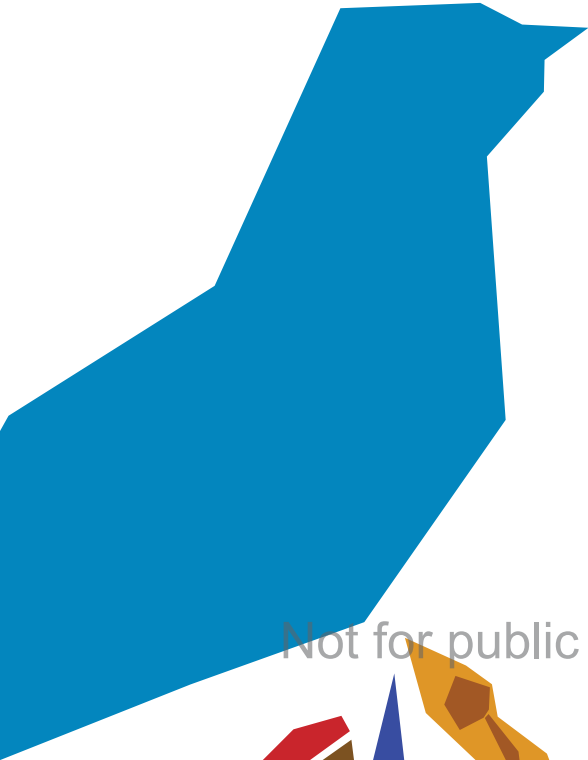


ENGAGING WOMEN IN SUSTAINING PEACE: A GUIDE TO BEST PRACTICES

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FOREWORD

The Community of Democracies (CoD) is pleased to present this new publication, “Engaging Women in Sustaining Peace: A Guide to Best Practices”.

Since its establishment in 2000, the CoD has affirmed and maintained a commitment to engaging women in all aspects of democratic governance and development, including women’s political participation and inclusion in peacebuilding processes and initiatives.

The importance of female participation in the political and diplomatic sphere as a crucial component of consolidated democracy and sustainable development was outlined and recognized as a core value in the governing document of the CoD, the Warsaw Declaration, which emphasizes that the “informed participation by all elements of society, men and women, in a country’s economic and political life, including by persons belonging to minority groups, is fundamental to a vibrant and durable democracy”. Gender equality is one of the three cross-cutting themes mainstreamed into all activities undertaken by the Community as part of its Strategic Plan 2018–2023.

Next year marks the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), which for the first time in the history of the Security Council recognized the link between gender equality, peace, and security. UNSCR 1325 calls for “an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes”. It also recognizes that “full participation of women in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security”. To increase women’s participation in peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction, most of the CoD’s Governing Council Member States have adopted National Action Plan (NAP) in support of UNSCR 1325.

Women’s equal participation in peacebuilding and reconciliation processes is vital for a robust and just democracy and the full involvement of women is a prerequisite for achieving, maintaining and promoting sustainable peace. The past two decades have produced ample and credible evidence that women’s engagement measurably strengthens protection efforts, accelerates economic recovery, deepens peacebuilding efforts and leads to more sustainable peace.

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The following assessment takes a global perspective, examining women's roles in sustaining peace in Asia, Eurasia, Latin America, and Africa. By highlighting women's invaluable contribution to the daily functioning of local communities as well as to decision-making at both the national and international levels, the CoD seeks to involve more women in post-conflict reconstruction processes, including within political bodies, and increase the number of women in leadership positions.

It is clear from this research that far more needs to be done to advance women's participation in sustaining peace and to track the achievements of women and women's organizations in contributing to peacebuilding - not merely to uphold international commitments, but to safeguard both international security and the security of women.

Thomas E. Garrett
Secretary General
Community of Democracies

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2010, the UN Secretary-General outlined an action plan for gender-responsive peacebuilding. This report distills seven commitments outlined in this action plan: conflict resolution, post-conflict planning, post-conflict financing, gender-responsive civilian capacity, women's representation in post-conflict governance, rule of law, and economic recovery.

Based on desk research conducted on post-conflict countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America, each chapter identifies best practices for engaging women in sustainable peace. Each chapter also includes some challenges emerging from the lessons learned in each region.

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Conflict Resolution

Best Practices: Getting women to the peace table (Northern Ireland and Somalia), Integrating a gender perspective (Colombia), Engaging women in civil society (Guatemala, Philippines).

Challenges: Use of cultural and religious norms to exclude women (Indonesia), Mere numbers are not enough (El Salvador), Backlash against gender equality (Colombia).

Post-Conflict Planning

Best Practices: Protecting women's rights in new constitutions (Somalia, Philippines), Developing national action plans for gender equality (Sri Lanka), Organizing parallel donor conferences for women (Liberia).

Challenges: Reintegration of female combatants (El Salvador).

Post-Conflict Financing

Best Practices: Implementing gender-responsive budgeting (Indonesia, Uganda), Providing targeted funding to women's organizations (El Salvador, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom).

Challenges: Multiple discriminations (Guatemala), Limited scope of foreign funding (El Salvador), Fear of foreign influence (Former Yugoslavia).

Gender-Responsive Civilian Capacity

Best Practices: Designating gender units in peacekeeping missions (Central African Republic, Haiti).

Challenges: Limited data on best practices.

Women's Representation in Post-Conflict Governance

Best Practices: Introducing gender quotas in elections (Bosnia and Herzegovina, El Salvador, Nepal), Establishing women's parliamentary caucuses (Rwanda, Serbia).

Challenges: Earlier participation does not guarantee later inclusion (Northern Ireland), Quotas and additional patterns of diversity (Nepal), Quotas are not a substitute for capacity-building (Nepal), Violence against women in politics as a form of backlash (Nagorno-Karabakh).

Rule of Law

Best Practices: Gender-sensitizing truth and reconciliation processes (Colombia, Timor Leste, Former Yugoslavia), Recruiting female police officers (Philippines), Establishing women's police desks (Philippines), Providing women with paralegal training (Nepal).

Challenges: Limited approaches to truth and reconciliation for women (Nepal).

Economic Recovery

Best Practices: Reforming women's economic rights (Peru), Funding women's participation in development (Philippines).

Challenges: The impact of climate change and natural disasters (Africa).

The final chapter offers some summary recommendations based on this analysis, exploring how governments, international organizations, political parties, and civil society might foster women's engagement in building sustainable peace.

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Over the last two decades, the international legal framework on women, peace, and security has expanded dramatically, aiming to promote gender equality and women's empowerment across the conflict cycle. Adopted in October 2000, United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is a cornerstone. The first UNSCR to touch on issues of gender, it affirms the importance of women's participation as well as the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace negotiations, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping operations, and post-conflict peacebuilding and governance.

In the ensuing years, eight additional resolutions have been adopted that expand this international architecture. Three of these explicitly address the problem of sexual violence. UNSCR 1820 (2008) recognizes and condemns sexual violence as a tactic of war and as a matter of international peace and security that necessitates a security response. UNSCR 1888 (2009) establishes a Special Representative of the Secretary-General and team of experts on rule of law and sexual violence in conflict. UNSCR 2106 (2013) stresses accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict and calls for women's political and economic empowerment.

Two other resolutions set up monitoring mechanisms for work on women, peace, and security. UNSCR 1889 (2009) establishes indicators for the monitoring of UNSCR 1325 and requests that the Secretary-General submit a report on women's participation and inclusion in peacebuilding. UNSCR 1960 (2010), in turn, creates a monitoring and reporting mechanism on sexual violence in conflict.

The final three resolutions address the coordination of efforts to promote the women, peace, and security agenda, in addition to seeking to elevate its place within the work being done in the UN system. UNSCR 2122 (2013) positions gender equality and women's empowerment as critical to international peace and security, recognizes the differential impact of all violations in conflict on women and girls, and calls for consistent application of the women, peace, and security agenda across the Security Council's work.

Resolution 2242 (2015) establishes the Informal Experts Group and identifies financing and institutional reforms as persistent obstacles in implementing the women, peace, and security agenda. It also focuses on the need to integrate this agenda with work on counter-terrorism

INTRODUCTION

and countering violent extremism and calls for improved Security Council working methods in the area of women, peace, and security.

Resolution 2467 (2019) reaffirms these commitments and calls for an end to all acts of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations. Focusing on survivors, it emphasizes the need to develop multi-dimensional responses to provide care for victims of sexual violence, as well as to approach questions of justice and accountability more holistically to help them rebuild their lives, including supporting the children born of sexual violence during conflict.

In line with this work, the UN Secretary-General has issued a series of reports on women, peace, and security (2011–2018); conflict-related sexual violence (2012–2018); and sexual exploitation and abuse relating to personnel in peacekeeping and special political missions (2018). The UN General Assembly has also passed a number of resolutions related to women, peace, and security. Recent resolutions focus on sexual exploitation and abuse (2018); disarmament, non-proliferation, and arms control (2016); and strengthening the role of mediation in the peaceful settlements of disputes (2016).

A number of other tools supporting the women, peace, and security agenda also exist within the UN system. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) defines and seeks to eliminate discrimination against women. The CEDAW Committee, a body of independent experts that monitors treaty implementation, develops recommendations on issues to which it believes states-parties should devote more attention. In 2013, it adopted General Recommendation No. 30, addressing women in conflict prevention, conflict, and post-conflict reconstruction.

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995), adopted at the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women, recognizes that peace is inextricably linked with gender equality and development. Strategic Objective E specifically focuses on women and armed conflict. Among its recommendations, it proposes to increase the participation of women in conflict resolution, promote non-violence forms of conflict resolution, and promote women's contributions to fostering a culture of peace.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015) identifies 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Although issues related to

women, peace, and security appear across the whole SDG agenda, two SDGs specifically focus on gender equality (Goal 5) and stable and peaceful societies (Goal 16).

To advance efforts to translate these pledges into concrete strategies, in 2010 the UN Secretary-General outlined an action plan for gender-responsive peacebuilding. The action plan seeks to enhance responses to women's needs and priorities in the aftermath of conflict and to support women as equal participants in shaping their communities and societies. It is organized around seven commitments: conflict resolution, post-conflict planning, post-conflict financing, gender-responsive civilian capacity, women's representation in post-conflict governance, rule of law, and economic recovery.

The current guide is organized around these seven commitments. Each chapter begins with a short summary of each commitment and the actions proposed within the text of the Secretary-General's report on women's participation in peacebuilding. Based on desk research conducted on post-conflict countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America, each chapter identifies supportive practices found across these regions for engaging women in sustainable peace. Each chapter also includes some challenges emerging from the lessons learned in each region. The final chapter offers some summary recommendations based on this analysis.



CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Ensure women's participation in, and the availability of gender expertise to, peace processes.

Action 1: Appoint more women to senior positions and appoint women as chief mediators of peace processes.

Action 2: Include gender expertise, at senior levels, in mediation support activities.

Action 3: Develop and deploy context-appropriate mechanisms to ensure that mediation teams and negotiating parties engage in consultation with women's civil society organizations.

Overview

Historically, women's involvement in peace talks has been exceptionally low. Between 1990 and 2017, women were two percent of mediators, 8 percent of negotiators, and 5 percent of witnesses and signatories in major peace processes (UN Women and Council on Foreign Relations 2018).

Yet the participation of women increases the likelihood that a peace agreement is signed (O'Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz 2015). It also enhances the quality and durability of peace. Compared to peace agreements without female signatories, agreements signed by women include a higher number of provisions and a higher rate of provision implementation ten years after the agreement (Krause, Krause, and Bränfors 2018).

At the same time, relatively few peace agreements include gender provisions. Among more than 1500 peace and transition agreements reached between 1990 and 2016, only 21 percent include provisions addressing women, their inclusion, and their rights. While the share has increased over time, from seven percent in 1990 to 49 percent in 2015 (Bell and McNicholl 2019, 8), more than half of all peace agreements fail to include gender provisions. Moreover, this trend has declined in recent years: in 2017, only 27 percent of peace agreements signed included gender-responsive provisions (UN Security Council 2018).

These patterns stem partly from the manner in which peace negotiations begin, namely as secret talks restricted to select members of the political elite on both sides of the conflict. Because women rarely

hold top positions of political and military power, they are thus typically excluded from the start, as major actors begin the process of creating diplomatic communication channels and negotiating cease fires (O'Reilly et al 2015).

However, even as these talks move to a more formal and open format, barriers to women's inclusion persist. Negotiators often do not want to include additional elements that may jeopardize their fragile negotiations. Restricting the number of participants reduces the number of potential veto points to the agreement, as well as limits the number of actors to whom concessions must be made (Cunningham 2011).

Having a few women at the table, moreover, may not be enough to compel mediators to make gender equality a priority – or to acknowledge the gender dimensions of other core issues under discussion. The result is that women's interests are sidelined and often ignored. Changing these dynamics requires strategies both to increase the share of women at the peace table, as well as to ensure the incorporation of a gender perspective in the resulting peace agreements.

Best Practices

Getting women to the peace table

Northern Ireland

In 1996, elections were organized for the Northern Ireland Forum for Political Dialogue, the body tasked with negotiating an end to the violent “troubles” that had waged for nearly 30 years between British Protestant unionists and Irish Catholic nationalists. The British and Irish governments declared, however, that these peace talks would only include members of formal political parties. Concerned that this approach would exclude women from the peace negotiations, the Northern Ireland Women's European Forum lobbied to require existing parties to submit gender-balanced candidate lists.

Unsuccessful in gaining such a provision, Catholic and Protestant women's groups joined forces to establish the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) to contest the elections as a women's political party. Within a matter of just six weeks, they launched a national campaign and succeeded in winning two of the twenty seats (McWilliams 2016). One woman from the Sinn Fein party was also elected as a delegate (Council of Foreign Relations 2019).

Forming a women's party was an innovative strategy for ensuring that women were among those who participated in the formal peace negotiations. It also enabled women to channel the informal peacebuilding work they had been doing for decades into formal political discussions. Drawing from the Beijing Platform for Action, the NIWC committed to promoting principles of inclusion, equality, and human rights.

Distinct from other parties, the NIWC worked across sectarian lines to achieve peace. The positions they adopted therefore had to speak to a broad range of political issues, making open channels of communication and negotiation essential to its success (Ward n.d.). It thus held regular public meetings to provide updates on the peace processes, as well as to hear the concerns and needs of both the Catholic and Protestant communities. The NIWC also worked across party lines to help build broader support for the peace process as a whole.

The NIWC influenced the content of the peace agreement on the issues of victims' rights, the reintegration of political prisoners and ex-combatants, education, domestic violence, and mixed housing. They also campaigned for a national referendum to have the peace accords approved by citizens in order to enhance its national and international legitimacy (Ford, 2012; Racioppi and O'Sullivan, 2006). Additionally, the NIWC advocated for the creation of a Civic Forum for Northern Ireland which was set up in 2000.

Somalia

The peace process in Somalia began in 1991. While the civil war continued, several unsuccessful attempts were made at national reconciliation over the course of the 1990s. After being excluded from these negotiations, women sought inclusion in the 2000 National Peace Conference. Distinct from previous meetings, this conference included extensive participation by unarmed civic leaders, including intellectuals, clans and religious leaders, and members of the business community. Women wrote to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to emphasize the importance of their inclusion in the peace process. They also met with the President of Djibouti, Ismaïl Omar Guelleh, and asked him to ensure that women were not relegated to simply being observers in the process.

When women were told that they could not participate as they were not leaders of the five Somali clans, they joined together to form the Sixth

Clan, a network incorporating women from the five clans. In 2002, the “sixth clan” was officially recognized and women were allowed to participate officially in the Somalia Reconciliation Conference, which produced a ceasefire agreement signed by 24 faction leaders. As a result of the women’s activism, 12 percent of the seats in the Transitional Federal Parliament were reserved for women. As a result of women’s participation, negotiations included an emphasis on the human rights of children, women, and minorities (Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative 2018).

Integrating a gender perspective

Colombia

The Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) signed a peace accord in 2016, ending 52 years of violent civil war. Negotiations began in 2012, and despite a robust history of women’s participation in past peace processes, no women were included at the peace table. Sparking attention from women’s groups across the country, women began mobilizing in force. In October 2013, more than 500 women from across the nation gathered in Bogotá at the National Summit of Women for Peace to review over 800 proposals addressing the demands of women with regards to peace. Together, they created a national agenda that included calls for equal participation; demilitarization; truth, justice and reparation; and recognition of women as essential peacebuilders (Cumbre Nacional de Mujeres y Paz 2013).

Shortly thereafter, President Juan Manuel Santos appointed two women to formally participate in the peace talks on behalf of the Colombian government. In August 2014, negotiators invited a delegation of conflict survivors, 60 percent of whom were women, together with representatives of women’s and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) groups, to address the warring parties. Speaking as gender experts, these leaders shared the ways in which their communities were affected by decades of violence. They also demanded that their needs be recognized within the peace process.

These testimonies had a tremendous impact. A month later, a Gender Subcommittee was formally established in 2014 to ensure that a gender perspective would be incorporated into all aspects of the peace agreement. Over the following year, the Subcommittee met with 18

representatives of women’s and LGBTI organizations to discuss their communities’ needs within the context of armed conflict and peacebuilding. The Subcommittee accordingly incorporated language throughout the agreement addressing the interests of women and the LGBTI communities. As a result, Colombia was hailed internationally for prioritizing gender equality in peacemaking and for being the first country to incorporate LGBTI protections into a peace agreement.

Engaging women in civil society

Guatemala

After more than 30 years of civil war, international pressure led to the resumption of peace negotiations in Guatemala in 1994. Innovative for its time, the peace process created an Assembly of Civil Society (ASC), through which civil society organizations could participate in the peace process. Working in parallel with the UN-mediated peace negotiations, its mandate was to send recommendations from civil society to the official peace talks. Topics taken up by the ASC included promoting democratization, strengthening civil society, reorienting the army within a democratic setting, elevating indigenous rights, discussing constitutional and electoral reform, resettling displaced populations, and addressing socio-economic and agrarian matters (Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative 2017). The ASC had no decision-making power, its recommendations were not binding and could be vetoed by the negotiating parties (Alvarez 2002).

The ASC provided an opportunity for women’s groups to voice their needs. While it did not initially designate a formal sector for women, it eventually established a Women’s Sector comprised of 32 women’s organizations representing trade unions, academia, human rights groups, students, ethnic Mayans, and rural communities (Women and Foreign Policy Program 2019). This diversity enabled the Women’s Sector to represent a wide range of interests, allowing them to form alliances with other Sectors on an ad hoc basis to push forward their peacebuilding agendas.

Through these alliances, the Women’s Sector was able to influence provisions that directly and indirectly affected gender equality (Alvarez 2002). Consequently, 11 of the 13 thematic accords within the peace agreement included language on gender equality, while five incorporated specific provisions on the recognition and protection of women’s

rights (Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative 2017). Despite these successes, there has been limited implementation of these women-specific provisions – as well as of the peace agreement as a whole.

Philippines

A comprehensive peace deal was signed in 2014 between the government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) after two decades of negotiations over the status of Mindanao, now officially known as Bangsamoro. Prior to these peace talks, women had been largely excluded from peace negotiations in 1976, 1992 to 1996, and 2002, despite the significant impact the conflict had on women and children (Arguillas 2014). From 2004 onwards, however, women were present on every government team and, from 2010, were included among those negotiating on behalf of the MILF (O'Reilly et al 2015). In these early stages, however, women were not the key decision-makers and thus were not able to significantly influence the peace process.

In 2014, these patterns changed. Women were deeply involved in all aspects of the peace talks, including as key figures on the negotiating teams of both parties to the conflict. One-third of the negotiators – two of the four government negotiators and one of the five MILF negotiators – were women. In addition, the government appointed its first female panel chair, Professor Miriam Colonel-Ferrer, and the Presidential Advisor to the Peace Process, Teresita Quintos-Deles, became the world's first female chief negotiator to sign a major peace accord (Council on Foreign Relations 2019c; O'Reilly et al 2015, 22).

In addition to the women at the peace table, women's civil society organizations were extensively engaged in the peace process. Organizing listening workshops in Bangsamoro, women fed the views of Bangsamoro communities into the official peace negotiations. These processes were encouraged by Quintos-Deles, who called for such consultations as a way to gain deeper knowledge of struggles and needs at the grassroots (O'Reilly et al 2015). Women in civil society also participated formally at various "peace tables," engaged in peace protests, and mobilized youth and young professionals.

Due to these multiple paths to participation, elite and grassroots activist women alike were able to influence the final peace accord, which became one of the most gender-sensitive peace agreements to date. Sixteen articles mention women's rights, including women's inclusion in new political institutions, their crucial role in spurring national

economic growth, and their right to be free from violence. The interim government of Bangsamoro, reflecting different stakeholder groups, included four women among its 15 members.

Challenges

Use of cultural and religious norms to exclude women

Indonesia

In 2005, a peace agreement ended a nearly 30-year-long insurgency in Aceh led by the Free Aceh Movement, which sought to make the province independent from Indonesia. Due to the fact that Aceh is the only Indonesian province to enforce some provisions of Shari'a law, women have been excluded from peace negotiations and representation in leadership positions. At the same time, women's organizations have been largely prevented from receiving funding for their work.

Mere numbers are not enough

El Salvador

In 1992, the government of El Salvador and the rebel movement, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), agreed to end more than a decade of civil war by signing the Chapultepec Peace Accords. Because women held high office in both the government and the FMLN, high ranking women participated in all phases of the peace negotiations (Gonzalez-Perez 2006). Despite the impressive level of women's participation, the female representatives involved in the talks largely regarded themselves as official party negotiators – and not as representatives of the women's movements or women's interests (Pampell Conaway and Martínez 2004). At the same time, women's civil society organizations were not brought into the process.

As a result, the needs of women, and an official women's perspective, were not included in the final peace accords. Notably, women were not named as beneficiaries of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs, leaving the large number of female combatants ineligible for these programs. FMLN women were selected for four reinsertion programs, but women who were part of the military were not provided with these benefits.

The land transfer provisions of the agreement were also highly inequitable. At two earlier stages, in 1982 and 1986, transfers of land titles were offered to men but not women. Consequently, the government

had to retroactively find ways to fix these issues, such as eliminating literacy requirements and transferring land titles from deceased husbands to their widows. Female participants in the peace process have expressed regret for their lack of gender awareness during this time (Luciak 1999). Many of these issues could have been anticipated, and resolved as part of the peace process, by involving women's organizations and gender experts.

Backlash against gender equality

Colombia

After four years of continual negotiation, a public referendum was held in October 2016 to ratify the historic peace accord. Just weeks before the vote, however, right-wing politicians and evangelical churches rapidly organized to campaign against the work of the Gender Subcommittee, claiming that the agreement was being used as an instrument to impose “gender ideology” upon the Colombian people. Opponents argued that language like “sexual diversity and diverse gender identity,” “gender discrimination,” and “systematic gender violence” went “above and beyond the application of women’s rights” (Hoyos Castañeda, 2016, 131). They claimed, therefore, that gender equality language – including the recognition of LGBTI rights – was being leveraged “to redesign the legal system, the family, marriage, the right to the life and religious freedom” (Ordóñez 2016).

On the day of the referendum, the agreement was narrowly rejected, by a vote of 50.2 percent against and 49.8 percent in favor. In the ensuing days, President Juan Manuel Santos met with leaders of the resistance to discuss revisions pertaining to the peace accord’s gender focus. Evangelical leaders, with the support of other religious and conservative groups, asked for all mentions of the word “gender,” as well as terms such as “sexual orientation” and “diverse gender identity,” be eliminated. They also pushed for the traditional family to be recognized as the mainstay of Colombian society and as the primary victim in the war.

In November 2016, the negotiation teams presented a new agreement to Congress. In this version, 59 of the original 113 mentions of “gender” were eliminated and all mentions of sexual orientation, diverse gender identity, and sexual condition were removed (Corredor 2019). Qualitatively, however, the gender perspective remained more or less intact.

Most references to “gender” were replaced with “women,” while most references to “sexual orientation and gender identity” were substituted with language about “LGBTI” or “vulnerable populations.” Furthermore, a non-discrimination clause was added to the final agreement acknowledging the LGBTI community (Mesa de Conversaciones, 2016).

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POST-CONFLICT PLANNING



Make all post-conflict planning processes more systematically gender-responsive, so that women's specific needs and gender discrimination are addressed at every stage.

Action 1: Collect and track sex-disaggregated data on resource allocations, beneficiaries, and impacts within results frameworks and budgets.

Action 2: Develop accountability mechanisms to ensure that new approaches are systematically applied and yield improvements in terms of the inclusiveness and quality of planning.

Overview

Despite international pressures to incorporate women and mainstream their needs into all aspects of peacebuilding, women's exclusion from post conflict processes remains the norm. These include providing protection, rehabilitation, and redress for victims of conflict; productively reintegrating former combatants into civil society; and providing accountability for human rights violations that occurred during war-time. In the longer term, they also entail creating and reforming local and national laws; strengthening institutional accountability and responsiveness; developing new cultural attitudes; improving socioeconomic conditions; and expanding political participation to marginalized communities (Haynes, Cahn, and Ní Aoláin 2012).

Post-conflict transitions thus offer multiple avenues for political and societal transformation, including changes in roles, status, and norms for women. To enable transitions to achieve these goals, global frameworks call for women to play substantive roles in all post-conflict planning processes, including in donor conferences (UN Secretary-General 2010). Women's inclusion helps ensure that adequate and comprehensive attention is paid to women's equality and so women's specific needs and gender discrimination are addressed at each stage of every post-conflict transition.

Best Practices

Protecting women's rights in new constitutions

Somalia

The drafting of new constitutions in the wake of conflict creates important opportunities to address structural barriers historically faced by women by explicitly recognizing their rights in a wide range of policy

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areas (Tripp 2015). The Federal Constitution that came into effect in Somalia in 2012 illustrates what such changes might look like. Article 3 on founding principles states: “Women must be included, in an effective way, in all national institutions, in particular all elected and appointed positions across the three branches of government and in national independent commissions.” Article 11 on equality includes gender as one of 14 grounds on which state must not discriminate.

Article 15 on liberty and security of the person prohibits all forms of violence against women, including female circumcision, which it describes as “a cruel and degrading customary practice” that “is tantamount to torture.” Article 24 on labor relations specifies that all workers, particularly women, have the right to be protected from “sexual abuse, segregation, and discrimination in the work place” and mandates that every labor law and practice comply with gender equality. Article 27 on economic and social rights ensures that women get the necessary support to realize their socio-economic rights, while Article 127 on the security forces explicitly establishes that women have the right to be considered for positions in the national armed forces at all levels, without discrimination.

Philippines

Following the end of conflict in Mindanao, a new Basic Law was drafted to establish the region as an autonomous political entity known as the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region. The constitution-like framework included sections on identity, territory, government, the justice system, basic rights, and economic and financial frameworks. Women’s organizations across the region – especially the Mindanao Commission on Women (MCW) – held over 70 congresses with more than 2700 women to hear their perspectives. Drawing on the results of these meetings, the MCW then lobbied the Bangsamoro Transition Commission, including the three women who had been appointed to it.

The resulting Basic Law contained a wide array of provisions protecting women’s rights. In terms of women’s participation, it established that women would be included in the council of leaders and in the Bangsamoro Transition Authority. Additionally, at least one seat in the Bangsamoro parliament as well as in the cabinet would be reserved for women. The Basic Law called for the government to ensure the inclusion of women’s issues and the involvement of women in candidate nomination processes within political parties. It mandated the creation

of a parliamentary commission on women, as well as a mechanism for consulting with women and local communities to ensure the proper allocation and utilization of development funds, including identifying and implementing special development programs and laws for women.

With regard to gender equality policies, the Basic Law guaranteed the fundamental rights of women, including protection from exploitation, abuse, and discrimination, as defined in the UN’s Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). It called, further, for the government to develop a comprehensive framework for sustainable development, including measures to reduce women’s vulnerability to climate change. It also specifically called for rehabilitation programs to address the needs of fighters, including the decommissioned women’s auxiliary force, as well as those of internally displaced persons, including widows, as part of a more general commitment to “observe, promote, and ensure gender-responsiveness in all aspects of security and peace building.”

Developing national action plans for gender equality

Sri Lanka

After more than 25 years of violent clashes, the Sri Lankan military defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a separatist group, in May 2009, bringing the country’s civil war to an end. To take stock of the human rights situation in Sri Lanka in light of its history of colonization and the recent end of armed conflict, the government decided to hold consultations with civil society to develop a National Action Plan for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights, responding to a call made in 1993 at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

Sri Lanka first developed a Women’s Charter in 1993, convening a three-day meeting between the women’s ministry and representatives from civil society. The resulting Charter aimed to ensure justice and gender equality in all spheres of life, drawing on guarantees stipulated in the 1981 Constitution (Aryasinha 2015). Despite these protections, women’s equality and safety were tested by tumultuous years of violence during the civil war, when atrocities against women and children were rampant and had devastating and deeply felt consequences (de Mel and Venugopal 2016). These events inspired the emergence of a strong women’s movement seeking peace and reconciliation from the conflict to the ceasefire to the post-conflict period.

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In consultations with the government between 2009 and 2011, these civil society organizations were instrumental in developing a specific chapter on women's rights in the National Action Plan for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights. The chapter covered such topics as health and economic empowerment, employment, violence against women, political representation, discrimination, women affected by conflict (including displaced persons), women in the informal sector, and women migrant workers.

These commitments, in turn, paved the way for legal changes like an amendment to the Penal Code in 2015 focused on combatting all forms of gender-based violence. Women's lobbying also led to the re-establishment of a Women's and Children's Ministry, as well as the introduction of Women's Development Officers who serve on behalf of the ministry at the local level (Aryasinha 2015).

Organizing parallel donor conferences for women

Liberia

Donor conferences play a vital role in translating needs assessments into financial commitments, but historically, women's voices have been excluded from these events. One strategy to overcome this barrier is to hold parallel conferences that enable women from aid-receiving countries to interact with donors to highlight their priorities and build relationships with key decision-makers, who in turn gain the opportunity to consult with women from diverse constituencies (Koppell and O'Neill 2010).

In 2007, Inclusive Security partnered with the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the World Bank, and the Liberian Ministry of Gender and Development to hold a one-day symposium on gender and development with 18 women leaders from government and civil society. It was organized alongside the Liberia Partners' Forum, a meeting to bring together the government of Liberia, international donors, and development agencies to discuss debt forgiveness, establish priorities for reconstruction, and pledge financial assistance. Symposium participants were granted observer status at the Partners' Forum, where they also submitted recommendations, such as the importance of achieving a balanced focus on security, development, health, and education.

As a result of this input, the Liberian government together with international donors pledged they would ensure the inclusion of women's

needs in their joint Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS). The PRS acknowledged structural factors standing in the way of women's empowerment, including the problems women face in the informal economy. To create opportunities for women, they pledged support for expanding access to micro-credit and promoting entrepreneurship and vocational training opportunities (Hilker and Korkoyah 2013).

Challenges

Reintegration of female combatants

El Salvador

Following the end of conflict, female combatants often fall between the cracks of efforts to address the needs of former fighters, who are assumed to be men, and those of civilians, who are assumed to be women. In El Salvador, women constituted a significant proportion – nearly 30 percent – of former combatants. While the country's disarmament and demobilization processes were relatively successful, women faced significant challenges when it came to reintegration, mainly because these programs failed to consider women's needs.

The first phase of reintegration sought to address immediate basic needs, including housing, food, healthcare, and education. In some instances, it even included provision of household goods such as ovens and furniture (Pampell Conaway and Martínez, 2004). While both men and women benefited from these programs, women still faced discrimination. As women re-entered their communities, for example, they were not often lauded as war heroes, in contrast to men. Instead they were expected to transition back into traditional female roles within their households, despite their newly acquired work and leadership skills and preferences to work outside of the home.

Furthermore, the land transfer program at the heart of reinsertion efforts presented numerous barriers for women. First, men were given priority over women in the land transfers and in credit. Second, local leaders often assigned land titles in the names of the husbands or sons of female combatants, despite women's legal rights to these titles. Third, women noted that they received lower quality land in comparison to their male counterparts.

These issues, however, were taken up by women's organizations, as well as by the women who were at the negotiation table, who ensured that retroactive attention to women's needs did occur, even if not all

of these problems were resolved. This reinforces the urgent need to have women in decision-making roles throughout the negotiation and post-conflict processes, as well as the importance of incorporating women's civil society organizations into the process.

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The background features several overlapping, jagged, organic shapes in shades of red, orange, and grey, creating a layered, abstract composition. The shapes are semi-transparent, allowing the colors to blend where they overlap.



POST-CONFLICT FINANCING

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Provide adequate financing – both targeted and mainstreamed – to address women’s specific needs, advance gender equality, and promote women’s empowerment.

Action 1: Require funded projects to demonstrate how they will benefit women and men.

Action 2: Ensure that a significant portion of funds for supporting peacebuilding are dedicated to projects whose principal objective is to address women’s specific needs, advance gender equality, or empower women.

Overview

Failure to allocate sufficient resources and funds remains “the most serious and unrelenting obstacle” to implementing the women, peace, and security agenda, according to a UN Women (2015, 16) study on achievements and shortcomings related to UN Security Council Resolution 1325. In a review of nearly 400 project budgets in multi-donor trust funds and joint programs in six post-conflict countries, the UN Secretary-General finds that just 5.7 percent of the total resources were allocated to activities directly dedicated to advancing gender equality (2010, 12). As a result, women’s organizations that do the bulk of gender equality work around the world – and in post-conflict contexts in particular – remain underfunded and understaffed.

Best Practices

Implementing gender-responsive budgeting

Indonesia

Gender-responsive budgeting involves analyzing the gendered impact of budgetary allocations, with the aim of expanding the resources dedicated to promoting gender equality. The Indonesian government began considering gender-responsive budgeting in the mid-2000s, following its commitment to relieve poverty throughout the country after elections in 2004. This coincided with the peace agreement in 2005 that ended a nearly 30-year-long insurgency in Aceh. In 2009, the Ministry of Finance mandated that other ministries include gender budgeting lines in their annual submissions, which were first implemented in 2011.

In 2012, the government put in place a National Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming Acceleration through Gender-Responsive Budgeting.

This strategy provided trainings for officials and local level bodies as well as proposed budgetary reforms. In subsequent years, this work has been continually re-evaluated across Indonesia, with the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of National Development Planning tracking the work being done at the national and subnational levels, including capacity checks and training for local officials.

Civil society organizations have also been active on these issues, engaging in gender-responsive budgeting training and implementation within their own organizations, especially in the post-conflict areas as well as the regions most heavily affected by natural disasters. The insights of local women and local communities have, in turn, been fed back into government approaches (UN Women 2012).

Uganda

In Uganda, the Forum for Women in Democracy, a non-governmental organization established by women parliamentarians, led the first efforts toward gender-responsive budgeting in the late 1990s. Beginning in 2004, the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development began requiring that other ministries, government agencies, and local governments submit reports on their efforts toward promoting gender equality. These guidelines were later further refined to require data disaggregated by sex, age, disability, and geographic location.

In 2012, the UNDP, the Parliamentary Budget Office, and the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development collaborated to develop a specific gender budgeting initiative in Northern Uganda. As the part of the country that had experienced twenty years of conflict, this region suffered from even higher levels of gender inequality (Stotsky et al 2016). To support these efforts, UN Women has provided training to more than 200 government officials across different sectors, including the national legislature, local governments, and the government ministries. It has also engaged in capacity building of women's organizations (UN Women 2018).

Providing targeted funding to women's organizations

El Salvador

Women's organizations provide crucial services during conflicts and are often instrumental in promoting peace and reconciliation after conflicts end. Although groups that form during conflict often dissipate

after the war ends, these women's organizations continued to thrive. This occurred primarily because women's groups in El Salvador established their autonomy during the conflict. They actively built programs and engaged in fundraising around economic issues, human rights, and wartime survival. One such project involved setting up clinics for survivors of sexual violence, providing medical, psychological, and legal assistance (Stephen, Cosgrove, and Ready 2000).

This autonomy enabled them to strengthen their relative position after the peace accords when new sources of international funding became available. Unlike in many other post-conflict settings, women's organizations in El Salvador did not need to change course or abandon their programming preferences in order to meet funders' needs. Instead, they were able to expand upon their already existing programs and expertise. This permitted them to set their own funding priorities, reflecting their long-standing ties with the local community.

Women's groups were also able to thrive in post-conflict El Salvador because they organized around issues that were not solely about war, allowing them to continue their work even after the fighting had stopped. This also meant they were well positioned to serve the community immediately following the declaration of peace. For example, women's groups offered crucial support when female ex-combatants faced discrimination in reintegration efforts (Luciak 1999).

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

In 2016, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) launched a toolkit to boost action on women, peace, and security funding, available in five languages with case studies, fact sheets, social media graphics, and media guides. With national sections in 33 countries, the WILPF #MoveTheMoney initiative sought to address the disparity between military funding and peace and gender equality funding across the globe, noting that in 2015 there was a global military expenditure of \$1.6 trillion dollars – but only two percent of foreign aid targeted gender equality as a principal objective. Nearly two-thirds of respondents in a survey carried out by WILPF stated that they needed technical support to secure funding on gender and peace work.

Challenges

Multiple discriminations

Guatemala

The peace agreement in 1996 ended nearly four decades of civil war in which casualties and disappearances largely occurred in the rural, indigenous communities. Women in the Mayan communities were especially affected. In the post-conflict period, they faced multiple forms of discrimination both as women and as indigenous people and, as a result, have struggled to rebuild their lives. Funding efforts did not take these multiple forms of inequality into consideration, causing indigenous women to be left behind with regard to economic opportunities.

After the war, for example, many indigenous women were left widowed. In addition to losing their husbands, who were often the primary bread winners, they lost most of their crops and livestock during the war. In Mayan society, men are typically responsible for the cultivation of crops and for perennial migration to the south for seasonal labor. After the war however, women were forced to absorb the costs of hiring men outside the family to help them tend their fields or assume the job themselves. In addition to taking on traditionally male labor roles, Mayan women have also had to tend to their own traditional roles of child care, managing the home, and weaving, all of which are sources of income and also culturally important to their communities (Garrard-Burnett, 2000).

Further economic barriers for indigenous women include lack of access to land titles, literacy and primary language barriers to obtaining land titles, and a lack of access to credit due to regulations that husbands or other male family members must co-sign for a woman. Funding for the rebuilding of war-torn communities thus must not simply treat women as a monolithic group, but instead, take these intersectional needs into account.

Limited scope of foreign funding

El Salvador

Despite a growth in their work and relevance, women's organizations in El Salvador face important challenges to receiving the financial support they need to carry out their work in the post-conflict era. Donor funding rules usually stipulate that money can be applied to direct

program expenses only, precluding their use for overhead, general operations, or staff training and professionalization opportunities – which, in turn, limits the capacity of organizations to sustain their programs over the longer term. Additionally, onerous financial monitoring systems can be prohibitively time-consuming, compromising the ability of organizations to devote more time to program delivery (Stephen et al 2000).

Fear of foreign influences

Former Yugoslavia

The wars in the former Yugoslavia played a crucial role globally in highlighting women's disparate experiences during wartime. At the time, however, the international community did not engage closely with women's groups in civil society. The limited foreign funding available to these organizations focused primarily on providing immediate help to the victims of the war through relief services and humanitarian aid to refugees.

Women's organizations maintain a strong presence in the region, demanding greater accountability from governments in prosecuting war crimes, organizing vigils to commemorate victims, and holding seminars to promote peace education. Some of these activities are funded by the UN, the European Union, the United States Agency for International Development, and a range of private foundations.

While international aid and expertise is valued, receiving it can also lead women's groups to be labeled foreign agents and even traitors by members of the local community. For example, the Women in Black organization in Serbia, which was founded in 1991 and is a vocal critic of war-time Serbian policies, has been the consistent target of harassment in the country.

Internationally-defined objectives can also force women's organizations to shift their programming activities away from locally-defined priorities, like psychosocial healing projects, in favor of donor-derived priorities, like those focused on stimulating economic growth and development.



GENDER-RESPONSIVE CIVILIAN CAPACITY

Ensure that the capacity of deployed civilians includes specialized skills so as to meet women's urgent needs, as well as expertise in rebuilding state institutions to make them more accessible to women and girls and less prone to gender discrimination.

Action 1: Identify methods for increasing the proportion of women civilians deployed to post-conflict environments.

Action 2: Identify the skills and expertise required to address gender inequalities and formulate strategies for ensuring their inclusion in bilateral and multilateral contingents deployed to post-conflict environments.

Overview

The deployment of international civilians to post-conflict countries provides a means to share non-military expertise to help facilitate transition and post-conflict reconstruction processes. Focusing on recruiting more women to these positions expands the range of expertise mobilized to improve post-conflict rebuilding processes, in addition to enhancing the likelihood of a gender-responsive approach. These civilians might include reproductive health practitioners, legal professionals, security experts, and gender policy specialists, all of whom can contribute to making new state institutions more accessible and responsive to women (UN Secretary-General 2010, 12-13).

Best Practices

Designating gender units in peacekeeping missions

Central African Republic

The UN peacekeeping mission active since 2014 in the Central African Republic includes an Office of Gender Affairs, which serves as a focal point between UN mission leaders, national institutions, and civil society actors, particularly women's networks and organizations. The office has facilitated and communicated expertise from a range of civilian actors informing post-conflict reconstruction. In the area of health, it has deployed medical practitioners to provide care for women, children, and men in camps for ex-combatants. The office also initiated a program for female combatants to encourage them to develop skills to generate their own income, preparing them for employment. Working with the African Union, the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), and UN Women, the office provided technical expertise to draft a law



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on gender parity in elections (adopted in 2016), set up an ad hoc gender and elections committee to support female candidates in the upcoming elections, and provided training for media professionals.

Haiti

The UN peacekeeping mission to Haiti, active between 2004 and 2017, incorporated a similar Office of Gender Equality. Its Gender Advisor was responsible for working, on the one hand, with the head of mission, the force commander, and the heads of all the components of the mission (police, human rights, disarmament, etc.) to integrate a gender perspective into all programs and activities, and on the other hand, with civil society groups, especially women's groups, to strengthen their capacities in different areas of intervention. The two key areas of work, however, concerned combatting violence against women and encouraging the participation of women as electoral candidates.

On the issue of violence, the office worked with the Haitian National Police to strengthen the reception facilities in police stations for women who were victims of violence, with a particular focus on better handling the reported cases. It also worked with the Ministry of Women's Affairs to coordinate prevention activities and support better data collection on incidents of violence, as well as with the Office of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration to promote women's engagement in conflict resolution, including mobilization against gun violence. In terms of female candidates, the office supported the efforts of a women's network to train women to run.

Challenges

Limited data on best practices

Relatively little has been written explicitly about the deployment of civilians with specialized skills to post-conflict zones. In part, this is because this area of intervention intersects with the other six areas of the UN Secretary-General's action plan on gender-responsive peacebuilding.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN POST-CONFLICT GOVERNANCE



Increase the proportion of women decision-makers in post-conflict governance institutions.

Action 1: Promote temporary special measures such as positive action, preferential treatment, and quotas systems to advance women's political participation.

Action 2: Ensure that gender discrimination is addressed at every stage of the political process, from voter registration to electoral administration to potential violence against women.

Overview

Women are under-represented in political decision-making positions around the globe, making up a mere 24.3 percent of national parliamentarians (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2019). The exclusion of women from political assemblies worldwide is the result of both structural and cultural factors. In post-conflict contexts, however, women's under-representation is particularly jarring given that women are often highly involved in peacebuilding processes within their own communities. As a result, women often have the skills and expertise to participate in governance. However, barriers persist for women seeking to move from civic activism to formal politics, like the lack of personal financial resources and poor efforts by political parties to recruit women.

Many post-conflict countries, nonetheless, tend to elect more women to national decision-making bodies than their non-post-conflict counterparts. Tripp (2015) argues that this is for three reasons, based on the experiences of African countries that have recently emerged from periods of sustained conflict. First, conflicts can disrupt existing gender roles, as women take on new responsibilities within households and become active in peace movements. Second, conflicts enable autonomous women's movements to emerge as a result of political liberalization, opening up new ways for women to mobilize for their rights. Third, since the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, new international norms have emerged in support of women's rights, including demands for gender-balanced decision-making.

Best Practices

Introducing gender quotas in elections

Bosnia and Herzegovina

In the years following the break-up of Yugoslavia, all of the successor states have adopted gender quotas. Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was the epicenter of the Yugoslav civil wars and experienced direct conflict between 1992 and 1995, was the first in the region to do so. In 1998, the provisional electoral commission established a minimum 30 percent quota for women on all party lists, resulting in the election of 29 percent women to parliament.

When this rule was codified into a new electoral law in 2000, however, the electoral system was changed from closed- to open-list proportional representation, resulting in a drop in women's representation to a mere 7.1 percent. In 2011, a new incentive was introduced, whereby 10 percent in party funding would now be distributed to parties in proportion to the number of seats held by the less represented gender. Prior to the 2014 elections, the quota was also increased to 40 percent. Despite these changes, the share of women in parliament remains only 21.4 percent.

El Salvador

Quotas for women in political positions have become increasingly common around the world over the last 25 years. Involving either party- or national-level reforms, these measures require that increased numbers of women be nominated or elected as political candidates. In El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), an insurgent group that became a legal political party after the end of the civil war, adopted a 35 percent quota for women in its party statutes in 1996. In 2013, the Political Parties Law was amended to mandate that all parties include at least 30 percent female candidates in both legislative and municipal elections. Parties that do not comply receive a financial sanction and have 15 days to correct their lists. As a result of these policies, the share of women in parliament grew from 11 percent in 1994 to 31 percent in 2018.

Nepal

After a decade of political instability in Nepal, an interim constitution promulgated in 2007 mandated that women constitute at least one-third of the candidates nominated to the Constituent Assembly. This

led to the election of 33 percent women in 2008 and 31 percent in 2013, reflecting a significant increase over the 17.3 percent elected in 2007.

The new constitution finalized in 2015, in turn, established two types of gender quotas. First, each party should elect at least one-third female candidates, ensuring that they nominate at least one-third women in both the majoritarian and proportional components of the electoral system. If the lists submitted do not comply with these rules, parties have an opportunity to rectify their lists – and if they still do not comply, their lists are rejected. Second, elections for the speaker and deputy speaker of parliament should be held so that there is one woman appointed to one of these posts.

In addition to these post-conflict provisions, the 1999 Local Self Government Act in Nepal states that at least 40 percent of candidates in municipal elections should be women. In 2017, this law was reformed to stipulate that one ward member must be a woman and one ward member must be a Dalit woman (Huber 2017). The implementation of these quotas has resulted in the election of at least 14,000 women in three phases of local elections, with women holding positions as ward members, ward chairs, municipal chairs and deputy chairs, and mayors and deputy mayors (Baruah and Reyes 2017).

Establishing women's parliamentary caucuses

Rwanda

The Rwandan genocide of 1994 led to the promulgation of a new constitution in 2003 reserving one-third of all seats in parliament for women. Since 2008, the country has elected a female majority to parliament, with the current share of women standing at 61.3 percent. Recognizing that numbers may not be enough, however, women in the transitional assembly founded the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians in 1996. Consisting of all female members of both houses of parliament, the Forum is formally recognized and engages in advocacy on behalf of women, identifying legislative priorities and reviewing legislation to ensure that it is gender sensitive. To this end, it coordinates with the Gender and Family Promotion Committee inside parliament, as well as with women's groups in civil society. At the same time, the Forum works to build up the capacity of members through training workshops, administrative assistance, and technical advice.

Serbia

Women's parliamentary caucuses also exist in a number of the countries of the former Yugoslavia. In 2013, a women's parliamentary network was formed in Serbia to initiate positive discussions on women's issues. The network played a significant role in promoting discussions about the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Second National Action Plan drafted in 2014. The women's parliamentary network has also been instrumental in passing a new and comprehensive law on domestic violence in 2017, as well as the introduction of gender-responsive budgeting in Serbia.

Challenges

Earlier participation does not guarantee later inclusion

Northern Ireland

Although the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition succeeded in gaining two seats at the peace talks, their presence at the table did not result in any guarantees in the final agreement with regard to women's future political participation. Immediately following the peace agreement and the establishment of the Northern Ireland Assembly, politicians reverted to a traditional style of politics, which more often than not, marginalized women from political and public life. As a result, formal political institutions have remained overwhelmingly male-dominated. Only 13 percent women were elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly in 1998, followed by 16.7 percent in 2003.

In 2015, the Assembly and Executive Review Committee issued a report declaring that the under-representation of women in politics in Northern Ireland was a serious issue. While it did not push for the adoption of a gender quota, the report did prompt the creation of a women's parliamentary caucus and a reference group to consider how to make the assembly more gender-sensitive. While recent elections have started to reverse this trend, with 30 percent women elected to the Assembly in 2017, these results still lag behind developments in Scotland and Wales (Potter 2017).

Another disappointing outcome for women's inclusion has been the inability of the Civic Forum to get off the ground. During the negotiations, the NIWC lobbied for a mechanism that could help close the gap between civil society and formal politics, understanding that engaging civil society would be a key way of bringing women into the political fold (McWilliams 2016). A forum was eventually established in 2000, but it floundered and was suspended just two years later.

Quotas and additional patterns of diversity

Nepal

Gender quotas focus on promoting the greater inclusion of women, but women as a group are highly diverse. In Nepal, societal distinctions with regard to class and caste remain important. As a result, minority Madhesi women from the Terai region, as well as Dalit women from across Nepal, often face even greater obstacles to fair political representation. Muslim and disabled women also face social stigmas, with the latter also confronting physical barriers making it difficult to locate information and services that might help increase their participation. Finally, women who are single, divorced, or widowed face challenges to their authority from male relatives, who may inhibit them from actively seeking public positions (Huber 2017).

Quotas are not a substitute for capacity-building

Nepal

Gender quotas have played a crucial role in electing larger numbers of women to elected office in Nepal at both the national and local levels. A study of locally elected women found, however, that some expressed a need for capacity-building to better perform their political duties. A large share reported that training in areas like constitutional law and financial and budget planning would be especially beneficial for their work (Australian Aid 2017).

Violence against women in politics as a form of backlash

Nagorno-Karabakh

After armed conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh ended in 1994, the self-declared Republic of Artsakh has controlled the territory disputed by Armenia and Azerbaijan. While women in Nagorno-Karabakh are entering political institutions and made strides in gaining positions of power, patriarchal histories and rampant authoritarianism in the region have limited their ability to participate on conditions of equality. In particular, women who engage in politics face violence as a form of backlash against their participation. Former female politicians report, for example, that their opponents have sent men with guns to their homes as a form of intimidation (Mannergren Selimovic et al 2011).

RULE OF LAW



Support rule of law initiatives that encourage women's participation in the process of seeking redress for injustices committed against them and in improving the capacity of security actors to prevent and respond to violations of women's rights.

Action 1: Prioritize women's and girls' security through the creation of a protective environment for women, including those in refugee camps and camps for internally displaced persons, and by increasing the proportion of female police officers in peacekeeping operations.

Action 2: Provide regular and immediate support with respect to access by women and girls to justice and law enforcement institutions.

Action 3: Ensure that minimum standards of gender responsiveness are established for truth commissions, reparations programs, and related bodies.

Overview

Respect for the rule of law is paramount for rebuilding society after conflict as it signals the public's faith and confidence in the political process. Furthermore, absence of the rule of law contributes to state collapse. When legal codes and institutions discriminate against women, they are denied essential justice, reflecting an illegitimate political order. For these reasons, it is critical that post-conflict societies channel significant support to rule-of-law initiatives that encourage women's participation in the process of seeking redress for injustices committed against them, as well as improving the capacity of security actors to prevent and respond to violations of women's rights.

Best Practices

Gender-sensitizing truth and reconciliation processes

Colombia

Dealing with past abuses is an integral part of the transitional justice process. As part of the peace agreement in Colombia, a Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) was established to investigate and administer justice for crimes committed during the armed conflict. Its aims are to satisfy victims' rights to justice, offer truth, and contribute to reparation, in order to build a stable and lasting peace. The Gender

Commission is a permanent body within the JEP consisting of six magistrates and judges, three appointed by the Courts of Justice and three from the Peace Court. Its mandate is to implement a gender approach in the decision-making and internal workings of the JEP to ensure the rights of women, girls, and members of the LGBTI community.

In its first two years, the Gender Commission has worked to ensure that a gender focus has been thoroughly included in transitional justice efforts. It has focused in particular on incorporating gender into the legal framework of Colombia's Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparations, and No Repetition, which is a comprehensive system of judicial and extrajudicial mechanisms aimed at restoring justice to victims of war. The Gender Commission has also created gendered strategies and guidelines around building relationships with women and with LGBTI communities to enhance channels for victims of the war to come forward.

Additionally, the country recently passed a law establishing that acts of sexual violence in conflict may constitute crimes against humanity, war crimes, or acts of genocide. In addition to rape, the law recognizes forced enslavement, forced sterilization, forced pregnancy, forced nudity, and human trafficking as forms of sexual violence. The law transformed sexual violence into a crime that can be prosecuted at any time, subject to no statutes of limitation. It also calls for the inclusion of detailed information on sexual violence in the unified registry system of violence against women.

Timor-Leste

Following the independence of Timor-Leste in 2002, a truth commission was tasked with uncovering human rights violations that had occurred between 1974 and 1999, while also supporting victims and the reintegration of individuals who had committed minimal offenses. Although the commission itself was composed of two women and seven men, it recruited equal numbers of statement takers and focused specifically on war-time sexual violence. It also set up an emergency task force to begin establishing reparations for victims, in a process which paid specific attention to the suggestions of victims focusing on what they needed to make their lives better.

The commission's work, importantly, highlighted not only the human rights violations committed by Indonesian soldiers. It also revealed complicit violence on the part of victims' own communities in

'sacrificing' some of the women in the community to serve as "army mistresses." Nonetheless, the truth and reconciliation process in Timor-Leste did not continue past 2005, and more recently, has been criticized for its lack of attention to human rights violations perpetrated against women other than sexual violence.

Former Yugoslavia

In addition to state- and UN-led truth and reconciliation processes, civil society activists in various parts of the world have organized "women's courts" for women to speak about their conflict-related experiences. The aim is to bring women together in a safe space to talk about war trauma, sexual violence during conflict, and gender-based violence after conflict ends. In 2010, a women's court was set up in the former Yugoslavia, spearheaded by women's NGOs in the region such as Women in Black in Serbia and the Center for Women War Victims in Croatia. Their activities include public presentations, facilitation of testimonies, and regional seminars, which seek collectively to shed light on the past and bring peace and reconciliation to women across the region.

Recruiting female police officers

Philippines

Under the Philippine National Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 (2010-2016), the government committed to a 10 percent quota for female law enforcement officers. Despite early success, the need to increase this quota became evident. On the one hand, this quota still left too few female police officers to staff Women and Children Protection Desks (see more below) within all police departments nationally. On the other hand, increased reports of police brutality and sexual violence pointed to an urgent need to recruit more women to law enforcement.

Additionally, female police officers have been deployed to post-disaster refugee camps to ensure protection of women and children from sexual violence and abuse. In 2018, media commentators and women's organizations began placing greater pressure on the Filipino government to increase the quota. In February 2019, the government approved a bill to increase the quota to 20 percent in order to provide the necessary numbers of trained women to operate the women's desks and provide support for women and children throughout the country.

Establishing women's police desks

Philippines

In addition to creating a quota for female police officers, the Philippine National Action Plan established Women and Children Protection Desks in all police stations around the country. To facilitate the work of these desks, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women provided a document outlining the reasons for these desks, standards for their operation, and measures for gauging their impact. The female police officers who operate these desks receive training in gender sensitivity, aimed at making them approachable to women who are escaping traumatic experiences. Deployed to disaster zones, women's desks officers cared for the estimated 65,000 sexual assault victims in the wake of Typhoon Haiyan in 2013.

Providing women with paralegal training

Nepal

In 2015, the Nepalese government established two bodies to deal with human rights violations and forced disappearances during the conflict that occurred between 1996 and 2006: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Commission on Investigation on Enforced Disappeared Persons. To build capacity to further restorative justice, civil society organizations initiated several justice education programs.

One program focuses on providing paralegal training to young women aged 14 to 24 who are survivors of sex trafficking. Each year, the program helps train 30 women in Kathmandu and then places them in local police stations to help women who come in to understand their legal rights. A second program involves training of trainers, in order to expand the provision of paralegal training across the country to increase citizens' access to justice. With assistance from UN Women, a manual was also produced to help trainers and trainees understand a range of paralegal issues.

Challenges

Limited approaches to truth and reconciliation for women

Nepal

In 2015, the government of Nepal set up two commissions to deal with transitional justice issues, focused on truth and reconciliation and enforced disappearances, respectively. Yet many victims and members of

civil society believe that these commissions still lack legitimacy and the capability to carry out their mandates. A key concern is that they lack victim and witness protection schemes, at the same time that victims have been denied amnesty.

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ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Ensure women's equal involvement as participants and beneficiaries in economic recovery initiatives.

Action 1: Involve women and women's civil society organizations directly in setting priorities, identifying beneficiaries, and monitoring implementation of local development and infrastructure programs.

Action 2: Target women as a beneficiary group in post-conflict employment programs.

Action 3: Promote women as 'front-line' service delivery agents, for example in the areas of health care, agricultural extension, and natural resource management.

Action 4: Ensure women's equal participation in all stages of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs.

Overview

Economic rights are critical for post-conflict societies to remain at peace, as economic deprivation hinders people's ability to fully participate in political and social life. Women make up the majority of the poor around the world, stemming from a range of barriers including gender discrimination in employment, obstacles to obtaining credit, illiteracy, domestic burdens, low social status within the home to make decisions, domestic violence, low levels of education, and insecure land titles. These barriers are compounded by policymaking processes and public expenditure frameworks that do not fully take into consideration these inequalities or recognize women's economic contributions. Ensuring women's equal involvement in economic recovery during post-conflict transitions requires involving them in local development programs, front-line service providers, and as participants in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs.

Best Practices

Reforming women's economic rights

Peru

The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in its final report issued in 2003, estimated that between 1980 and 2000, nearly 70,000 people were killed or disappeared and between 500,000 and one million

were internally displaced. The conflict had significant economic effects, as many families lost their primary breadwinner and were forced to migrate, which resulted in a loss of their homes, work, and social networks. Additionally, agricultural plots and other farm assets were often destroyed.

Women have borne a great deal of this economic burden, and today women in Peru suffer from higher levels of poverty and employment than men. As in other countries, women spend more time than men on unpaid household work, making it more difficult for women to sustain employment in the formal economic sector at the same rates as men. As a result, approximately 60 percent of women work in the informal economy, increasing their economic vulnerability as they are not covered by government protections and lack health insurance and retirement benefits (Council on Foreign Relations 2019b).

Nevertheless, some important gains in women's economic rights have been made since the war. Peru reformed laws limiting women's right to work, women's access to credit, and women's rights to own and inherit assets. As a result, women's participation in the labor market increased to levels higher than that seen in other parts of Latin America, by 15 percent in the first decade of the reforms and from 58 to 68 percent between 2000 and 2014 (Council on Foreign Relations 2019b). Notably, many of these reforms occurred in indigenous and rural communities, where economic gender gaps continue to be the greatest.

Funding women's participation in development

Philippines

The Women in Development and Nation-Building Act of 1992 provided guidance and measures to mobilize and enhance women's participation in the development process. The act mandated that a substantial portion of foreign assistance funds should be allocated to support programs for women, and that women should benefit equally and participate in development programs funded by foreign assistance. It also stipulated that gender bias should be removed from government regulations, circulars, issuances, and procedures and that equal rights should be accorded to women in entering into contracts and loan agreements.

Challenges

The impact of climate change and natural disasters

Africa

In post-conflict contexts across Africa, women's organizations have increasingly pointed out the impact that climate change and natural disasters have on women's economic situation. Droughts and floods, for example, have negatively affected rural women in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, increasing women's poverty as well as rates of domestic violence.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

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This guide highlights a range of best practices, as well as ongoing challenges, to engaging women in sustainable peace. Together with broader research on women in post-conflict countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America, this analysis suggests a number of recommendations for future actions to promote women's participation in peacebuilding.

Conflict Resolution

1. Relevant parties should appoint more women to senior positions, including as chief mediators of peace processes. As part of these efforts, they should:

- Provide dedicated technical assistance to mediation support teams, as well as context-specific consultation mechanisms so as to ensure the systematic inclusion and involvement of women in any given mediation process; and
- Establish mechanisms to ensure that women are part of the pre-negotiation talks so that they can be present to contribute to the framing and agenda-setting from the outset.

2. Negotiating parties should include gender expertise, at senior levels, in mediation support activities to ensure that ceasefire agreements contain an informed gender perspective. To this end, they should:

- Ensure that women are included at all stages of the negotiations, including the development of cease-fire agreements, as a means to bring in women's experience and insights working within their communities; and
- Create a gender commission that is tasked with assessing the entire agreement for its gender perspective. This should be a high-level commission with significant authority and include diverse voices with respect to ethnicity, religion, tribal affiliation, economic status, sexuality, and rurality, among other possibilities. Women's participation in the peace talks should not, however, be restricted to this commission.

3. All parties should develop strategies that are based on an analysis of existing global practices with regard to gender equality and women's empowerment. They should:

- Clearly state in both the negotiation documents as well as the final peace agreement a formal commitment to women’s participation and equality;
- Articulate a robust and clear definition of a “gender perspective” or a “women’s perspective” within the agreement;
- Clearly distinguish between “sex” and “gender” to avoid conflating women with gender;
- Address explicitly women’s needs and demands in the text of any peace agreement and subsequent processes of implementation; and
- Engage a third party to conduct an assessment around the implications for women and men in all provisions of the peace agreement, including all legislation, policy or program mandates, and recommendations. This assessment should aim at addressing women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences, so that men and women benefit equally from the agreements and its subsequent policies and programs.

4. All mediating teams and negotiating parties should develop mechanisms to engage in consultation with women’s civil society organizations. They should:

- Engage a diverse group of women’s organizations early, ideally before negotiations even begin, to understand their specific needs;
- Ensure that these organizations represent a cross-section of women’s groups, including displaced women; ethnic, racial, and sexual minorities; and those from rural areas;
- Support both formal and informal modes of women’s organizing and deliberating with reference to the peace process;
- Hold public and private forums dedicated specifically to women’s participation and needs, and establish mechanisms to ensure that these needs are sufficiently incorporated into the negotiations and the peace agreement;
- Invite civil society to submit written proposals, over the internet or through free-of-charge regular mail, which will be reviewed by the negotiation team and seriously considered for the final drafting of the peace agreement; and
- Support and actively engage bipartisan women’s groups and coalitions that work across divisional lines.

Post-Conflict Planning

1. Transitional governments should conduct a comprehensive review of all existing institutional arrangements and assess them for their gender responsiveness. As stated by the UN, five principles should inform this review:

- Local women and national gender experts should be consulted, and their views reflected, in all planning processes;
- Analysis of needs and priorities should be based on an appreciation of the differential impact of conflict on women, men and boys and girls, and of the potential for prevailing gender relations to affect efforts to rebuild effective and equitable institutions;
- Resource allocations should be based on projections of the gender implications of competing funding scenarios;
- Gender-related outcome indicators and costed activities should be included in planning frameworks; and
- Sufficient expertise in social and gender analysis should be provided throughout the planning process to allow these steps to be implemented effectively and within the stipulated time frames.

2. Transitional governments should develop accountability mechanisms to ensure that gender perspectives continue to inform political and economic reform processes. They should:

- Track sex-disaggregated data of resource allocations, beneficiaries, and impacts within results frameworks and budgets; and
- Ensure that new approaches are systematically applied and yield improvements in terms of the inclusiveness and quality of planning.

3. Transitional governments should include gender experts in the development and implementation of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programming. They should:

- Stipulate that women form 50 percent of the lead decisions makers regarding all DDR policies;
- Regularly consult with former female combatants and women community members to ensure that their needs are heard and addressed;

- Ensure attention to the physical and medical needs of female combatants as they transition back into civil society, to reduce their risks of being physically or sexually threatened;
- Include a gender-sensitive monitoring component to ensure that the effects of the program on both men and women are being identified and addressed in a timely fashion;
- Provide child care arrangements to ensure that both male and female caregivers can access DDR services.

4. Transitional governments should ensure that all historical memory commissions conduct their work in a gender sensitive manner. To this end, they should:

- Ensure that all historical memory commissions or bodies include 50 percent women;
- Include experts who are politically independent and have the expertise to ensure that a gendered lens is infused throughout its work; and
- Focus on collecting information and developing services for men and women who have been victims of sexual violence during the conflict.

5. Donors should ensure that their conferences are more responsive to women’s needs in the post-conflict transition. To this end, they should:

- Provide meaningful opportunities for women’s formal and informal participation;
- Create avenues for the participation of civil society, inviting groups that together reflect diverse sectors of the population with respect to ethnicity, religion, tribal affiliation, economic status, sexuality, and rurality, among other possibilities;
- Provide all conference documentation to civil society groups;
- Provide space on the agenda for civil society groups to present their issues of concern; and
- Involve civil society organizations in developing policy papers.

Post-Conflict Financing

1. States should adopt gender-responsive budgeting practices. To this end, they should:

- Explain through promotional efforts how and why budgets are not gender neutral;
- Highlight what gender-budgeting is: participative, democratic, open and accessible, analytical and progressive, and effective policy-making;
- Highlight what gender-budgeting is not: separate budgets for women and men, equivalent spending for women and men, or incompatible with rights-based budgeting;
- Ensure an international approach to gender-budgeting that take into account other cross-sectional attributes such as race, ethnicity, rurality, sexuality, and tribal affiliation; and
- Provide gender budgeting training for leadership involved in all budget matters to ensure that sufficient knowledge transfer occurs among gender experts, budgetary experts, and political leadership.

2. States and donors should ensure that a significant proportion of funds in support of peacebuilding are dedicated to projects whose principal objective, consistent with organizational mandates, is to address women’s specific needs, advance gender equality, or empower women. They should:

- Require that funded projects demonstrate how they will benefit women and men;
- Integrate projects carried out by women’s organizations into large-scale development initiatives, rather than treating them as peripheral; and
- Fund women’s organizations directly, cutting out as many bureaucratic obstacles as possible to reduce cost, time, frustration, and miscommunication.

3. Donors should consider long-term organizational needs when developing funding priorities for gender and peacebuilding. They should:

- Fund institutional capacity-building, not simply program costs, in order to assist women’s organizations doing much of the on-the-ground work with sufficient funds to pay salaries, rents, utilities, and other overhead costs that are incurred on a daily basis;
- Consider the funding and policy priorities identified by women’s organizations, rather than imposing donor-defined frameworks on grassroots organizations;

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- Provide women's organizations with training, technology, and additional resources necessary to meet the accounting needs of donors; and
- Offer flexibility with regard to project time lines and funding cycles, relying on the expertise of local women's groups as to what is possible to do within a given time frame.

Gender-Responsive Civilian Capacity

1. International organizations should develop methods for increasing the proportion of women civilians – as well as gender experts – deployed to post-conflict environments. They should:

- Identify the skills and expertise required to address gender inequalities in post-conflict environments;
- Formulate strategies for ensuring the inclusion of these experts in bilateral and multilateral contingents deployed to post-conflict environments;
- Recruit reproductive health practitioners, legal experts, and other specialists to participate in the design and implementation of gender-sensitive DDR programming to meet the needs of female combatants transitioning back into society;
- Recruit gender advisors who can assist in the restructuring and rebuilding of state institutions, for example in the areas of electoral reform, legislative reform, security, and gender-responsive budgeting;
- Develop mechanisms for the recruitment of gender experts and their integration into the rosters of deployable personnel; and
- Dedicate sufficient resources to ensure the sustained engagement of civilian personnel.

Women's Representation in Post-Conflict Governance

1. Civil society organizations and political parties should draw on their respective areas of expertise to develop effective strategies for promoting women in decision-making positions. They should:

- Conduct a review of formal barriers to women's political participation, including voter registration procedures, civic education programs, candidate security, and media access;
- Identify and eliminate informal barriers to women's political participation, including party recruitment practices that privilege male candidates over female candidates; and
- Conduct vulnerability mapping to assess potential violence facing women as voters, party workers and candidates, as well as action to prevent and respond to such threats.

2. International organizations should provide technical expertise regarding temporary special measures, including gender quotas, to promote women in decision-making. They should:

- Provide a broad-based assessment of quota systems used in post-conflict settings; and
- Propose insight into quotas that might be effective in light of other structural conditions, like electoral systems and political party systems.

3. Governments should pursue the introduction of temporary special measures to promote women in decision-making bodies at all levels of government.

Rule of Law

1. Governments and international organizations should develop gender-sensitive approaches to ensuring access by women and girls to justice and law-enforcement institutions. They should:

- Increase the proportion of female police officers and members of peacekeeping operations, recognizing the need to recruit diverse women with regard to ethnicity, religion, tribal affiliation, economic status, sexuality, and rurality, among other possibilities;
- Prioritize women's and girls' security with regard to camps for refugees and internally displaced persons;
- Establish designated units within police stations to register, respond to, and monitor cases brought by women in cases of sexual and gender-based violence; and
- Work in partnership to train lawyers, paralegals, and police liaison

assistants to provide legal advice and logistical support to women on issues like sexual and gender-based violence, land ownership and inheritance claims, child custody, and citizenship.

2. Transitional governments should ensure that minimum standards of gender-responsiveness are established for truth commissions, reparations programs, and related bodies. They should:

- Create a truth and reconciliation commission specific for women tasked with ensuring that a gender lens is infused throughout the entire process; and
- Ensure that a gender analysis is infused throughout historical memory practices.

Economic Recovery

1. Governments should specifically target women as a beneficiary group in post-conflict employment programs. They should:

- Ensure that women receive at least half of these employment opportunities;
- Include women as “frontline” service-delivery agents, for example in the areas of health care, agricultural extension, and natural-resource management;
- Encourage all public and private organizations to eliminate gender-based pay gaps;
- Support initiatives to enhance women’s access to non-traditional jobs, as well as to eradicate sexual harassment at work;
- Prioritize combatting gender-based violence, as women’s economic empowerment and potential is significantly impacted by violence; and
- Incorporate attention to diversity among women with regard to ethnicity, religion, tribal affiliation, economic status, sexuality, and rurality, among other possibilities.

2. Governments should involve women in post-conflict economic decision-making. They should:

- Prioritize and increase women’s access and control over economic resources;
- Ensure women’s equal participation in all stages of DDR programming;

- Promote women’s participation in gender-sensitive budgeting, policy development, and program execution;
- Require the direct involvement of women’s civil society organizations in setting priorities, identifying beneficiaries, and monitoring implementation where local development and infrastructure programs are based on participatory approaches; and
- Contribute to the capacity-building of civil society organizations that address women’s economic empowerment to develop and implement sustainable strategies.

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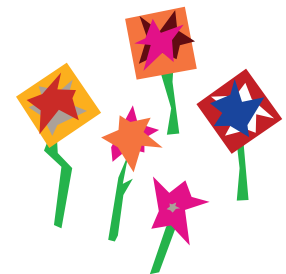
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