

6. The gender dimension in peacebuilding

- There is serious gender inequality in 67 countries, of which 34 stand out in particular. Some 69% of armed conflicts where there is data available on equality take place in countries with serious inequality.
- During 2009 sexual violence was used as a weapon of war in the majority of armed conflicts, especially in DR Congo, Somalia, Sri Lanka (east), Colombia, Myanmar, India (Jammu and Kashmir) and Iraq.
- The UN secretary-general presented his first report on sexual violence in armed conflicts, saying that the combination of impunity and government inaction encouraged its spread.
- The UN Security Council approved resolutions 1888 and 1889 with the aim of improving the implementation of resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, as well as resolution 1820 on sexual violence as a weapon of war.
- The UN General Assembly approved the setting up of a new UN agency for women that would bring together existing bodies working around gender equality.

This chapter looks at the various initiatives taken by the UN and other international organizations and movements regarding peacebuilding from a gender perspective.¹ The gender perspective allows us to see the different ways in which armed conflicts impact on women and men, and also how and to what degree both participate in peacebuilding and the contributions women are making to this process. The chapter is structured in three main sections: the first reviews the worldwide situation regarding gender inequality, using the Gender Equality Index as an analytical tool, the second analyzes the gender dimension in the impact caused by armed conflicts, while the last section looks at peacebuilding from a gender perspective. The chapter begins with a map indicating those countries with serious gender inequalities according to the Gender Equality Index.

6.1. Gender inequality

The **Gender Equality Index (GEI)**² (indicator N° 9)³ **measures gender equality across three dimensions: education (literacy and enrolment at all levels of education), economic activity (income and level of activity) and empowerment (involvement in technical and elected positions).** The importance of this indicator is that it doesn't just assemble information on the basis of sex, but analyzes this information in relation to the inequality between men and women. That is to say, it is a gender-sensitive indicator.⁴

1. Gender is an analytical category which demonstrates that inequality between men and women is a product of society, not of nature, manifest in the social and cultural constructs that separate the sexes. Gender aims to make visible the social construct of sexual differences at work and in power. The gender perspective seeks to show that the differences between men and women are a social construct and a product of power imbalances rooted in the patriarchal system. Gender as an analytical tool aims to show the historic nature and situation of sexual differences.

2. Drawn up by Social Watch <<http://www.socialwatch.org/es>>.

3. See annex 1 (Table of countries, indicators and description of indicators).

4. Statistics broken down by sex furnish factual information about women and as a gender-sensitive indicator give direct evidence of women's status in relation a fixed standard or set of references, in this case men. Schmeidl, Susan and Piza-Lopez, Eugenia, *Gender and Conflict Early Warning: A Framework for Action*, International Alert, 2002, at <<http://www.international-alert.org/publications/pub.php?p=80>>.

Table 6.1. Countries with serious gender inequality

Countries with GEI between 50 and 60¹

Albania	<i>Iran</i>	Surinam
Algeria	<i>Kenya</i>	Swaziland
<i>Angola</i> ²	<i>Korea, Rep.</i>	<i>Syria</i>
<i>Bangladesh</i>	Malaysia	<i>Tajikistan</i>
Burkina Faso	<i>Mali</i>	Tanzania
Cape Verde	Malta	<i>Timor-Leste</i>
Ethiopia	Nicaragua	United Arab Emirates
Gabon	Qatar	<i>Uzbekistan</i>
Ghana	Samoa	Vanuatu
<i>Guinea</i>	<i>Senegal</i>	Zambia
<i>Indonesia</i>	Sri Lanka	<i>Zimbabwe</i>

Countries with a GEI below 50

Bahrain	Guatemala	Pakistan
Benin	<i>Guinea-Bissau</i>	Palestine ³
<i>Cameroon</i>	India	São Tomé and Príncipe
Central African Rep.	Jordan	<i>Saudi Arabia</i>
Chad	<i>Lebanon</i>	Sierra Leone
<i>Congo, Rep.</i>	Malawi	Sudan
<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	<i>Mauritania</i>	Togo
<i>Djibouti</i>	<i>Morocco</i>	Tunisia
<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Nepal</i>	Turkey
Equatorial Guinea	<i>Niger</i>	Yemen
<i>Eritrea</i>	Nigeria	
Gambia	Oman	

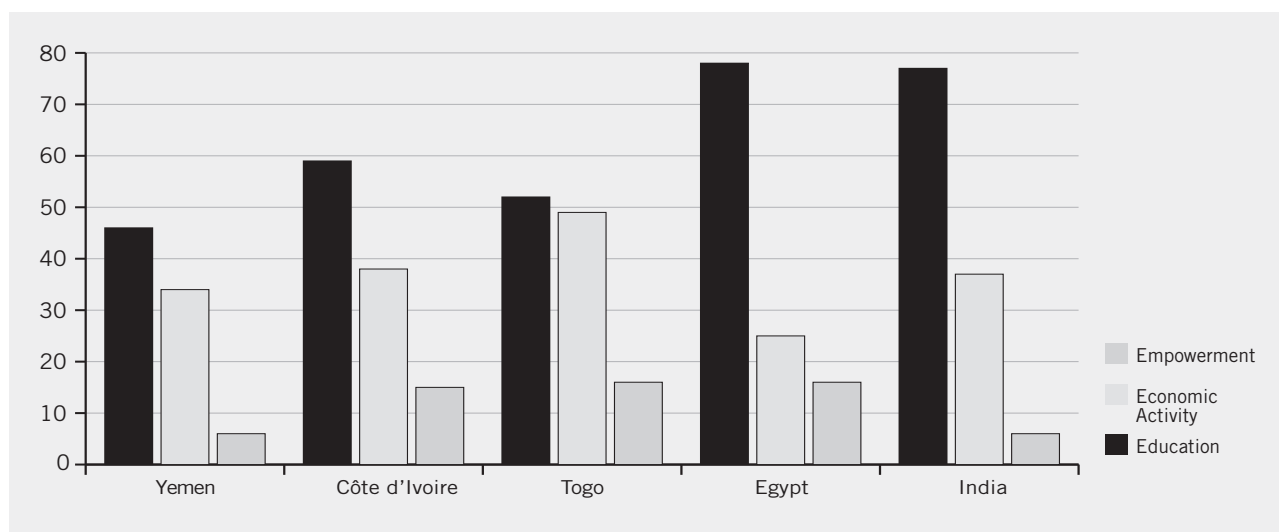
1. The GEI establishes a maximum value of 100 to indicate complete equality. The world average is 60.
2. The countries marked in bold are those where there is one or more active armed conflict and those in italics countries where there have been one or more socio-political crises in 2009.
3. In the report by Social Watch, Palestine appears under the name of Gaza and the West Bank.

Source: Based on the GEI 2008.

Although the GEI doesn't deal with all facets of gender inequality, it allows us to see that the **situation of women is serious in 67 countries, and especially so in 34.**⁵ In compiling this data it emerged that not a single country in the world can claim full gender equality, although there are some that have achieved this equality in terms of education. Comparing the indicator's data with that of countries in armed conflict reveals that in 12 of those countries where there is serious gender inequality there are one or several armed conflicts. It is important to point out that in five of those countries where there are one or more armed conflicts, there is no data about gender equality. This suggests that 18 of the 31 armed conflicts active during 2008 took place in countries where there are serious gender inequalities and that five of these conflicts were taking place in countries where there is no data on gender equality. **Some 69% of armed conflicts for which there is data about gender equality were taking place in a context of serious inequality.** Only in six of the where there was one or more armed conflict, the gender equality figures do not cross the thresholds for a serious situation established in this report. This supports the thesis put forward by various authors that in countries where there is a high level of gender equality there is a greater probability of internal armed conflict.⁶

Furthermore, in 34 of the countries with serious inequalities there were one or more situations of tension. This means that **41 of the 76 situations of tension during 2009 arose in countries where there is serious gender inequality, that is, 54% of the socio-political crises.**

Graph 6.1. Countries with the worst GEI in 2009



Source: Based on GEI 2008.

5. This classification has been made by the author of the study, not Social Watch.

6. Caprioli, Mary, "Gender equality and state aggression: the impact of domestic gender equality on state first use of force" en *International Interactions*, vol. 29, issue 3, pp. 195-214, 2003 and Caprioli, Mary, "Primed for violence: the role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict" en *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 49, n.º2, pp. 161-178, 2005.

6.2. The impact of violence and conflict from a gender perspective

This section deals with the gender dimension in the conflict cycle, and in particular violence against women. The gender dimension is hugely important in armed conflicts. In the first place, through a gender analysis it is possible to dismantle the traditional view of armed conflicts as neutral realities and to question the assumption that they originate independently of the gender power structures in a society. Secondly, this perspective also raises serious doubts about an homogenized view of the consequences of conflict that does not take into account the gender dimension and gender inequality.

a) Sexual violence as a weapon of war and violence against women in the context of war

Sexual violence is a weapon of war widely used in practically all of the existing armed conflicts and is used to damage the social fabric of those communities affected by this war crime, as well as causing irreparable harm to those women who suffer from it.⁷ Since 2008 sexual violence has become a matter of particular importance on the international agenda regarding armed conflicts, after the UN Security Council passed resolution 1820. During 2009 there were numerous reports about the use of sexual violence both in the context of armed conflicts and also in situations of political and social tension.

In Africa, the situation is particularly serious in DR Congo, where the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war has become endemic, and in Guinea, where sexual violence in the context of the repression of the political opposition had international repercussions.

In **DR Congo** sexual violence continues to play an alarming role within the framework of the armed conflict. OCHA said that during the first six months of 2009 there were 5,400 reports of rape in South Kivu province. Other sources said that from January to November, 7,000 women and girls were victims of sexual violence in the east of DR Congo.⁸ Some NGOs also said that a growing number of men were victims of sexual violence and that as many as 10% of the victims of this type of crime were men. In its report *Congo: Five Priorities for a Peacebuilding Strategy*,⁹ International Crisis Group (ICG) said that **ending impunity for sexual crimes was essential if there was to be lasting peace in the region**. According to this institution, arrest orders issued by the International Criminal Court for war crimes, including sexual violence, needed to be accompanied by reforms in the Congolese judicial system. The ICC said that vic-

tims' fear of reporting this crime could lead to an explosion of tensions in local communities. On the one hand, this makes it more difficult to prosecute people for these crimes or to help victims, and at the same time shows the importance of the gender dimension in the dynamics of armed conflict and therefore the necessity of understanding its importance when seeking solutions.

One of the worst crimes of the year was the rape of at least 20 women in a prison in Goma when a group of inmates, most of them jailed for murder and rape, tried to escape. The MONUC said it had warned the Government about the urgent necessity to improve prison conditions. Furthermore, various NGOs allege that the rape of prisoners was a frequent practice in the country. UNICEF and UNHCR said that war crimes and crimes against humanity, among them sexual violence and the recruitment of children, were being committed on a daily basis in **Somalia** and **Sudan**. Internally displaced women had been the victims of rape and other forms of sexual violence.

In **Guinea**, numerous human rights organizations stated that at least 33 women were victims of sexual violence during incidents that took place on September 28, in which 157 people died as result of attacks on demonstrators protesting at a possible presidential candidacy of the head of the military junta Mousa Dadis Camara. In spite of government denials that there had been sexual violence, a number of witnesses, as well as the victims, defended the armed forces were responsible for rapes. A number of human rights organizations asked the Security Council to take urgent action.

In Asia, the NGO Caritas condemned the sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict in **Sri Lanka** where it was carrying out humanitarian work. There was a dire situation in camps for internally displaced people –established and controlled by the Government for Tamil people displaced as a result of the military offensive and clashes between the armed opposition group LTTE and the Armed Forces– where there was overcrowding and lack of privacy, which led to violence and abuse of women.

In **Myanmar** international organizations reiterated claims by local NGOs regarding the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war on the part of the Armed Forces, particularly during the offensive carried out in the first half of the year in Karen state against the insurgency of this ethnic group. A number of women were victims of sexual abuse by members of the Army in Myanmar who later murdered them. Various organizations claimed that during the past two decades at least 2,000 cases of sexual abuse carried out by the Armed Forces have been documented, but that the real figure could be much higher, given the difficulties women have in reporting this type of abuse.

In 2009 sexual violence was reported in DR Congo, Guinea, Somalia, Sudan, Colombia, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and India among others

7. For more information on the different contexts of armed conflict and tension see Chapters 1 (Armed conflicts) and 2 (Socio-political crises).

8. IRIN, *DRC: Sexual violence prevention and re-integration funding "falls through cracks"*, IRIN, 4 November 2009.

9. International Crisis Group, *Congo: Five Priorities for a Peacebuilding Strategy*, Africa Report N°150, International Crisis Group, 11 May 2009, <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=6095&CFID=66705958&CFTOKEN=16975337>>.

In the Indian state of **Jammu and Kashmir**, the rape and murder of two Muslim women at the hands of security forces led to angry demonstrations and social protests. Human rights organizations have repeatedly reported that the 600,000 troops deployed in the state have frequently abused civilians' rights. Both the Indian security forces and the Kashmiri insurgency have used sexual violence as a weapon of war during the conflict.¹⁰

In the Americas, Oxfam International published a report *Sexual violence in Colombia*,¹¹ in which it condemned the **widespread and systematic** use of this type of violence in the Colombian conflict as a weapon of war. The precise number of women who have been victims of sexual violence was impossible to calculate, given that only a small number of women reported the crime. Furthermore, according to Oxfam International, autopsy reports did not record this crime, which was viewed as a private matter and therefore of less importance than torture or murder. The report said of the 183 cases recorded by the Colombian Constitutional Court, 58% were blamed on paramilitaries, 23% on official forces, 8% on guerrillas and the remainder unknown. The use of sexual violence led to the forced displacement of a large number of women. Indigenous and Afro-Colombian women were particularly vulnerable as gender discrimination was one more factor, along with ethnic origin and poverty, that these communities suffered. Oxfam also pointed to the State's role regarding impunity in the case of sexual crimes, which were often covered up. According to the Oxfam report, the Colombian government has not carried out its responsibility to protect the victims. Caritas also claimed that around 20% of displaced women had moved as a result of sexual violence.

On the other hand, the UN secretary-general, in his report on the impact of the Colombian armed conflict on children, claimed that they suffered serious human rights abuses such as murder, torture, forced recruitment and sexual violence. The violence was particularly directed at girls.¹² Children in armed groups are frequently forced to have sexual relations at an early age and to use contraception that is injurious to their health, as well as being forced to abort should they become pregnant, according to the report.

During 2009 information became available about sexual violence committed against female members of **the US Armed Forces** by their Army comrades. According to the Veterans Affairs Department, 30% of women in the US military had been raped during their period of service, 71% have been victims of sexual aggression and 90% of them sexually harassed. Furthermore, the Defence Department recognized in its 2009 report on sexual abuse that approximately 90% of sexual attacks com-

mitted within the military ambit go unreported. This situation may be particularly serious among troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan.

b) Local and international response to the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war

There have been various initiatives in response to the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war upon the part of society as a whole as well as governments or the United Nations, among which we should highlight various initiatives taken at a national level and the UN Security Council's approval of resolution 1888.

The United Nations **Office of the Senior Adviser and Coordinator for Sexual Violence** in DR Congo **presented a Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in DR Congo**.¹³ This strategy comprised four strategic components as well as for concrete objectives.

The United Nations and the **Liberian** Government also developed the Joint Program on Sexual and Gender Violence consisting of five pillars on which to base a response to this violence which, having been exacerbated during the years of armed conflict, has become an integral part of gender relations in the country.

The pillars are: 1) improve the psycho-social well-being of the survivors of sexual and gender violence; 2) improve the healthcare of survivors; 3) strengthen criminal justice including the setting up of a special court to try perpetrators; 4) integrated security and protection and assistance in the prevention and management of sexual and gender violence and improved access to safe houses for survivors; 5) improve the processes of training, management and coordination, especially in the Gender Ministry.

The DR Congo strategy and the Liberian program have much in common, with emphasis on the importance of developing preventative strategies and an integral approach to helping victims, and dealing with both the health and psycho-social dimension. One important aspect is the view that sexual violence should be dealt with within the framework of security, thus expanding on the traditional idea of security in which time this type of violence is not considered a threat but a private matter.

The **UN secretary-general** presented his **report on sexual violence** in accordance with resolution 1820 on sexual violence in the context of armed conflict approved by the UN Security Council.¹⁴ The resolution urges the secretary-general to report on situations and on conflicts

10. Bastick, Megan, Karin Grimm y Rahel Kunz, *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict. Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*, DCAF, Geneva, 2007.

11. San Pedro, Paula. *La violencia sexual en Colombia. Un arma de guerra*. Oxfam International, 2009. <<http://www.intermonoxfam.org/es/page.asp?id=3628>>.

12. Secretary-general's report on children and armed conflict in Colombia, 28 August 2009, S/2009/434, <<http://www.un.org/spanish/docs/report09/repl09.htm>>.

13. Office of the Senior Adviser and Coordinator for Sexual Violence, *Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in DRC*, March 2009 <<http://www.stoprapenow.org/pdf/SVStratExecSummaryFinal18March09.pdf>>.

14. Secretary-general's report conforming to requirements of resolution 1820 (2008) of the Security Council, July 15 2009, S/2009/362, <<http://www.un.org/spanish/docs/report09/repl09.htm>>.

Table 6.2. **Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in DR Congo**

Components	Objectives
Combating Impunity for Cases of Sexual Violence	Strengthen judicial institutions and develop a policy of criminal justice for sexual violence.
	Improve victims' access to justice.
	Guarantee the effective implementation of national laws on sexual violence.
	Guarantee reparation for victims.
Prevention and protection from sexual violence	Prevent and/or mitigate threats in order to reduce vulnerability and risk of suffering sexual violence.
	Strengthen survivors' resilience.
	Create an atmosphere of protection.
Security Sector Reform	Accountability: security forces must prevent and respond in an effective manner to sexual violence and guarantee that all perpetrators are brought to justice.
	Monitoring: incorporate mechanisms designed to exclude individuals with insufficient integrity, in accordance with international human rights standards.
	DDR/integration in the security forces: procedures to help survivors of sexual violence must be established.
Multi-sectoral response to survivors of sexual violence	Improve the frame of reference for a multi-sectoral response at the community and local level.
	Develop a national protocol for multi-sectoral assistance between the relevant ministries.

where this type of violence has been used in a wide-spread and systematic manner against civilians, analyze the trends and the prevalence of this violence, make proposals to reduce the vulnerability of women and girls, explain what plans there are to compile information on sexual violence, as well as the measures taken by the parties to the conflict in compliance with that established by resolution 1820, among other questions. The report recognizes that at present it is impossible to give an accurate number of victims of this type of violence, given that many victims prefer not to report the crime given the lack of protection and social stigma attached to it in many situations.

The secretary-general reiterated that **international jurisprudence considers sexual violence a form of genocide** and said that in those situations where it has been used as a weapon of war there is a high chance of it persisting once the conflict is over, presenting a serious obstacle to the consolidation of peace and the rebuilding of countries that have been in conflict. The report said that sexual violence is being used in **DR Congo, Sudan, Uganda, Chad, the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Iraq, Afghanistan, Myanmar and Nepal**.¹⁵ Sexual violence may take the form of **ethnic cleansing, as a means of maintaining territorial control and intimidating the local population, controlling the social behaviour of women** and includes encouraging women to take part in suicide attacks, once their honour has been besmirched. Furthermore, in many cases women are used as sexual slaves by the combatants.

The UN secretary-general said in his report that **impunity and government inaction** in the face of sexual violence encouraged its spread and highlighted the necessity for states to take energetic measures to put an end to this impunity and to punish perpetrators. The report also said that violence against women that already existed before the war increased in times of conflict and that impunity was extended into the post-war period. He also said that sexual violence had an impact on the civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights of the victims.

In September the UN Security Council approved **resolution 1888** which recommends a series of concrete measures to counter sexual violence in armed conflicts and guarantee the protection of victims faced with this violence. The resolution urges:

- a) the secretary-general names a special representative to lead and coordinate this work
- b) that the secretary-general establishes a group of experts to deal with particularly serious situations in the context of armed conflict and strengthens the work of both the United Nations on the ground and the affected governments
- c) that States pass legislative and judicial reforms that guarantee the bringing to justice of perpetrators of sexual violence as well as the protection of their victims
- d) that the subject of sexual violence is on the agenda of all negotiations facilitated by the United Nations.

15. The report only compiles information on those contexts that form part of the UN Security Council's agenda although it recognises that there are many other countries in which sexual violence is used as a weapon of war.

The resolution also expresses the intention of the Security Council to take into account sexual violence when considering the adoption or extension of selective sanctions in the context of armed conflict.

Radhika Coomaraswamy, the UN special representative for children in armed conflicts, also presented her annual report in which she denounced the fact that **sexual violence against children is an increasingly prominent characteristic of armed conflicts**.¹⁶ Coomaraswamy said that this violence was particularly widespread in refugee and internal displacement camps and in the areas around these camps. Furthermore, children are particularly exposed to this violence during military operations in civilian zones and during military recruitment drives. Although it is girls who suffer most sexual violence, boys are also victims. On the other hand, fear of being attacked on the journey to school deprives many children of their right to education. In parallel with this report, the UN Security Council approved resolution 1882 on children in armed conflicts in which, among other questions, it condemned sexual violence against children.¹⁷

c) Gender violence in wartime

In considering the impact of **other types of violence within the context of armed conflicts**, Afghanistan stands out for a variety of reasons. First of all, the Shia Law on Personal Status was passed, legalizing various forms of violence against women. In spite of the protests this provoked in March, the amendments made by president Hamid Karzai hardly amount to substantial changes in the law, which permits rape within marriage, awards custody of children exclusively to fathers and grandfathers, says that women who wish to work must get permission from their husbands and allows rapists to go free if they pay financial compensation to the victim. This law covers the Shia population, who represent 10-20% of the Afghan population, and is in clear contradiction to the Constitution which prohibits any form of discrimination on grounds of sex.

Secondly, it should be emphasized that there were increased levels of violence against and coercion of women during the elections in August. Although the number of female candidates was the highest in any election since the fall of the Taliban regime –there were 326 women candidates in the provincial council elections– women's participation was seriously reduced through a variety of factors. A general climate of violence and insecurity, as well as specific threats made by the Taliban against women and the lack of women electoral staff, made it difficult for women to vote. At least 650 polling stations for women were closed, and women's participation was lower than in previous elections.

***Afghan women
suffered increased
level of violence
during the elections***

6.3. Peacebuilding from a gender perspective

This section analyses some of the most outstanding initiatives for incorporating the gender perspective into the various areas of peacebuilding.

a) The international peace and gender agenda for 2009

The **UN secretary-general** presented his annual report on **the application of resolution 1325 on women, peace and security**, which covered both the measures adopted on the part of the United Nations in the period from October 2008 to October 2009 as well as recommendations to improve its implementation. The report emphasized the necessity to deepen and strengthen the application of this norm, given that armed conflicts have a serious impact in terms of gender. The secretary-general made various concrete proposals, among which the following were the most important:

- a) That member states take the necessary measures to bring to justice those responsible for sexual violence in armed conflicts.
- b) Guarantees on the part of member states that women be represented at all levels of decision-making.
- c) That the UN Security Council implements a strategy that ensures that women are involved in all peace processes (negotiation, mediation, post-war reconstruction) as well as increasing the number of women designated as the UN secretary-general's special representatives.
- d) That the UN Security Council guarantees that peace agreements take into account the needs and concerns of women and girls.
- e) The Security Council insists that all reports presented to it by member states must include information on the consequences of armed conflict for women and girls, including data disintegrated by sex as far as is possible.

The Security Council approved **resolution 1889** in order to take concrete steps to improve the implementation of resolution 1325 on women, peace and security passed in 2000. The resolution urges member states and international and regional organizations to adopt measures to guarantee women's participation in all stages of peace processes, asking that the UN secretary-general draw up a strategy that increases the number of women acting in his name and that all reports presented to the Security Council include information on the effect of armed conflicts on women and girls. It also indicated the willingness of the Security Council to include measures to promote gender

16. Report by the Secretary-General's Special Representative on the question of children in armed conflicts, 6 August 2009, A/64/254, <<http://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?Open&DS=A/64/254&Lang=S>>.

17. UN Security Council Resolution on children in armed conflicts, 4 August 2009, <<http://www.un.org/spanish/docs/sc09/scr109.htm>>.

equality, among other measures, in its missions' mandates.

The national action plans related to resolution 1325 are one of the main means through which governments have taken concrete measures to show their commitment to the implementation of resolution 1325. Three governments –Liberia, Chile and Portugal– approved action plans in 2009.

The **Liberian Government** presented its **National Action Plan on resolution 1325** within the framework of the “International Colloquium for Women’s Empowerment, Leadership Development, International Peace and Security”, held in Liberia in the presence of the heads of state and government, ministers, general managers, presidents and executive directors, as well as heads of NGOs and communities. The Action Plan, **the first agreed in a country undergoing a process of post-war reconstruction**, was drawn up jointly between the Liberian government, the UN mission in the country –UN-MIL– and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). The plan is to be implemented over a period of four years, during which time reports have to be presented both to the government and the Committee for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and, eventually, to the Security Council.

The plan embraces a number of goals. Firstly, to strengthen and develop policies, procedures and preventative mechanisms, measures to protect women and to promote their human rights and guarantee their safety at a national and personal level. Secondly, it aims to promote the drawing up, development and institutionalization of economic, social and security policies that

encourage the empowerment of women and girls to take a full and effective role in post-war peacebuilding at all levels, including decision-making. The third and final objective of this plan is to strengthen the coordination and coherence of all activities carried out from a gender perspective, according to the letter and the spirit of resolution 1325.

Chile launched its National Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325/2000 “Women, Security and Peace”. The Chilean plan proposes the following: a) promote human rights both in Chile and beyond its frontiers in a gender context; b) promote the equal participation of women both in peacebuilding and in the decisions that affect them; c) view the drawing up, implementation and carrying out of international cooperation policy from a gender perspective in its widest sense; d) strengthen the technical capacity of public employees and society as a whole in relation to gender, security and conflict; e) promote the implementation of resolution 1325 in the region through an interchange of experiences, international cooperation, both bilaterally and in the regional peace operations in which Chile is involved.

Portugal also approved a National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women Peace and Security (2009-2013). The plan has five principal objectives: a) increase women’s participation and integrate the gender inequality dimension into all peace-strengthening phases and in all decision-making areas; b) guarantee the support of people taking part in peacebuilding, in issues of gender inequality and gender violence, as well as other key aspects of resolutions 1325 and 1820; c) promote and protect women’s human rights in conflict areas and in post-conflict con-

Table 6.3. **Liberian National Action Plan on resolution 1325**

Pillar I. PROTECTION
Strategic goal 1: Provide psychosocial assistance and help women and girls with trauma. Strategic goal 2: Protect the rights and increase the safety of women and girls. Strategic goal 3: Improve access to quality health education, with a special emphasis on reproductive health and HIV/AIDS.
Pillar II. PREVENTION
Strategic goal 4: Prevent all forms of violence against women and girls, including gender and sexual violence.
Pillar III. PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT
Strategic goal 5: Promote the full participation of women at all levels in the prevention of conflicts and in peacebuilding processes and post-war reconstruction. Strategic goal 6: Empower women through better access to housing and natural resources, and increase their participation in caring for the environment.
Pillar IV. PROMOTION
Strategic goal 7: Encourage the participation of women’s groups in implementing the Action Plan and seek better access to resources both on the part of the government and women’s groups. Strategic goal 8: Encourage the participation of women in conflict prevention, early warning, peacebuilding, security and post-war reconstruction through education and training. Strategic goal 9: Increase the technical capacity of government institutions and society as a whole, including women’s groups, to effectively implement the Action Plan. Strategic goal 10: Encourage women’s groups’ and full government and social involvement in monitoring and evaluating the Action Plan.

texts, taking into consideration the prevention and elimination of gender violence and the promotion of women's empowerment; d) deepen and spread understanding of issues related to women, peace and security to increase people's capacity and to increase awareness among politicians and the public in general; e) encourage society as a whole to help in the implementation of resolution 1325.

Several bodies such as IANSA and the Observatory on Gender and Armed Violence welcomed the approval of Portugal's action plan, but pointed out its shortcomings. They said it could have dealt with the insecurity experienced by women as a result of armed violence outside the context of armed conflict, dealing with questions such as disarmament and gun control, public safety and gender violence both in the national and international sphere.

At the same time, Gender Action for Peace and Security, a group of British women experts carried out the project "The Global Monitoring Checklist on Women, Peace and Security" in order to analyze the implementation of resolution 1325 in various countries that were in conflict or post-conflict (Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, DR Congo, Northern Ireland).¹⁸ Some of the conclusions reached suggest that governments lack a broad and deep understanding of the different factors referred to in 1325, such as the relationship between women and issues such as the security sector reform, governance, legal reforms or peace negotiations. On the other hand, it is difficult to evaluate the implementation of

1325, given that there are no mechanisms to measure, monitor and evaluate progress in the sphere of women, peace and security. Furthermore, at all levels there is the lack of political leadership in advancing his agenda. What this means is that at the national level responsibility for 1325 is assumed by gender ministries, which lack financial resources, instead of those ministries with responsibility for peace and security. Government budgets for implementing resolution 1325 are limited and the funding of organizations that work in the field of gender, women, peace and security is inadequate. Gender Action for Peace and Security says that there also is not reliable and accessible official information about violence against women. At the same time, women continue to lack the power to participate substantially at all levels of public and political life, especially in high-level talks such as peace negotiations. Finally, levels of sexual and gender violence and impunity continue to be extremely high and there is a lack of coherent and well funded national strategies to deal with these problems.

b) The gender dimension in peace processes

In regard to incorporating the gender perspective into peace processes, it should be pointed out that the Philippines government named Annabelle T. Abaya as the presidential assessor for the peace process, replacing Avelino Razon. Abaya had previously sat on the government panel in the peace negotiations with the armed opposition group NPA. The new presidential assessor

Box 6.1. UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security

Since 2000 the UN Security Council has passed four resolutions on women, peace and security (1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889). The first of them, 1325, established the general framework for taking on the fundamental questions: the gender dimension in conflicts –in particular the consequences for women– and the role of women in peacebuilding. Later, at the instigation of the US government, the Security Council approved resolution 1820 on sexual violence as a weapon of war. The two new resolutions approved in 2009 were designed to improve the implementation of previous resolutions through concrete measures.

The inclusion of the question of sexual violence as a weapon of war in the Security Council's agenda, which probably reflects media interest in the issue, fundamentally as a consequence of it being used on a huge scale in the armed conflict in DR Congo, has meant that the issue of sexual violence has become an important part of debates on gender, peace and security. The Rome Statute of the high ICC and the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights take the view that rape can be a war crime or crime against humanity, an act of genocide or of torture depending on the circumstances in which it takes place.¹⁹ Furthermore, the concept of rape has been extended to include other sexual abuses. Nevertheless, analysts and women's organizations have said that the significance of sexual violence as a weapon of war needs to be analyzed in a wider framework. Focusing attention exclusively on sexual violence as a weapon of war might lead to governments and international bodies focusing all their attention on the struggle against sexual violence, forgetting that gender issues must be integrated into all of the spheres and phases of peacebuilding, as set out in resolution 1325. Peacebuilding processes that incorporate the gender perspective will by necessity deal with sexual violence as a weapon of war, given that at present it is one of the main effects, in terms of gender, of armed conflicts. However, efforts centred solely against sexual violence can marginalize other issues, such as the involvement of women in peace negotiations, the establishment of gender agendas in these negotiations or the design of post-war peacebuilding processes from a gender perspective.

18. GAPS UK, *Global Monitoring Checklist on Women, Peace and Security*, <http://www.gaps-uk.org/img_uploaded/Global%20Monitoring%20Checklist%20full%20resource.pdf>.

19. See sentences of Akayesu in Rwanda, Furundzija in Yugoslavia, Mejía in the Inter-American Commission and Aydın in the European Court of Human Rights.

said that she wanted issues linked to women and indigenous people to form a significant part of the agenda for peace negotiations. Furthermore, Abaya said that she wanted a larger number of women to take a direct role in the Philippines peace process.

Within the exploratory peace framework established between Turkey and the armed Kurdish opposition group PKK,²⁰ various meetings took place between the families of Turkish soldiers and PKK guerrillas killed in the conflict. These were unprecedented meetings whose aim was to promote reconciliation between both parties to the conflict. At one of these meetings, which took place in the city of Diyarbakir, the mothers of PKK guerrillas offered white handkerchiefs to the mothers of Turkish soldiers as a symbol of peace.

In Colombia, on the International Day against Violence against Women, the Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres (Women's Peace Route) and other organizations held a demonstration under the slogan "Everyone at the table. A political settlement now" to demand a negotiated end to the armed conflict in a process in which social organizations and movements, political parties and society in general would have a role in peacebuilding.

Women from India, Pakistan and Afghanistan met on various occasions during the year in Delhi (India), Peshawar (Pakistan) and Kabul (Afghanistan) with the aim of strengthening alliances between women's organizations in their three countries and taking up the question of women's participation in peace processes underway in the region. The participants emphasized the enormous obstacles presented by the prevailing discriminatory legislation in their countries and said it was necessary that women have a guaranteed presence in political forums, such as the Jirga (traditional assembly) between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

c) Sexual violence and peace negotiations

In spite of the fact that sexual violence has been recognized as one of the principal threats to peace and security, particularly in the context of armed conflict, it is still absent from most peace processes and, specifically, peace negotiations. In 2008 the UN Security Council, through resolution 1820 on sexual violence in armed conflict, recognized that it posed a threat for peace and international security, and demanded more attention to be devoted by all those involved in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as well as in the building and maintenance of peace. Including the question of sexual violence and peace negotiations would represent an important step forward at the same time as meeting the requirements of resolution 1820. The United Nations has made a series of recommendations to facilitate its

inclusion, directed both the parties in the conflict and to facilitate as mediators.²¹

Firstly, it is recommended that the issue of sexual violence be included in the preliminary agreements before signing cease-fires, in particular agreements that guarantee humanitarian access. This would allow, on the one hand, better attention for victims of sexual violence and, on the other, make it clear to the opposing parties that sexual violence could be considered a war crime and is a serious violation of international law.

The second recommendation is that cease-fires and cessations of hostilities must establish explicitly that sexual violence is prohibited and that those charged with monitoring these agreements will follow up possible cases of sexual violence and will be empowered to report them. The lack of such a specific reference up to now has led to a lack of monitoring during cease-fire agreements with cessations of hostilities.

Thirdly, it recommends that agreements on questions of security, whether through transitional arrangements, peacekeeping operations or post-war security bodies, include the prevention of sexual violence. Furthermore, DDR programs must deal with factors related to sexual violence: the needs of women and girls associated with armed groups; the risk that sexual violence may increase when demobilized combatants returned to their communities; and the challenge of preventing those responsible for human rights abuses, among them sexual violence, from joining the country's Armed Forces.

The fourth recommendation points to the need for the legal arrangements in peace accords to state that sexual violence will be given the same priority as other crimes under international law. The majority of agreements have ignored this type of violence, have not provided victims with adequate protection and have not pursued judicially those responsible for this type of violence.

Finally, it is recommended that peace accords bear in mind the need for the recovery of women who have been victims of sexual violence in the medium and long-term, by providing health and psycho-social services; creating job opportunities; educational reforms designed to put an end to the stigma and prejudices towards victims of sexual violence; reforms in the security sector; and the public commemoration of victims should they so desire.

Incorporating sexual violence into the agendas of negotiations involves taking a wider view of security issues. It requires a multi-dimensional view in which a threat to women is seen as a threat to security and not solely an individual aggression towards women. Including sexual violence on the agenda of peace processes implies an

20. See chapter 3 (Peace processes) and the opportunity for peace "Initiative to resolve the Kurdish question in Turkey.

21. "Conflict Related Sexual Violence and Peace Negotiations: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1820". Report on the High-level Colloquium organized by DPA, DPKO, OCHA, UNDP and UNIFEM on behalf of UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, and in partnership with the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 22-23 June 2009, Nueva York.

increased likelihood that this violence will be prosecuted and punished, and in the long run will open the door towards better protection of women survivors of violence. The explicit recognition of sexual violence in the text of peace agreements amounts to a significant change for many women and may have a real effect on improving their lives and might result in acts of sexual violence being excluded from the amnesties agreed at the end of armed conflicts. La cuarta recomendación apunta a la necesidad de que las provisiones de justicia que se contemplen en los acuerdos de paz establezcan que la violencia sexual sea considerada igual de prioritaria que otros crímenes según el derecho internacional. La mayoría de acuerdos de paz han ignorado este tipo de violencia, sin que se haya logrado proteger a las víctimas de manera adecuada ni se haya perseguido judicialmente a los responsables de este tipo de violencia.

d) UN gender architecture

The UN General Assembly unanimously approved a resolution for the creation of a **UN agency dedicated to women's rights and gender equality** which would bring together under one institutional umbrella the different bodies working on the issues of gender inequality and women's rights within the United Nations: the United Nations Development Fund for Woman (UNIFEM), the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) and the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI). Since 2006 an international coalition of women's organizations -GEAR Campaign (Gender Equality Architecture Reform)—²² has been discussing creating such a body to raise the political profile of gender issues within the United Nations. The new agency would be led by an assistant secretary-general. No other institution currently in existence has the political power or the economic resources of other UN agencies, such as UNICEF or UNDP.

Civilian organizations have asked that the person who is going to lead the organization be named as soon as possible so that it can be in operation during the process of the review of the commitments undertaken at the World Conference in Beijing, known as Beijing+15, which takes place in March 2010. Furthermore, they asked that donor countries commit at least \$1 billion to guarantee sufficient financing.

The UN secretary-general, Ban Ki-moon, has to draw up a global plan to specify the relevant details of the new agency, such as how it will be organized and funded, as well as the composition of the executive committee that will supervise its operational activities.

Before it was agreed by the UN General Assembly, during the 53rd session of the Commission of the Status of Women, GEAR presented a document calling for the creation of a body, pointing to a lack of leadership as well to lack of mechanisms for putting into practice

much of the commitments undertaken in regard to gender equality. Among GEAR's recommendations were that such an entity should be led by a person with a status of assistant secretary-general, supplied with sufficient funds as well as having a powerful political and programmatic mandate.

22. For more information on this campaign see <<http://gear.collectivex.com/>>.