

SECURING THE PEACE

Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes



United Nations Development Fund for Women

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UNIFEM

UNIFEM is the women's fund at the United Nations. It provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programmes and strategies that promote women's human rights, political participation and economic security. UNIFEM works in partnership with UN organizations, governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and networks to promote gender equality. It links women's issues and concerns to national, regional and global agendas by fostering collaboration and providing technical expertise on gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment strategies.

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Foreword: To the Reader

This publication targets the following actors: mediators and facilitators of peace negotiations and their teams; international and regional organizations; United Nations entities, particularly the Department of Political Affairs (DPA); international development banks; donor countries; international governmental and non-governmental organizations; and parties to formal negotiations.

This report provides concrete recommendations to:

- a) support women's effective participation at all stages of a peace process,
- b) promote gender-sensitive peace negotiations and agreements, and
- c) encourage the mainstreaming of a gender perspective throughout the implementation of peace accords.

It builds on and complements other resources that have addressed the issue of gender-sensitive peace processes, including *Women at the Peace Table*, by Sanam Naraghi Anderlini (2000), *Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women—A Framework of Model Provisions: Report of the Expert Group Meeting* (2003) and the chapter devoted to peace negotiations and agreements in the International Alert–Women Waging Peace handbook, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action* (2004).¹

The energetic commitment of the actors listed above is necessary to bring women to the peace table and to integrate a gender perspective in the design and implementation of the agreements. The guidelines in this report offer a variety of steps to meet these goals. It is the task of the actors themselves to identify which activities are most relevant and appropriate to the specific context and to their capacity and mandate.

Introduction

The transition from war to peace opens a unique window of opportunity to address the root causes of conflict and transform institutions, structures and relationships within society. Increasingly, formal peace processes create a space for negotiation of deeper-rooted societal and political issues, such as post-war power-sharing; constitutional, electoral and legislative reform; disarmament and reintegration of combatants; and decisions relating to refugees and internally displaced persons. Ongoing support from a wide range of stakeholders is crucial to lasting peace and to the success of negotiated settlements in the fragile early post-conflict period.

It is essential to ensure the active involvement of women and the articulation of gender equality from the earliest stages of peace talks through to implementation and monitoring of agreements. Not only do women have their own perspectives on political solutions and national recovery priorities to offer, but if they are excluded from peace accords this has tended, in the past, to guarantee their subsequent exclusion from public decision-making institutions. Around the world, women have laboured to build and maintain peace at the community level and can bring this knowledge and experience to the negotiation table. Women who appreciate the ways that inequality and injustice hinder human development can make the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements more constructive. The prospects for sustainable peace and development are greatly improved by tapping into women's understanding of the challenges faced by civilian populations and their insights into the most effective ways to address them.

Why Involve Women?

As victims, survivors and even wagers of armed conflict, women are major stakeholders in the resolution of conflict and the course that is set for future development. Despite their civilian status, women and children have increasingly become specific targets of attack, and sexual violence is emerging as a method of waging war in order to destroy communities and families. In addition, more often than is widely known, women are armed fighters alongside men. Whether as victims or combatants, women often shoulder an additional burden due to traditional gender roles: their labour, strength and determination maintain their families and communities during war and throughout the long, slow process of rebuilding the peace.

A number of international commitments outline women's right to full involvement in political and economic decision-making, including numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security (see Annex 1 for details on the provisions of the various international commitments).

Implementing these commitments would be a first step toward utilizing all available resources to establish and sustain peace. When approaching the difficult task of ending war, the stakes are too high to neglect the resources that women have to offer. Examples from around the world illustrate their contributions.

- **Women's organizations persistently advocate for peace.** Their focus and demand can be instrumental in initiating formal peace negotiations, maintaining support for the process and facilitating implementation of the accords. In Colombia, for example, despite repeated attacks, disappearances, kidnappings and threats against women leaders, they continue to organize, develop agendas for peace and lobby for their implementation. In 1999, women's organizations were at the

forefront of a civil society campaign leading to peace talks between President Andrés Pastrana and the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC). And since the collapse of the dialogues in 2002, women's groups remain the primary vocal advocates for renewed negotiations.²

- **Women often build a foundation for peace negotiations.** In Northern Ireland, for example, women's groups spent a decade building trust between Protestants and Roman Catholics, creating a foundation upon which the agreements would ultimately be built. By highlighting the personal cost of the violence and drawing attention to the tangible effects of war on people's lives, they convinced both the parties to the negotiations and the public that "living and the quality of life...were the issues that mattered"—even more than the contentious political issues being negotiated.³
- **Women can catalyze peace negotiations.** In Sri Lanka, a leading businesswoman began a massive awareness-raising campaign to support the start of negotiations in 2001. More than one million Sri Lankans publicly demonstrated their support for peace, pressuring leaders to begin peace talks.
- **Women can build ties among opposing factions.** In Somalia, women presented themselves as a "sixth clan" at the National Reconciliation Conference in Arta, Djibouti, reaching beyond clan divisions to a "vision of gender equality." They ultimately assisted in the creation of a National Charter that guaranteed women 25 seats in the 245-member Transitional National Assembly.⁴
- **Women can increase the inclusiveness, transparency and sustainability of the peace process.** During South Africa's post-apartheid transition, a coalition of women's groups advocated for and achieved a more democratic process for constitutional and legislative reform. A participatory approach that required the government to seek civil society input on proposed policies was adopted. This resulted in the expansion of the definition and scope of security and allowed the population to articulate its concerns in a national dialogue on security sector reform.⁵
- **Women can bring a different perspective from men to negotiations, raising issues that might otherwise be ignored.** In El Salvador, women leaders at the negotiation table and in implementation committees ensured that the names of women fighters, as well as non-combatant supporters of the opposition movement, were included in beneficiary lists for land and other resources. Providing for supporters, in particular, averted a near certain crisis among the peasant population and was something their male colleagues had neglected up to that point.⁶
- **A gender perspective in the peace process can lead to long-term advances for women's equality.** Among the 500 representatives to Afghanistan's Congressional drafting committee, 102 were women of various languages, ethnicities and political affiliations.⁷ Overcoming many obstacles, their presence and persistence led to a guarantee of women's equality in the final draft of the new constitution, including a quota for women in the lower house of parliament.
- **Women often complement official peace-building efforts.** In Liberia, women's organizations campaigned for the disarmament of factions before the handover of power to the new transitional government per the terms of the Cotonou Accord (1993). They also raised funds to buy and subsequently destroy weapons. Amos Sawyer, Liberia's interim president from 1990 to 1993, notes: "I recall, even up to the day that the interim government was handing over, there were women carrying placards and saying, 'Disarmament has not taken place and this indeed is a mistake.' If disarmament had taken place back in 1994...we probably wouldn't have had April 6, 1996 [when fighting reached Monrovia]."⁸
- **Women can foster reconciliation and provide an example for moving society forward.** In Rwanda, women formed the first cross-party parliamentary caucus, composed of both Hutus and Tutsis, addressing issues of concern to women from all political parties. This set the precedent for other cross-party caucuses to be established.

- **Women often work to sustain the peace agreement at all levels.** In Bougainville in 1998, women returned from peace talks to their communities and were reportedly the only leaders to initiate an information campaign for the public to comprehend the decisions of the peace accord and the next steps in its implementation.

Ensuring women’s *effective* participation involves a range of actions. Even before peace processes officially begin, the international community can support diverse women’s peace-building activities at local and national levels, facilitating their development of a common agenda for peace, and strengthening their capacity as leaders to prepare them for the negotiating table and the post-conflict transition. During the negotiations, women from various backgrounds must be brought forward in official and informal capacities so that the voices and experiences of women throughout the country will be considered during decision-making that will affect all of society. And once the agreement is signed, women must continue to participate in implementation and monitoring mechanisms, ensuring that the priorities of half the population are allocated resources and attention in the post-conflict environment.

Ultimately, the peace process is compromised when women do not participate. It has been recognized that inclusiveness is necessary to ensure the legitimacy of the decision-making process, to encourage a broad base of participation and to make sustainable peace and development possible. And indeed, many instances exist of international efforts to promote broad ethnic, religious and political representation in peace negotiations, transitional institutions and post-conflict reconstruction. Efforts to include women in such processes are equally important.

The Role of the International Community in Peace Processes

Various actors within the international community—individuals and institutions, government and civil society—play a variety of roles in peace processes: setting the agenda; acting as official third-party mediators, facilitators or trusted “outsider-neutrals”; sponsoring or hosting peace talks; offering support and encouragement to negotiating parties to move the process forward; and establishing monitoring and verification mechanisms for implementation of the accord.

The international community is thus in a critical position to support women’s participation at the peace table, to build women’s capacity as effective participants and to ensure that women’s needs and contributions are not overlooked during implementation. Negotiating peace is a complex process, and resulting settlements are often fragile. Various contexts and circumstances require different approaches: where one situation might permit an inclusive process that examines the root causes of conflict, another might require exclusive talks on a narrow range of issues. Entry points for women, however, do exist in every case. This publication offers a range of recommendations of means through which the international community can facilitate women’s participation before, during and after peace negotiations.

A UNIFEM review of peace processes in Latin America, Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East identified several key factors that are necessary to guarantee women’s participation at the peace table and the integration of a gender perspective into accords.

- I. **Building a constituency of women with a gender-sensitive agenda and creatively bringing women to the peace table** are key in the critical early stages of the peace process.
- II. An enabling environment for women’s participation—including the **establishment of structures to facilitate women’s input and strategic support to women**—is necessary throughout negotiations.
- III. **Addressing women’s priorities** in the peace agreement and **ensuring gender-sensitive implementation** are vital to ensure post-conflict gains for women.

Practical, targeted recommendations are offered to realize each of these goals. Select case studies, lessons learned and best practices are also offered to demonstrate the practical implications of the recommended actions.

In his report to the Security Council on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security, the Secretary-General called on “Member States, entities of the United Nations and civil society to develop comprehensive guidelines and training initiatives based on the framework of model provisions on promoting gender equality in peace agreements.”⁹ Moreover, the Secretary-General declared his intention to analyze obstacles to and missed opportunities for women’s participation in recent peace negotiations and to develop strategies accordingly, a plan welcomed by the Security Council. *Securing the Peace* is offered as UNIFEM’s first contribution towards the development of these guidelines. In this way, the Fund hopes to ensure that—from the outset—the experience and knowledge women have gained through their real-life efforts inform the strategies being developed on their behalf.

The overarching goal envisioned in *Securing the Peace* is a locally driven, locally owned and inclusive process wherein women can assert their right to participate in the decisions being taken about their future and which will result in the signing and implementation of a gender-sensitive peace agreement. A narrow window of opportunity exists for a gender perspective to be incorporated in the transformative processes that follow conflict; these begin with the negotiations that end war and create a foundation for peace. The guidelines offered here point the way to helping women make the most of that window, so they contribute to and benefit from a lasting, just and inclusive peace.

I. Amplifying Women's Voices

A. Women are more likely to make an impact on negotiations when they convene as a constituency of women with a common agenda for peace.

Although parties to conflict typically have distinct priorities and demands and may be resistant to the inclusion of additional issues, the agenda and topics addressed during the talks often outline an initial framework for peace. The issues discussed during negotiations are as important to women as they are to men; to be effective in preventing a resurgence of conflict, peace agreements must address the needs of the entire population. Women's voices and perspectives must be heard from the outset at the negotiating table if their views are to be integrated in the peace process.

Given the difficulties inherent in negotiating peace, attempts to bring women's voices to the talks are most successful when those voices are unified in their demands. However, like men, women differ dramatically in their political ideas, affiliations and attitudes, making them anything but a homogenous group. Their perspectives hinge on their experiences during the conflict, which will vary according to race, ethnicity, religion, class, age, profession and geographic location, among other factors. Thus when women are able to formulate a consensus-based platform, their diversity adds tremendous credibility, legitimacy and force to their demands. Supporting women from diverse regions and backgrounds to unite around common priorities for peace and reconstruction—in order to inform negotiations—can be a first step to increasing women's effective involvement in the peace process. Throughout this process, it is critical for international support to be advisory and facilitative, rather than prescriptive, so that local women's groups can take full ownership of any final decisions taken, recommendations drafted or networks created.

A variety of exercises have proven useful to facilitate a common platform. First, a diverse group of recognized women leaders must be chosen from among relevant constituencies. Thus—often as a result of the diversity of the group—significant time is necessary to allow the women to meet and begin to trust one another, particularly as they may be coming from opposing sides of a conflict. In Colombia, women have actually spent months—even years—to arrive at a women's agenda for peace. In most cases, however, women's availability consists of only a few days, where they may be convened at a neutral, international location. In this situation, providing a specific opportunity for women leaders to share their experiences of the conflict with each other is critical; barriers are often broken down at this point, setting the stage for collaboration and consensus building. Confidence-building measures are essential before and at the start of any meetings; these might include, for instance, promoting exchanges of information, experience and expertise with women from other countries. Women leaders often recognize that a strategic alliance between women's groups can be based on a minimum common agenda of securing women's place at the peace table, allowing them to set aside other differences temporarily. At this early stage, capacity building and technical training on mediation and negotiations are also critical in order to prepare women to participate in the official process, honing their abilities and maximizing their contribution.

Recommended Actions

- I.A.1. Assist women in identifying strategic entry points to the peace process, including key allies, supporters and donors as well as critical issues on the agenda regarding equality and opportunity.
- I.A.2. Encourage female delegates of negotiating parties, in particular, to meet with women's civil society organizations to foster greater public ownership and investment in the process.

Box 1: Supporting a Common Women's Platform in the DRC

When parties to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo announced their intention to hold an Inter-Congolese Dialogue—a national convention on political reform and reconciliation that would include civil society groups—women across the country were determined to take part. They advocated for formal participation, drawing on Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) as a foundation for their campaign. In response, a series of initiatives was launched to prepare women for participation and to elevate their voices in the negotiations. First, with support from the facilitator of the talks—Sir Ketumile Masire, former president of Botswana—UNIFEM conducted a women's "Peace Table" in October 2001, resulting in the inclusion of gender issues and women's participation as substantive items on the official agenda. Second, in December 2001, a delegation of African women leaders led by Ruth Sando Perry, former head of state of Liberia, travelled to the DRC in a peace and solidarity mission, which was organized by FAS and the DRC branch of Women as Partners for Peace in Africa (WOPPA-DRC) with funding from UNDP, UNHCR and UNESCO and additional support from the Organization for African Unity and UNIFEM. The peace and solidarity mission succeeded in raising the profile of women's demands for inclusion and promoting a broad consensus on women's effective participation and the mainstreaming of their agenda in the peace process.

As a result, 60 women from across the DRC representing government, armed opposition, political opposition and civil society—the parties to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue—convened in Nairobi, Kenya, in February 2002 for a national forum to harmonize their position and articulate a common vision. The cross-party workshop organized by FAS and WOPPA-DRC and supported by UNIFEM and the government of Canada, in addition to providing a space for capacity-building, gave the diverse group of women an opportunity to negotiate among themselves to build a women's platform for peace. This was no easy task, as women faced one another across the same divisions that the Inter-Congolese Dialogue itself was trying to overcome. In the four days they spent together, the women succeeded in compiling the Nairobi Declaration and Action Plan, which called for gender sensitivity to be mainstreamed throughout the dialogue, for the international community to allocate sufficient resources to implement the Declaration, and for the facilitator to incorporate it directly into the agenda for negotiations.¹⁰

The efforts of women and support of international organizations and civil society to train women leaders and provide a space for formulating a common agenda led to significant progress. When the dialogue resumed, there were 36 women among the 300 delegates, and Article 51 of the 2003 transitional Constitution guarantees women's full participation in decision-making during post-conflict reconstruction.

- I.A.3. Facilitate exchanges of information and experience between national stakeholders (both women's groups and negotiating parties) and regional or international partners—for instance, women from countries that underwent similar peace processes.
- I.A.4. Convene nation-wide consultations that include women of diverse backgrounds in civil society, government and political parties to promote dialogue, networking, confidence building and the formulation of a women's peace agenda.
- I.A.5. Engage a local expert to conduct a gender analysis of the issues on the agenda to identify areas where specific needs and concerns exist. Disseminate the analysis to women leaders to mobilize their constituencies.

I.A.6. Building on the gender analysis, convene women leaders and international gender experts to formulate a targeted response to specific issues and provide draft language for the accord that is legally accurate and conceptually clear.

B. Early in the peace process, the identification of strategic entry points for women’s participation can significantly heighten their access to the table and impact on the accords.

At the outset of negotiations, the international community can play a unique role in guaranteeing women’s participation by identifying strategic entry points in the process. Although international mediators face a number of challenges at this stage and do not want to impose major conditions on the parties, Security Council resolution 1325 and other international mechanisms mandate that they ensure women’s inclusion in peace talks. This conundrum has been creatively addressed in several cases.

Box 2: Winning Constituency Support for the Women’s Peace Movement in Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, the definition of relevant negotiating parties was expanded. US Senator George Mitchell recognized the fractured political nature of the region and established a benchmark for inclusion based on popular choice. The ten political parties with the highest numbers of votes in a national election won seats at the table. The women’s peace movement, which brought together Catholics and Protestants, quickly formed a political party, drew on its constituency for support and won enough votes to obtain a seat. No one could accuse them of not having a constituency, or of not being fully legitimate participants.

Recommended Actions

- I.B.1. Advocate directly with the negotiating parties for a minimum of 30% women’s representation in their delegations, as called for in the Beijing Platform for Action; also request 30% women’s representation among formal observers and the elevation of women as a group to observer status.
- I.B.2. Create a directory of women’s civil society organizations through field-based consultations with women’s groups and leaders, including refugees and internally displaced populations.
- I.B.3. Broker meetings between women’s groups, the facilitator and negotiating parties so that women can formally request direct participation in the peace talks; continue these meetings throughout the peace process.
- I.B.4. Support the establishment of a women’s advisory committee to the negotiations process to track and influence the formal peace process.
- I.B.5. Assist women’s organizations with awareness-raising campaigns to publicly convey the importance of their participation in the peace process.
- I.B.6. Ensure that consultative processes and civil society input feeds directly into the formal negotiations.

Box 3: Expanding the Peace Table to Include Civil Society Perspectives in Guatemala

In Guatemala, the “table” itself was extended, and UN-mediated negotiations established a standing forum, the Civil Society Assembly (ASC), in a framework agreement signed by the parties to the conflict. Funded by bilateral donors, the ASC represented a wide cross-section of Guatemalan society and was composed of 11 clusters, including indigenous organizations, women’s groups, business associations, academics, the media and others. The ASC was mandated to discuss the substantive issues under consideration at the official negotiating table; develop and offer consensus-based, non-binding positions in each area; and review and endorse the final draft agreements. This structure, with its emphasis on consensus and its adherence to the timeframe of the bilateral negotiations, helped women’s groups to define and unite behind a common agenda. Women’s groups successfully lobbied to be included as a distinct sector of the Assembly, and the traditional women’s movement, together with women in indigenous organizations, addressed the substance of the talks and engaged the sole woman negotiator at the formal peace table to integrate a gender perspective into the final accords.

Women’s advocacy efforts and their presence in the ACS and at the peace table were instrumental in attaining specific commitments to gender equality, especially for rural and indigenous women. One result was the unprecedented recognition of indigenous women in the text of the accords and the establishment in 1999 of the Indigenous Women’s Defence Office. The Guatemalan government agreed to revise national legislation to eliminate discriminatory laws or clauses, and women won land ownership rights and commitments to equal access to credit, education, housing, health care and political participation.

II. Constructing an Enabling Environment

A. Structures and mechanisms within the office of the facilitator, mediator or mission can enhance the integration of a gender perspective in peace negotiations.

The facilitator or mediator of peace negotiations, while having no jurisdiction over the final decisions of the negotiating parties, does have a crucial role to play in steering the negotiations. His or her support, even if indirect, can be vital in getting women to the peace table and ensuring that their perspectives are incorporated into the accords. Even logistical decisions—which may seem minor in some cases—can serve to advantage or disadvantage women. If a timeline for negotiations is brief, for example, public education and consultation is limited, and women—often with a steeper learning curve than men due to traditional roles and position in society—may not yet be positioned or prepared for effective participation. The geographic venue for talks may also prohibit women’s participation due to household responsibilities and the expense of travel. The rules of procedure are equally important; at this juncture, the facilitator can recall the provisions of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) for all actors to include women among their negotiating delegations. With regard to agenda setting, international mediators should take it upon themselves to consult with civil society actors, including women’s organizations, to better understand their perspectives, concerns and solutions and to explore opportunities for enabling their inclusion in formal talks. In this way, the international community and the facilitator, in particular, can work with negotiating parties to ensure that all relevant actors are, at the very least, given the opportunity to provide input into the process.

Although qualifications in selecting a facilitator rarely include gender sensitivity, some individual facilitators have become champions of gender equality and supported women’s participation in the peace process in various settings. In Burundi, for example, both facilitators—Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, followed by Nelson Mandela—met with women and encouraged official delegations to include women on their teams and as formal participants in the process. At the Inter-Congolese Dialogues, Sir Ketumile Masire, former president of Botswana, issued a joint statement with UNIFEM proposing specific actions to increase women’s effective participation in the peace process. In both situations, women were eventually included, and gender-sensitive outcomes were attained in the peace agreements and transitional laws.

The make-up of the facilitator or mediator’s team is also critical to the successful incorporation of a gender perspective and the active participation of women in the negotiations and resulting agreement. It is essential for the team to be gender balanced and for all team members to be cognizant of gender issues. In addition, the facilitator or mediator should appoint at least one high-level gender adviser as part of the team, funded from the same sources as other positions. The role of the gender adviser(s), with support from UNIFEM and other UN agencies on the ground when appropriate, should include providing a gender analysis, which will clarify the needs, concerns and potential contributions of women and girls, and examining all negotiations documents with a gender perspective.

Recommended Actions

II.A.1. Offer training to members of the negotiating parties—both male and female—regarding the importance of including a gender perspective in the peace process.

II.A.2. Encourage gender-sensitive rules of procedure to allow women’s full participation.

Box 4: Institutionalizing a Gender-sensitive Negotiating Capability: IGAD's Women's Desk

In lengthy peace processes, facilitation mechanisms may extend beyond the office of the facilitator or mediator to become a standing body. In 2000, the countries of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) established a Secretariat in Nairobi to facilitate an ongoing process of negotiations for East African conflict-affected states. At this critical juncture, UNIFEM supported the creation of a Women's Desk at the Secretariat to strengthen women's participation and ensure a gender perspective in IGAD-facilitated peace process. Through the Women's Desk, the international community has provided a gender expert for the mediation team, a resource centre for women delegates and capacity building for women leaders, including the female participants to the Somali National Reconciliation Conference. These combined efforts resulted in a sustained presence of 35 Somali women delegates and observers at the Conference, integration of specific women's rights issues and gender equality commitments in the negotiated Charter and the adoption of a 12% quota for women in the National Assembly and 25% for regional assembly seats.¹¹ In 2002, in recognition of its contributions, the Women's Desk formally became an institution of IGAD, officially part of its mandate and budget.

- II.A.3. Actively seek out the assistance and input of women's civil society organizations and other relevant agencies when drafting the terms of reference for the facilitator and a gender adviser.

To the facilitation team:

- II.A.4. Promote strong representation of women in delegations and/or as a group and advocate for the inclusion of women's concerns on the official agenda for talks; explicitly raise the importance of this issue with negotiating parties.
- II.A.5. Meet with women's groups regularly; explain the process, agenda and procedures of the negotiations to their representatives.
- II.A.6. Promote gender balance and expertise within the facilitation team and among the expert advisers attached to the process; provide opportunities for internal capacity building through training on the impact of war on women, the relevance of gender equality to conflict and peace-building and the practical implications of women's participation in all aspects of the peace process and post-conflict reconstruction.
- II.A.7. Appoint a gender adviser to liaise with all parties at the negotiations to promote a gender perspective and to provide guidance, especially to women at the peace table and civil society representatives, particularly with regard to honing and advancing their common agenda within the process.

B. Women and their organizations require specific forms of support to maximize their participation in peace negotiations.

The most effective advocates for women's participation are women themselves. But in order for them to be effective, women must enjoy protection from security threats, sufficient resources to maximize their efforts, political space in which to organize and access to decision-makers. While the expenses of negotiating parties are usually borne by a designated fund, women are often obliged to finance their own participation. As official talks are generally held at international venues over extended periods of time, women may be unable to sustain the expense of involvement for the duration of

negotiations. They are often doubly burdened, as many women must bear the cost of lost income, as well as childcare. Financial support for women leaders and their organizations is critical to facilitate a seat for women at the peace table.

Once financial support has been procured for their participation, security threats facing women overwhelm all other considerations in determining the extent to which women will be able to fully engage in peace negotiations. The assassination of Starlin Abdi Arush, a female delegate to the Somali peace negotiations in Nairobi, on 24 October 2002 is but one terrible example of the dangers that women face by taking visible, and often controversial, roles. Programmes might range from awareness raising and media campaigns promoting women's role in the peace process to the provision of satellite phones and security personnel to women leaders. Ensuring women's participation at the peace table requires special protections for women leaders, and funding must be allocated for their security needs.

In addition to logistical needs regarding funding and protection, women have called on organizations, including UNIFEM, to provide them with the skills and training they need to effectively participate in negotiations, conflict resolution and peace-building. Capacity building is therefore an important task for the UN, partner organizations and NGOs facilitating women's participation in peace talks. Since prolonged training sessions limit women's ability to participate, a number of short, well-targeted sessions should be considered. Trainers should consist of international, regional and local experts. In addition to coalition building, courses should include, but not be limited to:

- Conflict resolution and gender-sensitive peace-building, such as mediation, negotiation and best practices of other peace processes;
- Thematic post-conflict issues, such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, constitution drafting, elections, legal reform and macro-economic planning;
- Political issues, such as democratization, leadership, political parties, advocacy, campaign strategies, constituency building and voter education; as well as
- Organizational skills, such as grant writing, strategic planning, computer training, public speaking and media relations.

UNIFEM and other partners have provided capacity building at critical stages of the peace process for women from countries including Afghanistan, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan and many others. In line with a decision of the IGAD Council of Ministers to officially recognize women participants at the Somali peace talks in Eldoret, the IGAD Women's Desk, UNIFEM, the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development and other organizations conducted a series of training sessions, seminars and discussions aimed at getting the women fully conversant with negotiating a peace process that would apply to all parties and peoples in Somalia. The progress made in the National Reconciliation Conference for Somalia was closely linked to the preparation through training sessions and workshops that both women and men had undergone since October 2002. As a result of this learning experience, women had gained persuasive powers in their dealings with the negotiating parties.¹² In addition to UN and multi-lateral agencies, various international civil society groups have worked with women's organizations at this critical stage. The US-based NGO Women Waging Peace, for example, identified and convened a diverse spectrum of women leaders from Sudan in 2004. Women leaders from the government, civil society, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army and grassroots activists from throughout the country, including Darfur, gathered in Washington for three days of networking, training and consensus building. After achieving a common platform for peace, they drew upon their recent training to meet with leaders in Washington and New York to disseminate their points and advocate for women's participation in the Sudanese negotiations.¹³

Recommended Actions

- II.B.1. Establish specific security measures to allow women's access to and full participation in negotiations.
- II.B.2. Allocate adequate resources within UN budgets to support women's preparation for and participation in peace processes through a) capacity-building programmes; b) national consultations in advance of peace negotiations; and c) national campaigns to raise public awareness of women's right to participate in the peace process.
- II.B.3. Dedicate funds within donor governments and other organizations for women's capacity building and technical support throughout the peace process.
- II.B.4. Provide sustained funding or other resources—such as security, housing, food or transport—to facilitate women's involvement for the duration of negotiations.
- II.B.5. Conduct a capacity and needs assessment to identify the training and support required to increase women's effectiveness in the negotiations. Implement projects and programs to address the needs uncovered in the assessment.
- II.B.6. Provide a gender analysis of issues on the agenda to the facilitator, the negotiating parties, women delegates and other influential actors.
- II.B.7. Support the creation of a dedicated space, such as a Women's Resource Centre, on-site at the negotiation venue to enable women to network, jointly strategize, share information and build consensus and a strong coalition.
- II.B.8. Support and assign a gender expert to the Women's Resource Centre for the benefit of all parties to the negotiations, including women; the expert should identify entry points to make the negotiations more responsive to the needs and aspirations of both women and men.
- II.B.9. Provide briefings and/or background papers to the negotiating parties outlining international conventions, Security Council resolutions and presidential statements and policy initiatives regarding women's participation in the peace process; include relevant lessons learned and best practices.

III. Sustaining Women's Involvement

A. Women have specific needs, priorities and strategies that must be included in the peace agreement to guarantee their fulfillment during implementation.

Peace negotiations and the signing of peace agreements are just the beginning of a long process of reconciliation, recovery and rebuilding. Accords generally lead to a series of reforms that last well into the post-conflict transition and reconstruction period and may include modalities for power-sharing arrangements, blueprints for economic reconstruction, constitutional, judicial and legislative reforms, plans for demobilization and reintegration of soldiers and/or plans for return and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).

As the Secretary-General notes: “If a peace agreement fails to note specifically the importance of gender equality, any measures proposed to promote gender equality in the implementation phase can be interpreted as beyond the scope of the peace mandate.”¹⁴ Gender-sensitive structures and issues to incorporate in peace accords might include: women’s rights in new constitutions; equal participation in political and economic decision-making at national and local levels; establishment of national machinery to support women’s rights—such as a women’s ministry or gender equality commission;

Box 5: Making Sure Women Get a Hearing: International Efforts to Brief Negotiating Parties in Burundi

International support to ensure women’s priorities are heard by official delegations can be critical to ensuring their inclusion in the peace agreement. In Burundi, after significant advocacy, seven women leaders participated as “permanent observers” to the Arusha peace talks, allowing them access to plenary sessions, but barring them from formal deliberations. In response, and with support of the facilitation team, UNIFEM and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation organized a high-level briefing for the heads of delegations, the facilitation team and others on how women’s rights could be incorporated into the formal Burundi peace accord. As a result, delegates officially recognized women’s contributions to peace building and guaranteed women’s direct involvement in the accord’s implementation. In addition, delegations agreed to an All-Party Burundi Women’s Conference that would allow women to make specific recommendations vis-à-vis the accords and their implementation. The Conference, organized with the support of UNIFEM, the UN Departments for Political Affairs and Public Information, the Swedish International Development Agency and the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, brought together the seven women observers as well as two women delegates from each of the 19 parties to the negotiations, representing refugees, the diaspora, business and civil society. Numerous international resource persons—including the facilitation team, which briefed the women on each step of the negotiations—offered their support as women drafted gender-sensitive recommendations that they hoped would influence the peace accords.

The women presented their list of recommendations to Nelson Mandela, the facilitator, then directly addressed a meeting of the negotiating parties and presented their 20 recommendations to the official delegations. More than half of their recommendations were incorporated into the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, signed on 28 August 2000. Among the women’s recommendations were clauses requiring that any repatriation exercise should be voluntary, based on prior consultation with all refugees, women as well as men; and that efforts would be made to ensure that women returning from refugee and displacement camps would have legal provision for access to their former lands and properties, so as to have some security of livelihood upon their return.

laws and action against GBV; gender-sensitive police forces; gender equality in inheritance rights and access to land, property, healthcare, housing, education, employment and credit.

In some cases, the contributions of women to negotiations and peace agreements are specifically related to the promotion of gender equality; at other times, their insight is directed at broader community needs. Regarding disarmament, for example, when women are not involved in decision-making, their needs and concerns—and even their presence—are generally neglected. In Sierra Leone, women and girls were not defined as fighters and were therefore not eligible to participate in DDR programs or receive benefits packages, including vocational training and stipends, available to their male counterparts. In El Salvador, however, women leaders at the negotiating table and in implementation committees ensured that the names of female fighters, as well as non-combatant supporters of the opposition movement, were included in beneficiary lists for land. Women's presence made the process more inclusive and ultimately more sustainable, averting a near-certain crisis among the rural population.

Recommended Actions

III.A.1. Ensure gender balance and expertise on the drafting committee; sensitize all members to the need for specific provisions that address the special needs of war-affected women and girls, as well as issues related to gender equality.

III.A.2. Urge the facilitator or mediator to promote clear, specific provisions in the language of the peace agreement to ensure women's participation in transitional and post-conflict mechanisms, including in the power-sharing arrangement.

B. After a peace agreement has been signed, opportunities exist to maximize women's participation in implementation and monitoring efforts.

The ultimate responsibility for implementing a peace agreement lies with its signatories. The international community, however, also has a role to play in maintaining gender issues at the forefront of their work, in accordance with internationally agreed-upon norms and standards. Their efforts should support women's organizations by establishing specific mechanisms and/or special measures, as called for by CEDAW and Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), to guarantee women's full involvement throughout the implementation phase. Such mechanisms can be realized via constitutional, judicial, legislative and electoral reforms and by bodies established specifically to monitor implementation of the accords. Moreover, key facets of the agreement, such as a timeframe for implementation and the distribution of funds for reconstruction, must make explicit reference to gender issues. The international community can back the implementation process through training, gender-sensitive resource allocation, support to women's organizations and capacity building.

In addition, a gender perspective must be mainstreamed throughout the many development processes that begin following the signing of the peace accord. At present, despite concentrated efforts to bring women to the negotiating table, very little has been done to ensure that commitments to women are followed through during the implementation of agreements. It is vital that women's priorities are reflected in post-conflict needs assessments, donors' conferences, Common Country Assessments, UN Development Assistance Frameworks, the elaboration of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, Public Expenditure Reviews and so on. Without women's involvement and gender awareness informing this stage of the transition to peace, women's needs, concerns and contributions will continue to be overlooked.

Box 6: From Peace to Recovery: Ensuring a Response to Women's Needs in Sudan

The post-conflict needs assessment and the international donors' conference on Sudan provided two important opportunities for the inclusion of women's issues into post-accord policy frameworks.¹⁵ As they were not invited to the negotiation table, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) Secretariat for Women, Gender and Child Welfare, the Gender Unit of the SPLM Peace Desk and national women's peace organizations have adopted a pro-active role to build sustainable peace following the signing of the CPA. International support at a variety of levels was a key factor in enabling Sudanese women to take advantage of these entry points.

To encourage a smooth and rapid shift to post-conflict recovery, the UN and World Bank-led Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) for Sudan was set in motion even before the CPA was signed. Informed by Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) policy commitment towards women's participation in peace-building, the JAM coordinating committee took on the task of mainstreaming gender throughout the needs assessment process. UNIFEM was mandated to take the lead in this process and assigned two gender experts to the JAM—one for each of the two core teams covering GoS and SPLM areas. The experts sensitized JAM team members with a gender perspective throughout the needs assessment and developed a gender checklist that became a key tool in aiding JAM members to identify the particular needs of women and girls within each of its eight clusters. Through consultations with Sudanese women, extensive field missions, analysis of key issues for women in existing assessments and memoranda to the peace negotiations, the gender experts developed an analysis, recommendations and gender-responsive costing for each cluster. These informed the final JAM report and its Framework for Sustained Peace, Development and Poverty Eradication.

As well as providing input to the JAM process, Sudanese women made a concerted effort to ensure that their concerns would be reflected and prioritized during the donors' conference for Sudan. They found a key ally in the Norwegian government, which was hosting the Oslo Donors' Conference on Sudan in April 2005. With funding from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, over 50 women travelled to Oslo to attend the donors' conference and to participate in a gender symposium held on the eve of the conference under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UNIFEM and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). The gender symposium created a strategic space where Sudanese women from across the country stood in solidarity with each other and their communities and defined a common agenda on urgent needs for reconstruction. They selected two representatives—one from the north and one from the south—to represent them at the official conference, where gender issues had been made an explicit part of the agenda. As delegates, the women formally presented the common priorities and recommendations identified at the symposium. They called for a gender-responsive budgeting approach to donor funding and affirmative action in the governance structures, particularly the Constitutional Review Process. They highlighted the daily challenges women face with regard to reintegration and rehabilitation. They asserted their solidarity with the women of Darfur, decried the impact of gender-based violence and demanded inclusion in the African Union-led peace process for Darfur. In addition, women participants in the symposium were able to attend the donors' conference as observers, drawing widespread media attention.

Support for Sudanese women from a variety of international actors thus far has enabled significant progress towards addressing women's needs and promoting their involvement in the post-conflict period. This progress could not have been made without committed financial, technical and moral support at each and every step—and this support has to be sustained through to the process of

monitoring implementation as well. As nearly half of all countries that emerge from war experience a return to violence within five years,¹⁶ the international community is often invited to help prevent this by verifying the fulfillment of steps in the accords. Alternatively, national structures may be created to ensure implementation. Women must be involved in these monitoring processes. In Mindanao women have participated on official Local Monitoring Teams, established during the peace process to prevent and quickly resolve conflict.¹⁷

More often, however, women informally monitor implementation of the peace agreement through local networks and activities. In Bougainville in 1998, women returned from the peace talks to their communities and were reportedly the only leaders to initiate an information campaign for the public to comprehend the decisions of the peace accord and the next steps in its implementation. In West Africa, the Mano River Women's Peace Network, with support from the UN Trust Fund for Prevention Action, trains "peace messengers" in local areas to ensure vital information on emerging tensions is captured and meets with high-level officials, including the prime minister, obtaining assurances that dialogue among political parties and civil society will continue. Women can be an important ally in monitoring efforts, and steps must be taken to support and guarantee their participation.

Recommended Actions

- III.B.1. Convene a national women's conference to develop a national action plan for gender-sensitive implementation of the peace agreement.
- III.B.2. Appoint gender advisers to UN peacekeeping missions, where appropriate, to work with women representatives in ensuring the effective implementation of the gender-related provisions of the peace agreement.
- III.B.3. Support the efforts of women's organizations to maintain broad-based support for the peace process through its connections to local civil society networks; assist women's groups as they distill and disseminate peace agreements to the local population in local languages and in multi-media presentations.

Regarding needs assessments, in particular:

- III.B.4. Ensure gender balance and gender expertise in needs assessment teams at decision-making and technical levels; gender experts should be identified and involved from the outset and should be given sufficient resources to sensitize fellow team members to gender issues.
- III.B.5. Identify the specific needs and priorities of women in every sector as a standard component of needs assessments.¹⁸
- III.B.6. Ensure that needs assessment teams—and the sectoral leaders in particular, not only gender advisers—meet regularly with women leaders and organizations to seek their input during the assessment and to involve them as decision-makers during the drafting of final recommendations; involve women directly in plenary sessions rather than relegating them to side meetings.
- III.B.7. Provide cost analyses for gender issues identified in the needs assessment, and set targets for the funding of women's organizations and priorities.

Regarding donors' conferences, in particular:

- III.B.8. Organize a pre-meeting for national women's groups to liaise with international gender experts in preparation for the donors' conference.

- III.B.9. Invite women from civil society to address the donors' conference as delegates, highlighting their priorities and concerns in the post-conflict transition period.
- III.B.10. Encourage representatives to the donors' conference, including the UN, donors and signatories to the peace agreement, to include women in their delegations.
- III.B.11. Set targets for a percentage of reconstruction funding that should flow through or to women's organizations as implementers during reconstruction.

Regarding monitoring mechanisms, in particular:

- III.B.12. Establish mechanisms and structures to monitor implementation of the commitments to women's rights and gender equality in the peace accords; ensure these targets are included in the official implementation schedule; ensure that women are represented in these mechanisms.
- III.B.13. Maintain financial and technical support to both formal mechanisms and women's alliances and networks to strengthen women's ability to participate effectively in monitoring and implementing the agreement.

Conclusion

This report highlights the importance of women’s involvement at every stage of the peace process in order to ensure long-term gains following war. It aims to focus efforts to address women’s needs at decisive points within that process, particularly in the critical early stages. It is hoped that the recommendations will serve to direct the efforts of practitioners towards identifiable, attainable and pivotal goals that will facilitate women’s full involvement.

The UN is fully committed to the rights of women; international commitments for women’s rights and gender equality in peace processes are in place and have been reaffirmed in many different forums. As demonstrated by the case studies in this report, progress has been made, yet many challenges remain. Doors are opening, but they are “swinging” doors—prone to swinging shut if there is no resolve to continue prying them open. Women’s groups continue to struggle, advocate, influence and participate. The great challenge now is to turn international commitment into action and exercise necessary political will through the provision of technical, financial and moral support, delivering on important goals for half of the world’s citizens.

Further Reading

Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference*, New York: UNIFEM, 2000.

Getting It Right, Doing It Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Rehabilitation, UNIFEM, 2004.

Peace agreements as a means for promoting gender equality and ensuring participation of women – A framework of model provisions: Report of the Expert Group Meeting, EGM/PEACE/2003/REPORT, December 2003.

International Alert – Women Waging Peace toolkit, *Women, Peace, and Security*, 2004.

Liberian Women Peacemakers: Fighting for the Right To Be Seen, Heard and Counted, Africa World Press, 2004.

In the Midst of War: Women's Contributions to Peace in Colombia, Catalina Rojas (one of a series of case studies sponsored by the Women Waging Peace Policy Commission). <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/ColombiaFullCaseStudy.pdf>.

Negotiating the Transition to Democracy and Reforming the Security Sector: The Vital Contributions of South African Women, Washington, DC: Women Waging Peace Policy Commission, 2004.

Engendering Peace: Reflections on the Burundi Peace Process, African Women for Peace Series, Nairobi: UNIFEM, 2001.

Guidelines for mainstreaming gender in Joint Assessment for Sudan, UNIFEM, 2005.

Annex 1: International Instruments

General Assembly and Economic and Social Council resolutions calling for equal participation of women and equal opportunities in decision-making processes include A/RES/58/142, A/RES/37/63, A/RES/3251 (XXX), the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (General Assembly resolution 640), E/CN.4/RES/2003/44, A/S-23/8, E/1997/27 CSW (Agreed Conclusions 1997/2, Women in power and decision-making) and E/CN.6/1998/12 – E/1998/27 (Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women on critical areas of concern identified in the Beijing Platform for Action).

The **outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century”** (A/S-23/10/Rev.1) reiterated actions to be taken by the United Nations system and international and regional organizations as appropriate, including “Ensure and support the full participation of women at all levels of decision-making and implementation in development activities and peace processes, including conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict reconstruction, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building, and, in this regard, support the involvement of women’s organizations, community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations.”

The **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)** (to date ratified by 178 countries – over 90% of UN Member States) does not make direct reference to peace negotiations, but with Article 7 states parties made a commitment to allow women “to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government.” With Article 8 states parties made a commitment to “take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.” Moreover, in 1988 the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women recommended that states parties use additional “temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women” in order to “ensure the full implementation of article 8.”

The **1995 Beijing Platform for Action** (agreed to by 189 countries in 1995) states that the “full participation [of women] in decision-making, conflict prevention and resolution and all other peace initiatives is essential to the realization of lasting peace.” Strategic objective E.1. demands that states “increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels.”

In **resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security**, the Security Council “*Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict; *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes; ...*Calls* on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, *inter alia*: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction; (b) Measures that support local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements; (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary.”

Many regional organizations, including the European Commission and the Organization of American States, have adopted resolutions calling for women to be included in peace processes. In addition, the African Union has adopted a Protocol requiring States Parties to ensure increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making.

Endnotes

- 1 See the annex for a more comprehensive list of resources on this topic.
- 2 For details, see: Rojas, Catalina. *In the Midst of War: Women's Contributions to Peace in Colombia*. Washington, DC: Hunt Alternatives Fund, 2004, <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/ColombiaFullCaseStudy.pdf>.
- 3 Jackson, Helen. Qtd. In Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. *Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2000, http://www.unifem.org/resources/item_detail.php?ProductID=15, 33.
- 4 *Heeding women's voices: The story of their ongoing struggle to share the rebirth of Somalia*, IGAD Women's Desk, Djibouti, 2004.
- 5 *Negotiating the Transition to Democracy and Reforming the Security Sector: The Vital Contributions of South African Women*, Washington, DC: Women Waging Peace Policy Commission, 2004.
- 6 Conaway, Camille Pampell and Salome Martinez. *Adding Value: Women's Contributions to Reintegration and Reconstruction in El Salvador*. Washington, DC: Hunt Alternatives Fund, 2004, <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/ElSalvadorFullCaseStudy.pdf>.
- 7 Sultan, Masuda with Corey Levine and Elizabeth Powley. *From Rhetoric to Reality: Afghan Women on the Agenda for Peace*. Washington, DC: Hunt Alternatives Fund, 2005, <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/AfghanistanFullCaseStudy.pdf>.
- 8 For details, see: Douglas, Sarah, Vanessa Farr, Felicity Hill and Wenny Kasuma. *Getting It Right, Doing It Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Rehabilitation*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2005, http://www.unifem.org/resources/item_detail.php?ProductID=21; *Liberian Women Peacemakers: Fighting for the Right To Be Seen, Heard and Counted*. Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 2004.
- 9 *Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women* (EGM/PEACE/2003/REPORT). New York: United Nations, 2004, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/peace2003/documents.html>.
- 10 The Nairobi Declaration is available online at <http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/DRC/NairobiDec2002en.pdf>.
- 11 *Women, Peace and Security: UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2004, http://www.unifem.org/resources/item_detail.php?ProductID=22.
- 12 *Heeding women's voices: The story of their ongoing struggle to share the rebirth of Somalia*, IGAD Women's Desk, Djibouti, 2004.
- 13 Their joint recommendations are available online at: <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/content/articles/SudanRecommendations.pdf>.
- 14 *Women, Peace and Security: Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325* (2000). New York: United Nations, 2002, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/public/eWPS.pdf>. Para. 201.
- 15 For details, see: Danbolt, Iselin L., Gumbonzvanda, Nyaradzai and Kari Karame. *Towards Achieving the MDGs in Sudan: Centrality of Women's Leadership and Gender Equality*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2005, http://www.unifem.org/resources/item_detail.php?ProductID=50; Okonji, Grace and Ruth Kibiti. *Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender in Joint Assessment for Sudan*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2004, <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/sudan/docs/sudanjamunifem.pdf>; and *Sudanese Women's Priorities and Recommendations to the Oslo Donors' Conference on Sudan 11-12 April 2005*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2005, <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/sudan/docs/oslostatement.pdf>.
- 16 *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All: Report of the Secretary-General* (A/59/2005). New York, United Nations, 2005, <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/>.
- 17 Cagoco-Guiam, Rufa. "Negotiations and Detours: The Rocky Road to Peace in Mindanao." *Accord 6—Compromising on Autonomy: Mindanao in Transition*. Ed. Mara Stankovitch. London: Conciliation Resources, 2003, <http://www.c-r.org/accord/min/accord6/neganddet.shtml>.
- 18 The gender checklist developed by the UN Development Group and used (with situational modifications) in Iraq, Haiti, Liberia and Sudan is a useful tool for mainstreaming gender into needs assessments. See two versions of the gender checklist at http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/gender_checklist.pdf and <http://www.unsudanig.org/JAM/clusters/cross-cutting/mainstreaming-guidelines.doc>.



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