces to include women in decision-making processes in the provinces; using Afghan women to provide gender training to military and humanitarian workers; using men to educate other men on women's rights and justice; ensuring that issues are framed in Afghan values using appropriate language; identifying and addressing the needs of women; identifying and using elements of society to move the debate forward (e.g. in Somalia the UN works with the mullahs); information sharing

and co-ordination; feeding into existing strategies and processes such as UN reform; working with Afghan women parliamentarians, empowering them to protect themselves.

### **6.3 Colombia**

The women in Colombia opted out of the formal peace process on the basis that their presence would legitimise a flawed process that had little regard for the right to truth, justice or reparations. Rather than be compromised, the women set up an alternative framework in order to promote peace building activities and denouncing those involved in conflict.

Colombia is an important example of the engagement of women in peace processes and their experience supports many of the points made elsewhere in this report. In particular, the inclusion of boys and young men in dialogue has reduced their involvement in the armed forces, and gender training to men and women in the military has helped to build mutual understanding. Women ministers have been involved in, and supportive of, peace processes, and women in the communities have been effective at mobilising other women and building common agendas towards peace initiatives which incorporate gender considerations.

However, much remains to be done and there are valuable lessons to be learnt from Colombia. In particular, it demonstrates the need for practical measures such as better protection and adequate support for food and shelter, to ensure the safety and participation of women in peace processes.

## **7. Measuring Progress: Effective Monitoring and Evaluation of the Implementation of UNSCR 1325**

This is a challenging area and it is important to map what is to be measured, the impact of programmes and who is responsible for monitoring and evaluation. The 'balance-sheet model' is a useful tool to identify what has been done and what remains to be done.

Resolution 1325 does not contain benchmarks or timelines and there is no institutional mechanism within the UN system to measure implementation.

This lack of accountability means that some member states may apply it in a token fashion. It should also be recognised that 'western' mechanisms cannot always be applied at grass roots level; for example many women participate in peace processes on an informal level but do not have a formal role. There is some highly effective monitoring at a grass roots level which, for example, takes into account the specific needs of widows and wives of the missing. This identification of the user group is critical, as both quantitative and qualitative assessments are used by decision-makers to determine the inclusion, or otherwise, of beneficiaries.

There are different methodologies that can be applied. In some instances a situational analysis could be done from outside the country, for example UN envoys and others could report on implementation. In other cases, actors on the ground may be best placed to collect information and to advise on the development of evaluation and monitoring tools that are adaptable and inclusive rather than cumbersome or overly technical.

Organisations such as ISIS-WICCE document case studies and testimonies to demonstrate the implementation, or otherwise, of 1325. One example of the failure to incorporate the recommendations of the resolution relates to DRC whereby a high level mission failed to consult with women on the ground. In Uganda reconstruction materials for communities were handed to male heads of households, excluding women and children headed households and forcing them to ask male relatives to collect the materials for them - a situation which was sometimes abused. Furthermore there is little evidence that women have been consulted about the delivery of humanitarian assistance in IDP camps in many African countries, including the DRC, Sierra Leone and Uganda resulting in arbitrary allocation of food rations, corruption and trading in sexual favours. A more positive example is the Liberian Women's Peace Network (WIPNET) who had been educated on 1325 and set benchmarks against which they challenged the performance of the Transitional Government.

Most donors need statistical data and clear outputs as a prerequisite for funding and this can be problematic in conflict resolution projects where outcomes are often difficult

to quantify. However it is recognised that accountability is important and that evaluation findings can often be used as an advocacy tool to increase resources as well as to bring about positive change. An analysis of the connections between the relevant frameworks and a review of existing checklists and best practice would be a useful way forward. This mapping exercise would support the co-ordination of efforts, avoid duplication and surface existing indicators, such as those of the MDGs and CEDAW, that could be applied to 1325. In all cases it should be acknowledged that effective monitoring needs resourcing.

## **8. Justice and Accountability**

In the aftermath of large-scale atrocities, justice rendered by an International Tribunal such as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), or the International Criminal Court (ICC), is vital to end impunity. The very existence of the Tribunal in Rwanda served as a beacon of hope in a new legal order and provided important precedents with reference to violence against women.

The ICTR's Kambanda judgement, for example, was a groundbreaking case, whereby the court delivered the first conviction in the history of genocide, which identified rape as a crime of genocide. The court found that sexual violence was directed solely against Tutsi women with the intention of destroying the Tutsi group as a whole. This case, and similar judgements, represents a new accountability of political leadership at the national level and challenges the traditional notion of sovereign immunity whereby heads of state are immune from prosecution or violations of human rights.<sup>4</sup>

Justice is not only about punishing perpetrators and deterring crime; it is also about restoring the dignity of victims. The use of Truth Commissions was seen as particularly appropriate in South Africa, following the end of the apartheid regime. The truth and reconciliation commissions and commissions of inquiry are not strictly judicial but operate in tandem with the courts, often as an expedient measure to address past

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<sup>4</sup> There were criticisms of the ICTR, including the lack of compensation for victims and the provision of HIV anti-retroviral medication to detainees and not to victims of sexual crimes. The issue of reparations was raised with the United Nations and, as a result, the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court provides for the protection of victims and witnesses and their participation in the proceedings.

atrocities. Supporters maintain that a truth telling process, and thereby the public acknowledgement of atrocities, is an important component of healing.

Rwanda is using several transitional justice measures, in order to carve out a path between retributive and restorative justice. These include the ICTR, domestic courts and the newly created 'gacaca'<sup>5</sup>, or people's courts, based on a traditional Rwandan system. With 120,000 people in custody on suspicion of crimes carried out in 1994, the actual loss of judges and lawyers in the genocide and the need for the state to respond to the multiple demands of post conflict transformation, these mechanisms were regarded by many as a pragmatic and relatively swift way of dispensing justice.

Post conflict societies may find that one or a combination of several mechanisms of restorative or retributive justice are appropriate, in view of their distinctive histories and current situations. The circumstances unique to each state should be considered when determining the response to violations of international law, including specific crimes carried out against women and children. The use of indigenous processes for reconciliation and peace building is valid but it is important to ensure that they are consistent with international law and do not grant impunity to perpetrators. Finally the investigations of the International Criminal Court should not be seen as a substitute for preventative action.

## **9. Mechanisms and Resources for the Implementation of 1325**

The effective co-ordination between UN agencies, international organisations, governments and NGO's, whilst challenging, is key to the successful promotion of 1325. Civil society has played a critical role in advocacy and awareness-raising of 1325, has

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<sup>5</sup> The gacaca courts, presided over by citizens elected by the community and trained as judges, will try all but the most serious genocide crimes and have the capacity to deal more rapidly with the large-scale 'backlog' of prisoners pending trial. The community hears the story of the alleged victims and perpetrators of the crimes and the courts have the powers to impose punishment, moral condemnation, sanctions and victim compensation. Gacaca is said to be more akin to a truth and reconciliation commission than a court and it is said that, 'gacaca at best promotes approximate justice'. There is concern at the potential for political manipulation of gacaca and experience shows the importance of transparent and publicly accountable processes and regulation in order to avert this risk. Gacaca has also been criticised as a form of 'victor's justice', with only Hutu detainees coming before judges. There are also concerns that gacaca and the ICTR were operating on different standards of justice: it has been found that defendants in gacaca tend to admit to the minimum crime that will get them out of prison and there are concerns that many perpetrators of rape are thus untried. Furthermore many traditional court systems are patriarchal in construct and therefore inaccessible to women.



served as a catalyst in the development of many national mechanisms and advised on the likely impact of proposed policies on the ground. NGOs have also played an important role in monitoring and tracking developments, particularly in peace agreements. The formation of networks such as the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security at the UN, the UK network, Gender Action for Peace and Security, and the recently formed European Peace building Liaison Office, Gender Peace and Security Working Group, are important. Not only do they harness the power of women peace activists and practitioners to monitor and push for 1325 implementation but they also serve to bridge the disconnect between policy makers and practitioners.

The Security Council holds annual Open Debates on progress made in 1325 implementation and following efforts by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, in 2004 the UK Presidency invited a woman from civil society to speak for the first time in UN history. The level of UN engagement with women from civil society is increasing and there have been a series of meetings and roundtable events. However it remains to be seen how this will inform practice at an operational level.

Investment in grassroots initiatives is perhaps the most cost-effective form of conflict prevention, yet women peace builders are working with limited resources. There should be greater recognition of the fact that advocacy work, to influence policymaking in response to the priorities of grassroots women, requires specific capacity building. It is suggested that the commitment of states to 1325 should be reflected in a commitment to allocate adequate resources and that a more co-ordinated approach by donors would lead to greater sustainability.

The continued lack of support given to gender issues both within the UN system and beyond, is reflected in chronic under staffing and financial difficulties for those working on the issues. The resolution itself makes little reference to resources, in contrast to SCR 1261 on Children and Armed Conflict, which requests regional and international organisations and UN bodies to direct resources to children. Member states should be urged to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and

programmes, inter alia, UNIFEM, UNICEF, UNHCR and other relevant bodies.

The scarcity of funding can be divisive, creating competition between NGOs and UN agencies. At present some NGOs are unable to implement sustainable and accountable programmes, at a local level, following the withdrawal of support by UN agencies. This can lead to resentment and division, which only serves to exacerbate tensions in fragile conflict-affected societies. This could be addressed by an increased focus on sustainability, including a shift away from short term funding for projects; improved bi-lateral co-ordination on the ground; and training on the preparation of funding proposals, including relationship-building with donors.

Finally, the better use of existing tools and resources would do much to prevent duplication of efforts and the replication of mistakes. International Alert's toolkit *Inclusive Security: Sustainable Peace – A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*, produced in collaboration with Women Waging Peace provides clear, simple information. It enables effective and strategic engagement of women and a gender perspective in national, regional and international peace and security processes. The Toolkit was originally developed for women peace builders in conflict affected areas, but is now used by policy makers and practitioners and provides global information strategies and approaches which show the relevance of women, peace and security issues. In particular it relates the issues to women's experiences, highlighting how women are affected, how they contribute to core peace and security processes and gives practical examples.

## **10. Peacekeeping and Military Operations**

In the arena of UN peacekeeping, there are tensions between the roles of military and peacekeeping forces and there is a call for more effective links between political and military actors. There are arguments for more effective support to front line personnel in peacekeeping operations (e.g. military) through 'buffers' of police, security and liaison personnel and it is critical to shift the emphasis from state security to human security ensuring that the broader issues of poverty, development, justice and human rights are taken into account. It should also be recognised that civil and military work in very

different structures and hierarchies and the use of rights based language rather than 'gender jargon' in dialogue could do much to bridge the gap.

The UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) is in the process of assessing progress in relation to 1325, identifying gaps and looking at key priorities and appropriate mechanisms to ensure accountability. In particular, it has established a tracking system to identify those military and peacekeeping personnel who act with impunity. Peacekeeping operations are more complex and multi-dimensional than traditional military activities and this is reflected in the DPKO Action Plan for 1325 implementation, which includes policy, training and a specific Gender Unit. The role of the Gender Unit would be strengthened by regular review and the continuing support of member states and NGOs.

Partnerships between military and peacekeepers and regional organisations could be further developed and mechanisms put in place to avoid replication and to share experiences. This would include better contact with NGO's to increase understanding of the respective roles and more strategic alliances between NGOs and DPKO to support peacekeeping work

The promotion of 1325 could be enhanced at a number of levels through: more deployment of women to peacekeeping missions, particularly at commander level; the increased use of civilian observers; greater representation of military officers in relevant discussions; and increased representation of women in Civil Military Co-operation (CIMIC) groups in order to build on work already in place<sup>6</sup>. At a policy level stronger partnerships between ministries of defence and women's/gender constituencies could be developed

Training is a key component in ensuring the dissemination of consistent messages to both civil and military actors, and member states and regional organisations should consider mandatory gender training, by gender specialist trainers, for all peacekeepers

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<sup>6</sup> For the text of the CIMIC gender report highlighting their priorities see: <http://www.cimic-coe.org/Downloads/Gender%20Report%201-0.pdf>

prior to their deployment. The DPKO, amongst other organisations and agencies, can provide core training materials and guidelines for this purpose.

## **11. Addressing the Challenges and Moving Forward**

In implementing UNSCR 1325 it is important to retain a sense of context. Gender includes both sexes: men should be engaged in dialogue to ensure that discussion extends beyond women talking to women. Above all it is important to focus on the positive achievements by women and the power of the media should be enlisted to put across positive messages. Whilst global ownership of the media cannot be changed, women's media networks can be resourced and supported to document and promote women's stories. For example, media and public interest could be raised through the conferment of a high profile award with the cachet of the Millennium Peace Prize on individuals, member states or UN agencies for their work on 1325.

The international community should ensure that post conflict support is appropriate: women want computers and technical knowledge and it is unhelpful to stereotype them with assistance in the form of craft and cooking skills. We should also acknowledge that peace processes can create their own economies and this must be factored in to exit strategies to ensure sustainability once peacekeepers have pulled out. The conduct of the international community is still an issue of concern in peacekeeping. Those individuals who are found to be involved in prostitution and trafficking should be excluded from future missions.

It is critical for NGOs to keep up the pressure on national governments and other bodies such as the European Union to continue to develop and implement action plans and there are opportunities under upcoming presidencies to ensure that 1325 is on the agenda. Cross-governmental and inter-governmental working groups including civil servants, parliamentarians and civil society provide useful mechanisms for furthering the dialogue.

A number of proposals have emerged from dialogue which some argue could do much to advance UNSCR 1325, but which others regard as impractical at this stage. These include an annual reporting mechanism to the Security Council on gender based

violence; annual global ranking of countries, organisations and other actors indicating their efforts to implement 1325; a full-time advocate at Special Representative level; a gender task force at national level; and a Security Council working group on women, peace and security.

Links between donors and grassroots women need to be strengthened to ensure that new aid modalities include gender equality. Women in post conflict zones often need funding that can be disbursed immediately and donors should be encouraged to set up more flexible funding cycles. There are avenues for quick-impact resources, for example the United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) has funding for crisis situations, which could be used for women's projects if the appeal is properly linked to the 1325 agenda.

It is important to review the positive achievements to date and to recognise that there have been significant steps in the right direction in the implementation of UNSCR 1325. There is a risk that dialogue results in further recommendations rather than identifying specific actions and strategies: it would be beneficial to employ existing frameworks; make better use of the resources already available; and agree who has responsibility for actions.

The outcomes of this conference will support the work of its sponsors in shaping strategies and prioritising the practical steps which can be taken in the short and medium term at a UN, inter-governmental, national and civil society level in order to advance the implementation of this landmark resolution.

**Julia Purcell**

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