

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Australian Section)



Discussion Paper: Developing a National Action Plan on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

'What would a world in which the principles enshrined in 1325 look like? When peace works for women, it provides a crucial component for creating sustainable peace and development locally and globally'¹



Report compiled by Di Zetlin, School of Political Science and International Studies, Peace and Conflict Studies and Gender Studies, University of Queensland.

¹ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, *From Local to Global" Making Peace Work for Women Security Council Resolution 1325 – Five Years On Report*, ix.

**Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
(Australian Section)**



Consultative Status with United Nations ECOSOC, UNCTAD and UNESCO

Special Consultative Relations with FAO, ILO and UNICEF

Acknowledgements:

Di Zetlin and University of Queensland

Di Zetlin teaches in the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland, specialising in Peace and Conflict Studies and Gender Studies. In the preparation of this paper, she was ably assisted by Rachel Litster, awarded a Dean's Summer Scholarship to work on this project.

Project Aim

The outcome of the research and NGO consultations will be practical information, advice and ideas that will inform the Australian Government's thinking about the next possible steps for a National Action Plan UNSCR 1325.

Project History

As part of the international program, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom joined with many women's non-government organisations to work together with member states to bring the issue of *women, peace and security* to the United Nations Security Council.

On 24 and 25 October 2000 (The International Year of the Culture for Peace) the UN Security Council discussed the question of *women, peace and security* and passed Resolution 1325.

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom's Australian Section received funding from the Australian Government Office for Women in 2004 to develop an Australian website promoting United National Security Council Resolution 1325. See www.1325australia.org.au

The Women's International League for Peace & Freedom's facilitation of research and consultations to inform the Australian Government on the next possible steps for a National Action Plan UNSCR 1325 has been funded by the Australian Government through the Women's Leadership and Development Programme.

Invitation to participate

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom cordially invites interested individuals and organisations to attend a national consultation meeting in your capital city or provide written feedback

on the material presented in this Discussion Paper, for collation in a Final Report to the Australian Government.

Written submissions can be emailed to wilpfaustralia@wilpf.org.au by 10th June 2009.

Disclaimer

© Commonwealth of Australia 2009

This work is copyright. Apart from any use as permitted under the Copyright act 1968, no part may be reproduced by any process without prior written permission from the Commonwealth, available from the Commonwealth Copyright Administration, Attorney-General's Department. Requests and inquiries concerning reproduction and rights should be addressed to the Commonwealth Copyright Administration, Attorney-General's Department, Robert Garran Offices, National Circuit, Canberra ACT 2600 or posted at <http://www.ag.gov.au/cca>

Disclaimer: The Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) accepts no responsibility for the accuracy or completeness of any material contained in this publication.

Information in this publication is made available on the understanding that FaHCSIA is not providing professional advice. Views expressed in this publication are those of third parties, and do not necessarily reflect the views of FaHCSIA or the Ministers responsible for the portfolios of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.

Contact Details

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom (Australian Section)

PO Box 345 Rundle Mall, SA 5000

Phone (08) 8296 4357

Email: wilpfaustralia@wilpf.org.au

Websites: www.wilpf.org.au www.1325australia.org.au <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org>
<http://www.wilpf.int.ch> <http://www.peacewomen.org>

Discussion Paper: Developing a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325

Contents

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 6
- Introduction 10
 - An Australian National Action Plan? 10
- UNSCR 1325 and National Action Plans 13
 - Advantages of National Action Plans 15
 - Discussion Points 17
- The Process of Developing a National Action Plan 18
 - Who sits at the table? 18
 - Gender audits 20
 - Review 21
 - Discussion Points 22
- The Scope of the National Action Plans 23
 - Locating the Plan – values and principles 23
 - Locating the plan – strategic development 26
 - Review 28
 - Discussion Points 29
- Implementing UNSCR 1325 30
 - The United Nations 30
 - Regional Initiatives 32
 - Discussion Points 34
- Monitoring and Evaluation 35
 - Review 38
 - Discussion Points 38
- Summary of Key Elements to consider for an Australian National Action Plan 39

The Process for Developing the Plan	39
The Scope of the Plan	40
Monitoring the Implementation of the Plan	41
Attachment A	42
Extract from the Agreed Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women on women’s equal participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution and in post-conflict peacebuilding (2004/12 pp153 – 158)	42
Attachment B Additional background context.....	45
The development of women’s rights.....	45
Gender and development.....	46
Women, peace and conflict	48
Attachment C – Summary of National Action Plan Content.....	52
Bibliography	74

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President and recalling also the statement of its President, to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. **Urges** the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. **Further** urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

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

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

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

8. **Calls** on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction; (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements; (c) Measures that

ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. ***Calls*** upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention Security Council - 5 - Press Release SC/6942 4213th Meeting (PM) 31 October 2000 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

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

11. ***Emphasizes*** the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. ***Calls*** upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;

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

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

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

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

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

18. ***Decides*** to remain actively seized of the matter.

Introduction

An Australian National Action Plan?

It is timely for Australia to start thinking about what an Australian national action plan on UNSCR 1325 may look like. It will be one of the first countries outside Europe to do so and the preparation of a national action plan in Australia might be consistent with regional developments. It may be possible, for example, to work cooperatively with women in the Pacific or to link into the work being undertaken in the Philippines on their national action plan. It is worth noting that Ireland is partnering its national action plan with Timor Leste.

The development of a national action plan appears consistent with the emerging security framework of the Australian government. In his National Security Statement to the Australian parliament, the Prime Minister identified one of our enduring security goals as:

Promoting an international environment, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, that is stable, peaceful and prosperous, together with a global rules-based order which enhances Australia's national interests².

This statement reinforces a commitment for Australia to become a 'creative middle power'³ in an international environment based on the architecture of the United Nations. As part of these commitments, Australia is seeking a seat on the Security Council from 2013⁴ Australia has also proposed the development of an Asia Pacific Community by the year 2020. As a signal that this agenda is important to Australia, the Prime Minister announced the appointment of a National Security Advisor within his Department⁵.

The National Security Statement refers to the White Paper on Defence, streamlining our approaches to trafficking and the impact of climate change. It expands Australia's view of our region by including Japan, India and China and is shaped by a future vision of the world in which our region becomes critical to the state of the world.

Demographic changes will also affect the region with total population exceeding four billion by 2020, or 56 per cent of the world's total. The demographic changes in our region will mean that by 2020 when we look to our north, we will see a very different region to the one we see now –

² Prime Minister, the Hon. Kevin Rudd MP, "The First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament," http://www.alp.org.au/download/now/national_security_statement_to_the_australian_parliament.pdf. (accessed December 4, 2008)

³ Prime Minister, the Hon. Kevin Rudd MP, "The First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament."

⁴ Dennis Shanahan, "Rudd to push for seat on UN Security Council," *The Australian*, September 24, 2008.

⁵ Prime Minister, the Hon. Kevin Rudd MP, "The First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament."

one where population, food, water and energy resource pressures will be greater than ever before⁶.

There is little reference to women in these strategic directions and yet it is clear that gender issues are crucial in the region and in the efforts that Australia will need to make to be an international player as a middle power. In all of these areas, implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the locating of a national action plan alongside other strategic interests such as trafficking and climate change will play an important role.

In this respect, it is important to note that UNSCR 1325 enjoys a measure of bi-partisan support. The Australian Permanent Representative under the Howard government contributed to the 2004 United Nations Security Council debate, supporting 1325 and calling for more to be done⁷. Australia reiterated this support under the Rudd government at the Security Council debate in 2008⁸.

The drafting of a national action plan will involve a number of government agencies as well as civil society. The National Security Advisor, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of Defence, the Australian Federal Police, AusAID and the Australian Government Office for Women all have a critical engagement with the issues that will need to be addressed.

The work that AusAID has done on gender is particularly relevant. Their *Gender Guidelines: Peace-Building*⁹ is intended as a guide to desk officers and to consultants and contractors. A supplement to the *Guide to Gender and Development*¹⁰, it has a number of guiding questions across the development of projects to deliver aid in a gender mainstreamed design.

AusAID has adopted gender equality as a critical component of its programs and policies:

A key priority will be working to ensure that all country and regional strategies integrate gender equality and identify actions for tackling inequality. In addition, each country program will develop integrated gender equality strategies at the initiative level in priority areas. Within selected country programs we will also scale-up specific initiatives to advance gender equality and empower women¹¹.

To begin measuring the effectiveness of its gender equality goal, AusAID has produced an annual thematic performance report on gender equality¹². This report establishes workable baseline data to measure how AusAID is delivering on its promises to foster gender equality, identifying expenditure, training provided, and programs delivered.

⁶ Prime Minister, the Hon. Kevin Rudd MP, "The First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament."

⁷ H.E. Mr John Dauth LVO Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations, "Statement on the 4th Anniversary of Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security, 28 October 2004," http://www.australiaun.org/unny/sc_281004.html (accessed November 21, 2008).

⁸ Australia was represented by the former Senator Robert Hill. His term at the UN expires in April 2009.

⁹ AusAID, *Gender Guidelines: Peace-Building* (Canberra: AusAID, 2006).

¹⁰ AusAID, *Guide to Gender and Development* (Canberra: AusAID).

¹¹ AusAID, *Gender Equality in Australia's aid program – why and how: summary March 2007* (Canberra: AusAID, 2007).

¹² AusAID, *Gender Equality: Annual Thematic Performance Report 2006-2007* (Canberra: AusAID, 2008).

As the nature of conflict has been transformed, new challenges face the security sector. Gender is at the heart of these challenges, both in the way that new wars and new security threats impact disproportionately on women and also in the way that women often hold the key to alternatives to violence.

There is an international architecture of law and norms that can help to address gender issues. Provided that it is applied in a way that respects the diverse and rich cultures that shape our identity in this rapidly changing world, the articulation of human rights that are inclusive of women and condemn abuses against them, provides a strong normative foundation. The full exercise of human rights demands global responsibility for development and a progressive narrowing of those gaps in socio-economic status that inhibit the exercise of basic freedoms. The indivisible linking of equality, development and peace made in 1995 at the Beijing Conference resonates still.

Since the 1990s, the question of violence against women has been seen as one of the strongest threats to the advancement of women. Nowhere is this posed more starkly than in contemporary conflict. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 by the Security Council calls for a comprehensive approach to end the violence perpetrated against women in conflict and to utilize women's full potential in the resolution of conflict and the building of peace in post-conflict situations. Resolution 1820 adopted in 2008 strengthens the commitment to eradicate violence against women in conflict and to end the culture of impunity that surrounds the abuse of women.

In common with other components of the structures supporting women, UNSCR 1325 has been strongly supported but poorly implemented. This gap between rhetoric and action has been identified by UNIFEM as the 'accountability gap'. In relation to UNSCR 1325 this accountability gap remains to this day, although some momentum towards fuller implementation has been evident since about 2004. Action to implement UNSCR 1325 has progressed in the United Nations, at a regional level, and perhaps most importantly through the development of National Action Plans. These plans, although still largely confined to European countries, are an essential part of harmonizing the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and provide an important basis for the development of accountability for its implementation.

UNSCR 1325 and National Action Plans

Conflict and peace are deeply gendered phenomena. Men and women traditionally have played different roles in armed conflicts and in securing peace. The implications of this are recognized in international documents such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform adopted by the United Nations in 1995 and the United Nations General Assembly's Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in 1993. However, tangible action to meet the increasing evidence of women as victims and participants in conflict situations and to harness the powers of women towards enduring peaceful solutions has not been evident.

Many organisations, governments and individuals became determined that the United Nations had to respond more effectively to the need to protect women and children and to include women in all stages of the resolution of conflict. The year 2000 became a crucial point for this debate and for the evolution of the United Nations system. In the year 2000, the UN brought together world leaders to mark the opening of the new century with the Millennium Declaration renewing the commitment to fight poverty. At the same time, The UN sought to respond to the Brahimi Report, a report commissioned to review the UN's role in peace which called for a significant renewal of UN efforts.

In March 2000, the United Nations Security Council marked International Women's Day by recognizing the role women play in making peace. In May, the 'Windhoek Declaration'¹³ recorded ten years of the UN Mission in Namibia and called for a gender perspective to be adopted in peace support operations. Also in May 2000, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security¹⁴ was formed to lobby for the matter to be dealt with at the highest level of the United Nations, the Security Council.

In October 2000, the Security Council passed Resolution 1325¹⁵ after two days of open hearings.

Many saw the unanimous passage of Resolution 1325 as a landmark decision¹⁶, although as will be made clear later, this may have been at the level of rhetoric rather than meaningful change.

The Resolution refers to its location within the broader task of gender equality, development, humanitarian law and human rights. It also refers to Resolutions of the Security Council on the

¹³ "Windhoek Declaration, 31 May 2000," <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/WinhoekDeclaration.html> (accessed January 29, 2009).

¹⁴ The initial membership was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Amnesty International (AI), International Alert (IA), the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (WCRWC), and the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP).

¹⁵ United Nations Security Council, "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security S/RES/1325, 31 October 2000," <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/1325.html#Full> (accessed January 29, 2009).

¹⁶ See, for example Binder, Christina, Karin Lukas and Romana Schweiger, 2008, 'Empty Words or Real Achievement? The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women in Armed Conflicts, *Radical History Review* Issue 101, Spring pp 22-41 and Carey, Henry. 2001. 'Women and peace and security: The Politics of implementing gender sensitive norms in peacekeeping' *International Peacekeeping* 8:2, pp 49-68.

protection of civilians and children in armed conflicts. Resolution 1325 seeks to address gender issues in the fields of conflict prevention, conflict and peacebuilding.

The Resolution can be summarized under the three **Ps**:

Conflict **P**revention;

The **P**articipation of women in peace and security; and

The **P**rotection of civilians with consideration of the specific needs of women, men, girls and boys¹⁷

The Resolution recognizes that women and children are the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict and, increasingly, are the direct targets of combatant forces. Thus, they need protection within the framework of humanitarian and human rights law. Paragraph 9 lists the relevant conventions and instruments. Special reference is made at Paragraph 10 to the need to address violence against women and girls. A more detailed discussion of these is to be found in the section of the document titled Background.

Resolution 1325 goes beyond the perception of women as the victims in situations of armed conflict. It recognizes the role of women in resolving conflict and calls for greater participation of women in decision-making in relation to conflict prevention and resolution and in peacebuilding. The Resolution provides a set of general principles, but it also has a number of specific recommendations. It calls for specialised training for peacekeeping personnel, urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as Special Representatives and to expand the participation of women in field-based operations. The Resolution also draws attention to the need for all parties to adopt a gender perspective in implementing peace agreements, in the areas of repatriation, fostering of women's local peace initiatives and the protection of human rights.

Recent interpretations of the Resolution have incorporated more contemporary debates on violence against women as a security threat. In June 2008, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1820¹⁸. This Resolution reiterates the condemnation of sexual violence in conflict and affirms that there should be an end to impunity for sexual crimes. In his report to the Security Council in 2008, the Secretary-General stated that 'sexual violence is a security problem requiring a systematic security response commensurate with its scale and magnitude'¹⁹. He cited the increasing incidence of rape in the Democratic Republic of Congo where, in one region, three out of four women have been raped, the increasing rate of rape by minors, the lack of security in refugee camps and the disturbing trends of

¹⁷United Nations INSTRAW, *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security*, (Santo Domingo: INSTRAW, 2006), i.

¹⁸ United Nations Security Council, "United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820 on Women, Peace and Security S/RES/1820, 19 June 2008," <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/391/44/PDF/N0839144.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed December 2, 2008).

¹⁹ United Nations Security Council, "Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622, 25 September 2008."

sexual violence being perpetuated by police in the Congo. The challenge for the United Nations and its member States is that there remains ‘a culture of impunity on which sexual violence thrives’²⁰. This has led to the argument that in addressing Resolution 1325, a fourth **P** should be added:

Prosecution.

Resolution 1325 is an enormously significant document. What it represents is a recognition by the body that is generally regarded as being at the pinnacle of the United Nations that conflict and its resolution are deeply gendered phenomena; that women do not appear at the periphery of conflicts as victims²¹, but are central to the security issues in conflict; and that the protection of women and girls in times of conflict needs to be secured through their actual participation in all aspects of conflict resolution.

Important dates:

- 2000 UNSCR Resolution passed in the UN Security Council
- 2004 Calls for National Action Plans to implement UnSCR1325
- 2008 10 National Action Plans developed

Advantages of National Action Plans

In his 2008 report to the UN Security Council, The Secretary-General²² identified 10 Member States who have developed national action plans. These are Austria²³ (August 2007), Cote d’Ivoire, Denmark (September 2005), Finland²⁴ (September 2008), Iceland (8 March 2008), the Netherlands (2007), Norway (March 2006), Spain, Sweden (2006), Switzerland (January 2007) and the United Kingdom (adopted March 2006). A number of other countries, including Belgium, Chile, Ghana, Ireland, Jordan, Liberia, the Philippines, Portugal and Sierra Leone are in the process of developing plans. Canada has done much to promote the implementation of 1325 and is currently developing its action plan²⁵.

²⁰ United Nations Security Council, “Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622, 25 September 2008.”

²¹ See Carol Cohn, ‘Feminist Peacemaking’ *The Women’s Review of Books* 11, no. 5 (2004): 8-9

²² United Nations Security Council. “Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622, 25 September 2008.”

²³ Mr. Ebner, in “United Nations Security Council 6005th Meeting S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1), 29 October 2008,” http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02 (accessed January 30, 2009), 4.

²⁴ United Nations Security Council, “United Nations Security Council 6005th Meeting S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1), 29 October 2008,” http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02 (accessed January 30 2009).

²⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, “Statement on Women, Peace and Security, 2008,” <http://www.international.gc.ca/glynberry/women-femmes.aspx?lang=eng> (accessed December 5, 2008). The intention to develop a National Action Plan was announced at the Third Annual Symposium of the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security in October 2005. See http://www.international.gc.ca/rights-droits/assets/pdfs/Women_PeaceSecurity-en.pdf

It is significant that of all the plans developed thus far, only the Cote d'Ivoire plan operates within a conflict zone, although there are plans in preparation in countries with conflict. It is also significant that there does not seem to be evidence of the preparation of plans in areas of Australia's strategic interest, with the exception of the Philippines.

Adapting the INSTRAW guidelines²⁶, the advantages of a National Action Plan are:

Comprehensiveness: an opportunity to assess current implementation, identify gaps, good practice, choose strategic priorities and select specific initiatives

Coordination: preventing duplication and ad-hoc approaches, bringing together government and civil society actors

Awareness -raising: through the exchange of information, conduct of seminars and training, the process of developing the plan itself strengthens understanding

Ownership: A participatory process enhances ownership and maximizes the prospects for implementation.

Accountability: A clear plan will identify specific actions, who is responsible and provide timelines for implementation – the 'what, what for, who and when'²⁷.

²⁶ United Nations INSTRAW, *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security*, 5.

²⁷ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), "Strategic Planning: three stages," cited in *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: a guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security (UN SCR 1325)*, United Nations INSTRAW.

Discussion Points

Is Resolution 1325 comprehensive in dealing with the issues of women and security?

Was it important that the issue of women and security be dealt with by the Security Council?

Is Resolution 1325 a practical guide to addressing women and security issues?

The Process of Developing a National Action Plan

INSTRAW recommends a six-stage process for the development of National Action Plans. These stages are:

- 1. Building political will: advocacy and awareness raising**
- 2. Getting organised**
- 3. Plan for Planning: Terms of Reference**
- 4. Women, Peace and Security Assessments**
- 5. Planning Meetings or Workshops**
- 6. Drafting the Action Plan²⁸**

Most of the action plans developed have taken between a year to three years to develop. The first issue to be addressed has been the question of who is sitting at the table to develop the plan. All of the plans seem to have had a communication strategy and recognize the importance of mobilising political will and community support although some appear to have engaged with this more than others. The final common thread in the process appears to be the importance of basing the report on some form of gender audit to establish baseline data.

Who sits at the table?

In relation to who is engaged in the process, all the governments to develop plans have involved inter-departmental coordination, although the form of that has varied. All have engaged civil society organisations, but in differing ways, ranging from consultation to partnership. In the development of the national action plan, the critical factors appear to be the political will to establish the plan, the inter-governmental working party composition and the determination of who is to be the lead agency and the shape of the relationship with civil society organisations in the development of the plan.

The United Kingdom (UK) was one of the first plans to be adopted in March 2006. The plan was not announced publicly, but a short statement of its existence was released. The lead agency was the Conflict Issues Group within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In practice, the plan was developed by the inter-departmental Whitehall 1325 Action Plan Working Group with input from NGOs

²⁸ United Nations INSTRAW, *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security*, 28.

coordinated as the UK Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. As In Canada, the UK established an all-party Parliamentary Group on women, peace and security²⁹.

Denmark was also an early contributor, circulating a draft plan drawn up by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence, in June 2005. Although not involved in as structured a way as in the UK, NGOs were involved in a preparatory conference organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2004³⁰.

In the Netherlands the first step was a coordinated interministerial study of women's roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. This was followed by the appointment of an independent Women, Security and Conflict Task Force. This Task Force, made up of experts from the public sector, politics and civil society, was active from 2003 to 2006 when it produced a report. The 'action plan is a logical follow-up, since it fleshes out the recommendations contained in the report and anchors them in Dutch society'³¹. The National Action Plan was then integrated into the work coming from the Schokland Agreement, which brought together a large number of organisations, civil society representatives, academics, NGOs, companies and individuals to commit themselves to achieving the MDGs.

In Sweden, the process of developing a national action plan commenced in 2004 and was led by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and with participants from the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministries of Defence, Justice, and Industry, Employment and Communications. The plan has been developed in dialogue with civil society organisations through seminars and conferences, thus addressing the dual processes of expediting implementation of SCR 1325 and developing and gaining acceptance for the plan³². The Swedish plan was adopted in 2006.

In Norway, a national action plan was also adopted in 2006. From announcement to finalization, the Norwegian plan was the fastest. The decision to develop a national action plan was announced on October 31 2005 and the plan was launched on March 8, 2006. There had been pressure from NGOs prior to this and Norway had already taken steps to implement 1325. The reality is that this plan demonstrated a high level of political engagement from the newly elected centre left government that came to office in October 2005³³.

²⁹ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women: Security Council Resolution 1325 – Five Years On Report*, 34.

³⁰ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women: Security Council Resolution 1325 – Five Years On Report*, 39.

³¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs The Netherlands. *Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325: Taking a stand for women, peace and security* (The Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007), 9.

³² Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sweden, *The Swedish Government's action plan to implement Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security* (Stockholm: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006), 3.

³³ c p.30

The Spanish plan is the product of the efforts and coordination put into it by different ministries, led by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs³⁴.

The Swiss National Action Plan was adopted in January 2007. The plan was developed through the Coordination Committee for Peace Policy which created a Working Group with the mandate to prepare a National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC 1325 (NAP 1325). The Working Group includes representatives of the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS) and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). The latter's Political Affairs Division IV (PA IV, Human Security) is in charge of WG 1325³⁵.

The more recent plans adopted by Finland and Iceland in 2008 seem to have been able to expedite their plans and have taken about a year to complete. In Finland, the process was led by '(a) Working Group, comprising representatives from different ministries, the 1325 NGO Network, and research institutions, was set up to lead the process. The inclusive composition of the Working Group ensured that the drafting process was an open and participatory one'³⁶. In Iceland, the process was led more by government with consultations with civil society organisations.

The consultations were important for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and gave the Plan of Action broader support. The Plan of Action is built on the main pillars of Iceland's foreign policy; respect for human rights; increased development cooperation and peaceful resolution of conflict. Special emphasis is put on women's access at the negotiating table³⁷.

This review of the existing National Action Plans makes it clear that consultation with civil society is regarded as important, but the nature of consultative processes range from highly structured and government led to a partnership model. The Dutch National Action Plan stands out as the most collaborative with full partnership with civil society and knowledge institutions.

Gender audits

The Austrian, Dutch and Swedish action plans demonstrate evidence of being based on a gender audit. In the Austrian plan, an annexure identifies current and past projects that can be seen as within the terms of reference of the plan. Examples include working with African Union and UNIFEM to assist African countries with gender mainstreaming, working with former child soldiers and wives of rebels in Northern Uganda to facilitate skills development and conflict resolution training and in another

³⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Spain, *The Government of Spain's Action Plan for the Application of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security* (Madrid: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008), 3.

³⁵ Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Switzerland, *Swiss National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security* (Bern: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2007) 3-4.

³⁶ Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women, Peace and Security" Finland's National Action Plan 2008-2011* (Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2008), 5.

³⁷ Ministry for Foreign Affairs Iceland, *Women, Peace and Security: Iceland's Plan of Action for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)* (Gutenberg: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2008), 3.

programme to provide humanitarian relief in the same area, and providing paralegal training in Uganda. The Dutch 'audit' assesses the work of the three principal government Departments, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations in relation to gender. The report then goes on to outline the activities of Dutch NGOs both in assisting 'local women's organisations and groups that seek peaceful alternatives to violence and aim to safeguard women's rights'³⁸. The Dutch plan then goes on to describe the activities that have taken place in Dutch knowledge institutions. The Swedish plan outlines government actions to date. It notes the work done in the Swedish Armed Forces and the Police to increase the representation of women and notes the project GenderForce ensures the incorporation of a gender perspective in international operations. The report notes the development of a code of conduct that reflects the imperatives of 1325 and highlights work done to further gender justice³⁹. While these plans provide useful information, it should be noted that only the Austrian plan provides information on expenditure in its audited program. None of these three plans establish whether quantitative targets were set and met for areas where increasing the representation of women is a priority. In both the Dutch and Swedish plans the statements of actions tend to be very high level, without an indication of the meaning these goals have had at a policy or operational level. Since the 'accountability gap' is UNIFEM's issue of focus in its 2008/09 report on women of the world⁴⁰, it would be timely for Australia to consider basing its plan on a gender audit of activities already undertaken. While there is some attraction in suggesting a broad based audit to include the activities of NGOs and research/ training institutions, a more expeditious audit of government activities would provide a useful benchmark for future evaluation of the plan.

Review

This review of the process in developing national action plans indicates a variety of pathways to the plan. It is clear that generating political will at both a governmental and civil society level is critical. Canada's early initiation of its national action plan appears to have languished somewhat due to a lack of political will. In Norway, it was a change of government that provided the political will for rapid development of the plan. In almost all the plans, part of the preparation has been the generation of broad political, administrative and popular support. In some cases, it has been observed that this awareness raising has been as important as the plan itself⁴¹. This has implications for the composition of the body charged with developing the national action plan. The Dutch national action plan appears to have the broadest and deepest reach into society. The task force that drafted it included NGOs. It was then integrated into the government civil society partnership towards implementation of the MDGs. While this approach might be expected to lead to the greatest degree of cultural change, tradeoffs do

³⁸Ministry of Foreign Affairs The Netherlands. *Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325: Taking a stand for women, peace and security*, 22.

³⁹Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sweden, *The Swedish Government's action plan to implement Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security*, 5.

⁴⁰ UNIFEM, *Progress of the World's Women 2008-2009: Who answers to women? Gender and Accountability*.

⁴¹ Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women, Peace and Security" Finland's National Action Plan 2008-2011*.

need to be made between the time and resources required and the expeditious delivery of a plan. It is also worth noting that the Dutch model is part of a whole of government approach to partnership with civil society. In some countries such as the UK and Canada, the bi-partisan support of women parliamentarians has been seen as an effective tool to generate and maintain political will.

Consideration also needs to be given to the lead agency for the development of the plan. In most cases, the lead agency has been the Department of Foreign Affairs, although it should be noted that in some cases these Departments have specific mandates in relation to peace and international cooperation. It is clear that the lead agency needs to have the seniority to garner inter-Departmental support, but this needs to be tempered with an estimation of the commitment the lead agency has to the development of the plan. In some cases, there has been cooperation with other countries linked either strategically or by virtue of the stage they are at in developing their plan. It is clear that there needs to be resources specifically dedicated to the process of developing the plan that includes the ability to engage broader awareness and commitment to the plan and to undertake a gender audit as part of the preparatory work of the plan.

Discussion Points

Who should lead the development of a National Action Plan?

How should the consultation process be organised?

Who are the key stakeholders in government and in civil society?

What should the terms of reference be?

What should the funding arrangements be?

The Scope of the National Action Plans

The over-riding scope of SCR 1325 is guided by the four **P** principles:

Conflict **P**revention;

The **P**articipation of women in peace and security;

The **P**rotection of civilians with consideration of the specific needs of women, men, girls and boys; and

Prosecution.

These principles are reflected in the national action plans developed to date. Variations tend to turn around how to locate the plan of action in relation to broader objectives of human development, how broadly or narrowly the scope of these principles is defined and how the overlap between SCR 1325 and other fields of action is defined. Most of the action plans define how these goals are to be implemented at the international, regional and national levels and most refer to the particular importance of engaging civil society in furthering the objects of SCR 1325. In considering the scope of the plan, it is necessary to think about the methodology behind the plan. A variety of strategic planning methodologies are available and some of these will be discussed below.

Locating the Plan – values and principles

While the focus of SCR 1325 is on the stages of conflict, most of the National Action Plans seek to embed the plan within broader principles of human rights and development. The Swedish action plan notes these connections:

The work of the Government on Resolution 1325 is based on a holistic view of security, development and human rights (HR), a perspective that is also at the core of the UN's ongoing reform work. The link between development, security and human rights (HR) is of central importance to Sweden's foreign and security policy and also to its policy for global development (PGD). A rights perspective must run through all of the policy for global development, at the same time as gender equality and security are two of its particular main threads⁴².

⁴² Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sweden, *The Swedish Government's action plan to implement Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security*, 2.

The plan for Finland also emphasizes a broad understanding of security underpinned by the goals of human rights and equality. The Finnish plan notes additionally that climate change has become a security issue and that a gendered lens needs to be applied here:

The promotion of the rights of women and girls is one of Finland's human rights policy priorities. Finland is fully committed to implementing all international instruments related to women's rights and actively promoting women's empowerment.... Finland emphasizes the indivisibility and equality of all human rights. The promotion of women's and girls' civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights on the other, is essential, as these rights are mutually complementary. Special emphasis is devoted to the most disadvantaged groups of women and girls, who often fall victim to multiple discrimination⁴³.

Finland's development policy supports the implementation of Resolution 1325. For Finland, the rights of women and girls represent both an intrinsic value and an instrument conducive to the attainment of important goals. Equality is a cross-cutting theme in Finland's development policy, which emphasizes sustainable development, stable social conditions, and the comprehensive resolution of conflicts. These same requirements apply equally to development co-operation projects undertaken by businesses and organisations using public funds. In Finland's development policy, the implementation of Resolution 1325 is also an important element of sustainable development in post-conflict societies.

Deficient adherence to human rights and democracy, and issues related to the management of natural and other resources are often contributing factors behind conflicts. Many issues related to climate change are linked to security and it is, therefore, important that the gender perspective also be taken into account when dealing with these matters. The development policy must strengthen security in the broad sense of the word, and due regard must be paid to the practical materialization of the goals⁴⁴.

These broad statements demonstrate the underpinning values that inform the approach taken to SCR 1325. Individual plans can reflect differing values tending towards human rights or development, but all recognize the centrality of both of these overarching principles. Important as this is, the comprehensive sweep of these principles can make it difficult to see how the scope of the plan can be narrowed to yield identifiable actions and measures of progress. As the Dutch plan notes in relation to conflict prevention, 'security and development influence each other so directly that one may well ask where one stops and the other begins'⁴⁵.

The Agreed Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women referred to in the Appendix to this paper is a useful guide to the scope of plan. This is a comprehensive statement of the expectations of

⁴³ Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women. Peace and Security" Finland's National Action Plan 2008-2011*, 11.

⁴⁴ Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women. Peace and Security" Finland's National Action Plan 2008-2011*, 13.

⁴⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs The Netherlands. *Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325: Taking a stand for women, peace and security*, 12.

governments, perhaps requiring more attention to violence against women and children and the need to address justice systems that both end impunity in relation to sexual violence and promote post-conflict systems that address ongoing issues to address violence against women and the full equality of women.

Locating the plan – strategic development

It is reasonable to expect that national action plans will be developed having regard to strategic priorities within each country. It is important to recognize that a national action plan will sit alongside other strategic action plans. Indeed one of the main advantages of developing a national action plan is to effect better coordination of government action and greater awareness and coordination with NGO activity. In relation to the plans already developed, some sit alongside gender equality plans, while many mention action plans in relation to the trafficking of persons.

The INSTRAW guidelines for developing a national action plan recommend combining approaches from strategic planning with participatory planning. The strategic planning component then produces ‘a disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions and actions that define what an organisation (or other entity) is, what it does, and why it does it’⁴⁶. Participatory planning ‘prioritizes the engagement of all the stakeholders within an institution, country or community throughout the different stages of planning’⁴⁷. The basic principle is to elicit a ‘bottom-up’ approach to planning in order to engage different viewpoints and increase ‘buy-in’ to the plan.

The existing national action plans, therefore, define their goals in accordance with strategic priorities. These can be elaborated in a variety of ways. Some of the plans focus on particular components of UNSCR 1325. Examples of these are the Danish, United Kingdom, Swiss and Austrian plans. Alternatively, some plans seek to cover the main points of UNSCR 1325 in its totality and identify targets for work in the period of the plan. Examples of these include the plans from Norway, Spain, Sweden, Iceland and Finland. The Dutch plan is somewhat different because it is a document joining government, civil society and knowledge institutions.

The strategy of taking a slice of the pie

The Danish plan is strongly focused on security sector reform. It prioritizes participation in international peacekeeping and defines three focus areas:

- I. *Increased gender balance in the recruitment of staff members to the Danish defence forces and as well as focus on their role in international operations.*
- II. *Protection of women’s and girls’ rights in the local areas where Danish troops are deployed.*
- III. *Increased participation and representation of women in peace building and reconstruction processes in the local areas where Danish troops are deployed*⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ John M. Bryson and William D. Roering, “Initiation of Strategic Planning by Governments,” *Public Administration Review* 48, no. 6 (1998): 995.

⁴⁷ United Nations INSTRAW, *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security*, 22-3.

⁴⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence Denmark, *Denmark’s Action Plan on implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security*, (Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence, 2005), 3.

The United Kingdom plan is also focussed on security sector reform although it has additional components addressing gender justice and addressing gender in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes in countries emerging from conflict⁴⁹.

The Swiss national action plan takes a slightly different focus, concentrating on peacebuilding, identifying the relevant sections of UNSCR 1325 as:

1. Greater involvement/ participation of women in peacebuilding;
2. Prevention of gender-based violence and protection of the rights and needs of women and girls during and after armed conflicts;
3. A gender-sensitive approach to all peacebuilding projects and programmes⁵⁰

The Austrian plan is quite focused, but broader than the Danish plan. It has a general statement on the implementation of SCR 1325 'in the humanitarian, diplomatic, peacekeeping and development-policy activities of Austria and calls for a strengthening of cross-departmental cooperation on this topic'⁵¹. It then sets its main priorities as:

- Increasing the participation of women in the promotion of peace and the resolution of conflicts, in particular by supporting local peace initiatives of women;
- Preventing gender-based violence and protecting the needs and rights of women and girls within the scope of peace missions, humanitarian operations, as well as in refugee and IDP camps;
- Increasing representation of Austrian women in international peace operations as well as in decision-making positions in international and European organisations⁵².

The strategy of specifying actions

The Swedish plan focuses on actions to be taken at the national, the regional level, and globally through the UN. At the national level, the plan envisages 'improved forms for national cooperation, knowledge and methods development and resources', 'active Swedish commitment to conflict prevention, conflict management and policy development' and 'peace support operations'. At the regional level, the plan focuses on the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). At the regional level, Sweden will focus on integration 1325 into the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP); increasing the representation and strengthening gender components in training in the European Security and Defence College (ESDC),

⁴⁹ Her Majesty's Government (HMG) The UK, *UNSCR1325 - United Kingdom High Level National Action Plan*, (London: HMG, 2006), 2.

⁵⁰ Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Switzerland, *Swiss National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security* Swiss, 4.

⁵¹ Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs Austria, *Austrian Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)* (Vienna: Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs, 2007), 2.

⁵² Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs Austria, *Austrian Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*, 2.

and integrating gender into the EU's relations with other countries, particularly in development. At the global level, Sweden will support the follow-up implementation of 1325 at and by the UN, will support the Peacebuilding Commission, strengthen attention to gender in the Secretary-General's special representatives and envoys, and follow up the UN policy on prevention and elimination of sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions.

With some variations, the plans for Finland, Iceland, Spain and Norway follow a similar pattern. The Finnish plan draws attention to the gendered impacts of climate change as a security issue. As with the UK, the Spanish plan specifically mentions incorporating gender into DDR programs. Both Iceland and Finland refer to the need for codes of conduct for peacekeeping forces to eliminate sexual violence and abuse. Iceland already has such a code in which:

It is prohibited for peacekeepers to buy sexual services or have sexual relations with anyone who is dependent on the peacekeeping force. Peacekeepers shall never sexually harass members of the local population, colleagues or others.

Norway's plan focuses on increasing the representation of women and enhanced gender training in the security sector and in multilateral cooperation. It replicates this approach in the areas of conflict prevention, mediation and peacebuilding and with respect to protection and human rights.

The Dutch national action plan takes a slightly different format in relation to its strategic objectives. These are set out under four headings that government, civil society organisations and knowledge institutions are committed to for the period of the action plan. A fifth theme of harmonization talks about enhancing the partnership that this plan is based. The first of the four thematic areas is the legal framework. Here the Dutch plan identifies support for fragile states in designing legal frameworks in line with international human rights and ensuring the protection of women's rights where there is customary or 'unofficial' law; supporting legal training, encouraging prosecution for crimes against women and providing victim support; and, raising media and local women's group awareness of women's issues. In relation to conflict prevention, mediation and reconstruction, the plan notes that conflict prevention is a minor part of the plan. In relation to mediation the parties will seek to ensure more equal representation of women and men. In relation to reconstruction, the gendered dimensions of DDR programs are highlighted. NGOs are charged with supporting reconciliation processes that support women's initiative in reconciliation. The gendered dimensions of achieving the MDGs are also highlighted. The third theme emphasizes the importance of international cooperation in implementing 1325. The fourth theme addresses peace missions and calls for explicit reference to 1325 in UN mandates for peace missions, recognizes adherence to codes of conduct and encourages the establishment of gender focal points to facilitate the notification of grievances and calls for gender expertise in peace missions. In relation to peacekeeping forces, the plan highlights the need for increasing the representation of women decision makers in both military and civilian components.

Review

Across all the action plans, increasing the representation of women and engaging 1325 from the global to the local level are common parameters. Across the fields of conflict prevention, peace keeping and post-conflict peacebuilding, the focus varies from plan to plan. However, in all the plans, conflict prevention tends to be the area of least focus. In this respect, it is worth noting that much of the European conflict resolution and peacebuilding effort is focused in conflict zones of Africa where peacekeeping and peacebuilding are priority areas. Australia is arguably uniquely placed to contribute to the international work on SCR 1325 in the area of conflict prevention because of the work it has been able to do with countries from the Pacific region.

There are different ways in which the priorities of the plans are developed. The latter approach described here of developing the plan across national, regional and global levels may be more appropriate in the more integrated theatre in which the countries of Europe operate. In the Australian context, it may be more appropriate to develop the plan by seeking to integrate it into some of the key priorities of the agencies who will be responsible for its implementation. If this is to be done, an assessment of this approach should be open to NGO participants in the development of the plan. A consensus across Departments and NGOs with extensive field and/ or advocacy experience will secure greater commitment to the implementation of the plan.

Many of the plans refer to the need to translate the statements of intent into action. In this context, it is worth noting that very few of the actions proposed in the plans have quantifiable targets or measurable benchmarks. The exception to this is in areas where quantitative recruitment targets are set. None of the plans have detailed budgetary allocations, although the Austrian plan does identify expenditure on specific projects.

Discussion Points

How much should a National Action Plan be focused on peacekeeping and how much should it be located within a broader agenda of rights and development?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of setting numerical targets for actions in the Plan?

How much of the plan should be regionally focused and how much concentrated on actions within the scope of national agencies?

Implementing UNSCR 1325

Five years on, only a small fraction of people around the world know about SCR 1325, its provisions and the obligations both the United Nations and Member States have to ensuring its implementation, and making good on their commitments⁵³.

This assessment of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security in 2005 represented a call to action that has partially recognized in more systematic (albeit still limited) implementation in the years since 2005. Much of the work of dissemination of SCR 1325 and lobbying for its implementation has been undertaken by NGOs and by the United Nations Agencies dedicated to women's issues, such as the Commission for the Status of Women, UNIFEM and INSTRAW⁵⁴.

Responsibility for implementation of SCR 1325 exists within the United Nations, at a regional level, and at a national level. This section highlights some key features of implementation at each of these levels.

The United Nations

Action to implement SCR 1325 at the United Nations level has been uneven, albeit improving. Within the United Nations systems, agencies did develop implementation plans and the women's agencies in the UN system actively pursued the goals of SCR 1325. In addition, some 28 Member States have come together as The *Friends of 1325* to assist the promotion of 1325.

In 2004, the Commission for the Status of Women had a focus on women, peace and security at its 48th Session. Its Agreed Conclusions set out, in effect, a template for actions required by governments⁵⁵. The relevant clauses are an attachment to this paper. Following this, the Open Debate of the Security Council in 2004 seems to have marked a turning point in United Nations action on 1325. It was at this session that the call was made for both a United Nations System-wide action plan and the development of National Action Plans to implement 1325⁵⁶.

⁵³ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, "From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women," ix.

⁵⁴ INSTRAW has a dedicated portal devoted to Women, Peace and Security. It has published a guide to the implementation of 1325, *Securing Equality: Engendering Peace* which is currently being updated. INSTRAW has also published a guide for those in security sectors on addressing violence against women and has through its 'Partners in Change' program published a series of working papers on engaging men in addressing women and violence. It is also working on gender training for security sector personnel.

⁵⁵ Commission on the Status of Women, "Agreed Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution and in post-conflict peace-building 2004/11,"

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/agreedconclusions/Agreed%20conclusions%2048th%20session.pdf> (accessed December 2, 2008).

⁵⁶ United Nations Security Council, "Statement by the President of the Security Council S/PRST/2004/40, 28 October 2004," <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/S-PRST-2004-40-E.pdf> (accessed January 30, 2009).

The United Nations has developed a System-wide Action Plan for 2005-2007 which was updated for 2008-2009⁵⁷. The Plan for 2005-2007 was in effect ‘a compilation of ongoing activities by the United Nations entities or in those areas of action where expertise and resources are available’⁵⁸. Implementation is hampered by the absence of baseline data on the participation of women, or systematic collection of information on the impacts of conflict and peace processes on women. Despite over a decade of work on gender mainstreaming, attention tends to be paid to ‘women’s issues’ as supplementary programs rather than as dedicated core functions across all activities. This means that women’s programs are funded out of extra-budgetary resources, and vulnerable⁵⁹. The current Action Plan for 2008-2009⁶⁰ is more systematic and indicates a more strategic approach. It organises the continuing work of the plan around the following themes:

- (a) *Prevention*: mainstream a gender perspective into all conflict prevention activities and strategies, develop effective gender-sensitive early warning mechanisms and institutions, and strengthen efforts to prevent violence against women, including various forms of gender-based violence;
- (b) *Participation*: promote and support women’s active and meaningful participation in all peace processes as well as their representation in formal and informal decision-making at all levels; improve partnership and networking with local and international women’s rights groups and organisations; recruit and appoint women to senior positions in the United Nations, including Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, and in peacekeeping forces, including military, police and civilian personnel;
- (c) *Protection*: strengthen and amplify efforts to secure the safety, physical or mental health, well-being, economic security and/or dignity of women and girls; promote and safeguard human rights of women and mainstream a gender perspective into the legal and institutional reforms;
- (d) *Relief and recovery*: promote women’s equal access to aid distribution mechanisms and services, including those dealing with the specific needs of women and girls in all relief recovery efforts;
- (e) *Normative*: develop policy frameworks; ensure effective coordination and awareness-raising to advance the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000)⁶¹.

⁵⁷ United Nations Security Council, “Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622, 25 September 2008.”

⁵⁸ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, “From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women,” ix.

⁵⁹ United Nations Security Council, “Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2007/567, 12 September 2007.”

⁶⁰ The updated Action Plan for 2008-2009 has been posted on WomenWatch - <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/401/90/PDF/N0840190.pdf?OpenElement>

⁶¹ United Nations Security Council, “Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2007/567, 12 September 2007,” <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N07/503/69/PDF/N0750369.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed January 29, 2009).

Notwithstanding the challenges of implementation, perhaps the most significant challenge relates to political will to be accountable for gendered impacts of conflict and peace processes. It is this 'accountability gap' that is the focus of UNIFEM's 2008-2009 Report on the progress of the world's women⁶².

In particular, this report notes that:

Eight years after the adoption of SCR 1325... (international and regional security institutions have remained somewhat resistant to accountability for gender equality and women's empowerment, including in ensuring women's leadership and participation, protecting women from violence, and allocating budgets needed to support implementation of the resolution⁶³.

Noting that few women are in leadership positions in UN peacekeeping missions and that there are still less than a handful of women in most peace negotiations, the report also shows how the accountability mechanisms of SCR 1325 compare poorly with those in SCR 1612 on children in armed conflict.

Regional Initiatives

Regional action plans and/ or collaboration between governments can assist the process of implementing Resolution 1325. It is difficult to draw together a comprehensive overview of regional initiatives in relation to SCR 1325. The Report of the Secretary General in 2008 draws attention to initiatives taken, primarily in Africa, but additionally, in Europe and Latin-America. In this section, a few examples are offered.

In Africa, work has been done by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to incorporate gender into the understanding of early warning indicators of conflict⁶⁴. In Africa the Mission of the First Ladies of Africa (MIPREDA), the wives of African Heads of State, has developed a continent-wide network of women in peace negotiations and has adopted a plan of action for 2008-2010⁶⁵.

In Argentina, the Inter-Ministerial Task Force on Gender and Peacekeeping has conducted a regional workshop to develop a gender-responsive peacekeeping policy⁶⁶.

⁶² UNIFEM, *Progress of the World's Women 2008-2009: Who answers to women? Gender and Accountability*.
⁶²?

⁶³ UNIFEM, *Progress of the World's Women 2008-2009: Who answers to women? Gender and Accountability*, 99.

⁶⁴ United Nations Security Council. "Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622, 25 September 2008."

⁶⁵ Mr. Biaboroh-Iboro, in "United Nations Security Council 6005th Meeting S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1), 29 October 2008," http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02 (accessed January 30, 2009).

⁶⁶ United Nations Security Council. "Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622, 25 September 2008."

Regional security organisations may have a role in developing plans around SCR 1325. The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) reviewed its 2000 gender plan in 2004 and adopted a further Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality⁶⁷. This document refers to SCR 1325, focuses on gender training for security force personnel and support for national efforts to promote gender equality.

In the Pacific Region, Fiji decided to integrate 1325 into its ten year gender equality plan. More recently, the 2006 Gender, Conflict Peace and Security Regional Workshop⁶⁸ immediately preceding the annual Pacific Islands Forum Regional Security Committee meeting (FSRC) organised by the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat⁶⁹ in collaboration with AusAID, UNDP Pacific Sub-Regional Centre, (PSRC), UNIFEM Pacific, the International Women’s Development Agency (IWDA), and femLINKPACIFIC, provided an important opportunity to finally place UNSCR1325 onto the inter-government regional security agenda.

Specifically, regional consensus was reached on the following national actions:

- i) Develop and collect gender specific data and early warning indicators, to ensure effective conflict prevention;
- ii) Collect data and integrate a gender perspective into all situation and conflict analyses and subsequent programming;
- iii) Ministries of Foreign Affairs take an active role in the progress and implementation of 1325 at UN level, with specific attention to the appointment of Pacific women to senior postings;
- iv) Improve the recruitment, training and appointment process of women within the foreign and security sector (Foreign Affairs, Law Enforcement and Military), to increase gender balance in decision making;

⁶⁷Organisation for Security and Cooperation In Europe (OSCE) Ministerial Council, “Decision No. 14/04 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality,” http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/2004/12/3917_en.pdf (accessed December 2, 2008).

⁶⁸ The following information is taken from a report by Sharon Rolls of femLINKPACIFIC, “Security Council Resolution 1325: National Implementation of Women Peace and Security: Ways Forward,” <http://www.femlinkpacific.org.fj/index.cfm?si=main.resources&cmd=forumview&cbegin=0&uid=content&cid=24> (accessed December 12, 2008).

⁶⁹ The Pacific Islands Forum is mandated to respond to issues of security at regional level. In 2000, Forum Leaders endorsed the Biketawa Declaration, recognized the need in time of crisis or in response to members’ request for assistance, for action to be taken on the basis of all members of the Forum being part of the Pacific Islands extended family. The Declaration highlights that the Forum must constructively address difficult and sensitive issues including underlying causes of tensions and conflict (ethnicity, socio-economic disparities, and lack of good governance, land disputes and erosion of cultural values), while also reiterating the belief in the liberty of the individual under the law, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of gender, race, colour, creed or political belief, and in the individual’s inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political process in framing the society in which he or she lives.

- v) Reconvene and strengthen national and regional government/NGO Women, Peace and Security Committees to develop national action plans for the implementation of 1325 including:
 - a. Developing training workshops, awareness raising toolkits and guidelines to support 1325 implementation.
 - b. Translating 1325 into local languages.
 - c. Documenting and sharing relevant experiences, information and strategies
- vi) Enable women's civil society input into all aspects of conflict prevention, management, formal negotiations and resolution, including all reconstruction efforts, through improved consultative processes and capacity building, and ensuring sustained interaction and solidarity.

Despite this commitment, respondents from the Pacific region to the recent INSTRAW virtual dialogue cited difficulties in resourcing the development of national action plans. Sharon Bhagwan Rolls, Coordinator of FemLINKPACIFIC, suggested that 'security sector' budgets need to be inclusive of CEDAW commitments and other gender equality measures. Other participants stressed the importance of donor funding.

Gender mainstreaming is sometimes presented as an alternative to the development of an action plan. For example, Fiji has argued that because of a lack of resources and capacity, its actions on Resolution 1325 would be integrated into its ten year gender action plan⁷⁰. Ideally, the two processes should work hand in hand. Gender mainstreaming facilitates the action plan by having a gendered approach in all agencies that is easy to identify. The action plan provides for a specific focus, enhances inter-departmental collaboration, identifies gaps and discrepancies and avoids duplication. It is important to note that while the focus of SCR 1325 is on peace and security, the achievement of the goals of 1325 need to be supported by the advancement of women's rights and the other goals established at Beijing of equality and development.

Discussion Points

What are the critical obstacles to implementation of SCR 1325?

What initiatives seem feasible at a regional and international level?

What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of the Recommendations of the CSW?

How relevant do you think SCR 1325 is to Australia?

⁷⁰ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women*, 71.

Monitoring and Evaluation

It is now widely acknowledged that the critical weakness of much of the work to advance the interests of women lies in the failure to translate the architecture of women's policy into solid action. In her preface to the UNIFEM 2008 Report, Ines Alberdi, Executive Director of UNIFEM, articulates the problem:

The past decades have seen great advances in terms of commitments to women's rights, both nationally and globally. However, these are not always matched by actions on the ground⁷¹.

UNIFEM argues that part of the reason for this is an 'accountability gap' that means that governments and other institutions are reluctant to be held to account for the continuing inequities facing women. In particular, UNIFEM argues that:

Eight years after the adoption of SCR 1325, these new standards for peacemaking are a long way from being met. International and regional security institutions have remained somewhat resistant to accountability for gender equality and women's empowerment, including in ensuring women's leadership and participation, protecting women from violence, and allocating budgets needed to support implementation of the resolution⁷².

The development of national action plans is an important way of addressing this gap. The quality of a national action ultimately rests in its ability to make a tangible contribution to outcomes for women through the implementation of 1325. The INSTRAW guidelines on developing national action plans under 1325 draw on ten years experience of developing gender equality actions plans as an outcome of the Beijing Platform. The lessons learnt from this work suggest that to produce successful outcomes, national action plans on 1325 should include:

1. Realistic objectives for the near future that can be monitored and evaluated.
2. A clear understanding of specific responsibilities, resources needed and timelines.
3. The participation and shared responsibilities of leaders and representatives from all areas and divisions of the institution/ organisation⁷³.

In relation to the existing action plans, it has been noted that there are few quantitative indicators or in most cases, baseline data. Most of them do, however, have some mechanisms to ensure that the strategic goals are interpreted at an operational level. The examples provided below are chosen to give some idea of the spread of approaches across different objectives of the plans. They are not intended to reflect examples of best practice.

⁷¹ UNIFEM, *Progress of the World's Women 2008-2009: Who answers to women? Gender and Accountability*.

⁷² UNIFEM, *Progress of the World's Women 2008-2009: Who answers to women? Gender and Accountability*, 99.

⁷³ United Nations INSTRAW, *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security*, 21.

In some cases, this is done by using a form of action planning matrix. For example, the Dutch National Action Plan provides a matrix that identifies the strategic area, identifies a series of goals under this heading, then defines activities that conform to this and identifies the agency or agencies responsible. In relation to the focus area of the legal framework the plan mentions five goals. The first of these is to ensure national legislation in conflict and post-conflict areas protects women's rights. The activities under this goal are to bring national legislation into line with international human rights agreements and to call countries to account for violations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for this. All parties are to be responsible for the second activity of protecting women's rights in unofficial legal systems.

The UK Plan uses a matrix based on the identification of an action point which is then elaborated in detail and key outcomes are listed. For example, Action Point 6 requires the

UK Ministry of Defence Forces to undertake an audit of gender content of Pre-Deployment Training. Where necessary, develop gender awareness training, and raise awareness of the UN Code of Conduct on personal behavior. Where appropriate, incorporate gender perspective related training into other military and conflict related personnel doctrines⁷⁴.

These points are then elaborated in further detail include periodic reviews of pre-deployment training and consider of the use of specialist trainers. The key outcomes are identified as:

- i) UK Armed Forces Training shows that gender content of pre-deployment training has evolved
- ii) Further gender related training for inclusion in pre-deployment training identified
- iii) Gender training mainstreamed into all pre-deployment training
- iv) Gender perspectives included in military doctrine and planning for PKOs.

The Austrian Plan has the most developed action planning matrix although its actions are not strongly linked to strategic objectives. Its activities matrix⁷⁵ includes a definition of the activity, identification of the responsible agency or agencies, a description of the status quo, indicators for the activity and a timeline for reporting or implementation. For example, in relation to strategies to increase the representation of women among total Austrian participants in international peace operations, the report identifies that 4 of 30 participants are presently women. An indicator for this goal is an **increase** in the numbers of women and this is to be reported against in the annual review of the plan. In addition to this activity matrix in relation to the goals of the plan, the Austrian Plan has an annex⁷⁶ that details current projects and completed projects with initiators of the project, timelines and budget allocations.

⁷⁴ Her Majesty's Government (HMG) The UK, *UNSCR1325 - United Kingdom High Level National Action Plan*, 7-8.

⁷⁵ Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs Austria, *Austrian Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*.

⁷⁶ Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs Austria, *Austrian Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*, Annex 1: 16-24.

An alternative approach is taken by the Swiss national action plan. This plan sets out a three step process for each of its strategic goals. Under each goal, the policy implications are spelled out. This is then elaborated by reference to operational commitments and commitments at the human resources level. One of the Swiss strategic goals⁷⁷ is the greater involvement of women in peacebuilding. The policy implications of this are spelled out as commitments to:

- Increase the representation of women in international and regional bodies
- Adequate frameworks for the greater participation of women in UN peace missions
- Promotion of women in elections, and the promotion of men in positions normally held by women
- Maintenance and, if possible, improvement in the proportional representation of women in the International Criminal Court.

The operational consequences associated with this goal are defined as being 'systematic opportunities to promote the participation of women in peace processes'. The personnel implications are to expand the personnel in military peacebuilding and in this way create opportunities for women, and to increase representation of women in the Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding to 40 per cent.

The remainders of the plans either list a set of activities at the different levels of international, regional, national and local, or define activities under the various goals.

The question of timelines for the plan and periodic review are critical to successful implementation. It is significant that none of the plans provide budgets for implementation processes despite the fact that they envisage consultation with research and civil society institutions. The only exception to this is the Swedish plan which explicitly states that implementation will be funded within existing budget allocations.

The Danish plan does not refer to evaluation of the plan or specify timelines for the currency of the plan. A number of the plans state that they are documents open to review on an ongoing basis. The UK plan says it is 'a living document which will be evaluated regularly' and refers to engaging a virtual network with NGOs and UN member states to further the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The Dutch plan recognizes the need for monitoring but has no firm commitments. The Spanish Plan notes '(t)his plan is not a closed document, but lies open to any amendments and additions that are seen as necessary once its execution begins'⁷⁸. Otherwise, the plan refers to 'tracking and evaluation' of the plan, including support for the inclusion of NGO work, but without specifying timelines or reporting frequency.

⁷⁷ Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Switzerland, *Swiss National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security* Swiss, 11-12.

⁷⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Spain, *The Government of Spain's Action Plan for the Application of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security*, 3.

Those plans that have specific reporting frameworks set different processes. The Icelandic plan will be evaluated every three years. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs will publish this evaluation after consultation with academics and NGOs. The Swedish plan will also be evaluated at three years with a mid-term review, but with regular reporting. Finland's action plan runs from 2008-2011. The report refers to it being 'systematically monitored'. A Follow-up Group will be appointed and NGOs and the research community will 'take part in the work of the Follow-up Group'. The evaluation will be coordinated with other measures related to gender mainstreaming.

The Austrian, Norwegian and Swiss plans provide for annual reporting. The Austrian plan refers to annual reporting to parliament and the requirement for an annual meeting with civil society representatives in the lead up to the evaluation report. The Swiss Plan is to run for 2007-2009. It will be reviewed annually and a protocol from the annual review will be attached to the plan. NGOs will be 'informed' about the review and the status of implementation. The Norwegian plan establishes a consultative body of 'relevant directorates, research institutions and NGOs to meet twice a year. Annual evaluations of the plan will be coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs against standard criteria. Reporting will be in October of each year and will be published.

Review

Monitoring and evaluation is a critical component of good policy, providing for continuous improvement and accountability. An effective monitoring process requires a plan to have clear statements of objectives, responsibility, budget allocations, and timelines. Reporting against a plan needs to be realistically aligned to the scope and complexity of the plan. To be effective and to demonstrate genuine will in relation to implementation, evaluation should be on the public record. To fulfill its accountability function, evaluation needs to engage stakeholders in civil society in a meaningful way.

Discussion Points

What planning system should be used to ensure that strategic aims are translated into concrete and realizable goals?

How often should plan be evaluated?

Who should be involved in the evaluation?

Summary of Key Elements to consider for an Australian National Action Plan

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 was an important milestone in developing a gendered understanding of conflict and peace. Although the Resolution has broad international support, its implementation has not been rapid. The development from 2004 of a strategy of seeking to implement the Resolution 1325 may accelerate implementation of the Resolution.

The development of a National Action Plan by Australia is timely. Australia will become one of the first countries outside Europe to develop such a plan. Australia may well be able to cooperate in the development of its plan with women in the Pacific region and perhaps more broadly by cooperating with the Philippines, one of the few other countries in the region to be actively pursuing the development of a plan. The development of a National Action Plan fits well with current foreign policy objectives to play a leading middle power role in the international community, including through seeking Security Council representation; with current developments of security sector reform being undertaken in the Defence Forces and in the Australian Federal Police; and, with the focus AusAid has on regional development and gender mainstreaming in relation to aid.

In considering the key elements from the existing National Action Plans that might be relevant for an Australian National Action Plan, consideration needs to be given to the process for developing the plan, the scope of the plan and the provisions in the plan for monitoring the implementation of the plan. The existing National Action Plans are only part of the input that needs to be considered. Clearly National Action Plans will have greater ownership if they are relevant to national and regional priorities. In this sense, the fact that the existing National Action Plans are European may limit their relevance to Australia. In addition to the National Action Plans, there are guides to the implementation of UNSCR from bodies such as INSTRAW, UNIFEM and the Commission on the Status of Women. These might provide broader guidance than the existing National Action Plans. In addition, it might be considered that the existing National Action Plans are a 'first generation' of plans, with a narrower focus on security sector reform than might be envisaged in further developments of National Action Plans. Nevertheless, some of the common and distinctive features of the plans may be a worthwhile starting point.

The Process for Developing the Plan

There have been variations in the processes used to develop plans. In most cases the lead agency within the Government has been the Ministry responsible for Foreign Affairs and/ or Defence. In all cases, consultation with civil society organisations involved in aid and the representation of women has been seen as important, although the scale of that consultation has varied from seeing the Plan as a partnership between government and civil society to a more formal consultative process.

Some of the plans are based on gender audits that document both activities that have a primary gender focus and the data that identifies gender representation in relevant fields. The plans that have gender audits may well find it easier to monitor progress against this base line data.

Some of the plans have taken a considerable period of time to draft. More recently, plans have been developed in a time frame of about twelve months.

The Scope of the Plan

It is worth noting that most UN agencies now discuss the scope of plans under UNSCR 1325 as relating to the Four P's: Conflict Prevention; the Participation of women in peace and security; the Protection of civilians with specific attention to gender; and, Prosecution of gender-based war crimes.

A review of the existing National Action Plans indicates that many focus on security sector issues with an emphasis on the participation of women in peace and security and gender-related issues of civilian protection. Others favour a process of generating specific action plans at international, regional and national levels. The Dutch National Action Plan takes a different approach by promoting partnership actions under four main themes of : the legal framework; including promotion of human rights, strengthening of the legal framework in fragile states and support for prosecution; conflict prevention, mediation and reconstruction; peace missions; and, strengthening international cooperation.

Very few of the plans have a strong focus on conflict prevention, although a number of plans refer to the importance of being engaged with local women's groups at all stages of conflict. The Finnish plan refers to the need to incorporate gender in considering climate change issues and the Swiss plan mentions its commitment to combat trafficking in women and girls.

Most of the plans are at their strongest in discussing peacekeeping missions. Most commit their own peacekeeping forces to gender training and awareness, to increased representation of women in peacekeeping and to zero tolerance of sexual exploitation by peacekeeping forces. In many cases this is based on a Code of Conduct for personnel. Increased representation of women is supported both within military and civilian deployments, often with numerical targets identified. Most of the plans refer to lobbying for increased representation of women in regional bodies such as NATO and the United Nations. Often, supporting the role of women in negotiating peace agreements is specifically mentioned. Gender Training is generally described both as part of the curriculum for Defence Academies and as pre-deployment training.

Most of the plans include elements associated with civilian protection. In particular, plans recognize the importance of working with local women's groups. A number of the plans focus on addressing violence against women, as the Finnish plan does. Some mention the need to prevent genital mutilation, and reduce the rate of transmission of STDs, including HIV/AIDS.

Civilian protection is particularly important in post-conflict situations. The inclusion of a gender perspective in DDR programs and land-mine clearing programs is mentioned in some of the plans. Many of the plans talk about the need to develop robust judicial systems in the post-conflict reconstruction. This includes fostering a willingness to prosecute gender related crimes committed during the conflict. Some of the plans specifically refer to strengthening the capacity of the International Criminal Court.

All of the plans recognise that increasing the representation of women in security forces and in peace processes is a matter that needs to be addressed at national, regional and international levels. In particular, increased numbers of women in decision-making positions in the UN are called for and in some cases, action will be taken to fund such positions.

Monitoring the Implementation of the Plan

There is increasing awareness that one of the critical areas of neglect in addressing gender issues has been the 'accountability gap' where rhetorical commitments are not matched by reporting on measurable progress. In developing a National Action Plan it is important that the implementation of the plan be monitored.

Most of the plans have a definite life of three or four years, although some are seen as evolving. A fixed time line enhances accountability. Most of the plans do have a mechanism for review either annually or at mid-term and this review generally involves some form of consultation with civil society organisations. In some cases, the results of monitoring are made public, for example, through reporting to the Parliament.

In the existing National Action Plans, there is a paucity of quantitative indicators and, in some cases, an absence of base-line data. A few of the plans stand out for the development of a matrix of their actions under the plan identifying responsibility, budget and time frame for implementation.

Attachment A

Extract from the Agreed Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution and in post-conflict peacebuilding (2004/12 pp153 – 158)

11. Governments in particular, as well as the United Nations system, especially those United Nations entities having a mandate with regard to peace and security, and other relevant international, regional and national actors, including civil society, have a responsibility for advancing gender equality and ensuring women's full and equal participation in all aspects of peace processes and in postconflict peacebuilding, reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation, where they are participants in these processes.

12. In regard to conflict prevention, the Commission on the Status of Women calls on Governments, as well as all other relevant participants in these processes:

- (a) To improve the collection, analysis and inclusion of information on women and gender issues as part of conflict prevention and early warning efforts;
- (b) To ensure better collaboration and coordination between efforts to promote gender equality and efforts aimed at conflict prevention;
- (c) To support capacity building, especially for civil society, in particular for women's organisations, in order to increase community commitment to conflict prevention;
- (d) To continue to make resources available nationally and internationally for the prevention of conflict and ensure women's participation in the elaboration and implementation of strategies for preventing conflict.

13. In regard to peace processes, the Commission on the Status of Women calls on Governments, as well as all other relevant participants in these processes:

- (a) To promote women's full, equal and effective participation as actors in all peace processes, in particular negotiation, mediation and facilitation;
- (b) To ensure that peace agreements address, from a gender perspective, the full range of security aspects, including legal, political, social, economic and physical, and also address the specific needs and priorities of women and girls;
- (c) To ensure, in the implementation phase of a peace agreement, that all provisions concerning gender equality and the participation of women are fully complied with and that all provisions of the peace agreement,

including those concerning demobilisation, disarmament, reintegration and rehabilitation, are implemented in a manner that promotes gender equality and ensures women's full and equal participation;

(d) To promote women's full and equal access to public information relative to peace processes;

(e) To review, on a regular basis, their contributions to the promotion of gender equality and the full and equal participation of women, and to fulfill their monitoring, accountability and reporting obligations in the implementation of peace agreements;

(f) With regard to gender mainstreaming, to 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, postconflict reconstruction, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding and, in this regard, support the involvement of women's organisations, community based organisations and nongovernmental organisations;

(g) To develop and strengthen the provision of gender advisory capacity and gender sensitive training programmes for all staff in missions relating to armed conflicts.

In this regard, the Commission takes note of the report of the Secretary General.

14. In regard to postconflict peacebuilding, the Commission on the Status of Women calls on Governments, as well as all other relevant participants in these processes,
Concerning elections:

(a) To ensure equal access of women in all stages of the electoral process and to consider the adoption of measures for increasing women's participation in elections through, inter alia, individual voter registration, temporary gender specific positive actions and access to information, representation on bodies administering elections and as election monitors and observers, as well as encouraging political parties to involve women fully and equally in all aspects of their operations;

(b) To ensure equal access for women to voter and civic education, to provide women candidates with full support, training and financial resources and to eliminate discriminatory practices hampering women's participation either as voters or candidates.

Concerning reconstruction and rehabilitation:

(a) To ensure the full participation of women on an equal basis in the reconstruction and rehabilitation process;

(b) To ensure the equal access of women to social services, in particular in the areas of health and education, and, in this regard, to promote the provision of adequate health care and health services, assistance for women and girls in conflict and postconflict situations and counselling for postconflict trauma;

(c) To facilitate equal employment opportunities for women to achieve economic empowerment.

15. The realization and the achievement of the goals of gender equality, development and peace need to be supported by the allocation of the necessary human, financial and material resources for specific and targeted activities to ensure gender equality at the local, national, regional and international levels, as well as by enhanced and increased international cooperation.

16. The Commission on the Status of Women requests the SecretaryGeneral to disseminate the present agreed conclusions widely, including to the high level panel on global security threats and reform of the international system.

Attachment B Additional background context

In order to understand Resolution 1325, it is necessary to see how it is located within broader debates about gender. In the period since the formation of the United Nations, women's organisations have sought to focus the world's attention around the three themes of women's rights, the gendered nature of development and poverty; and the position of women in relation to armed conflict.

The development of women's rights

To this end, we call on the Governments of the world to encourage women everywhere to take a more active part in national and international affairs, and on women who are conscious of their opportunities to come forward and share in the work of peace and reconstruction as they did in war and resistance. (Eleanor Roosevelt in an open letter to the 'women of the world', UN General Assembly, London, 1946⁷⁹)

December 2008 marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Thanks to the small number of women who founded the Commission on the Status of Women and who worked tirelessly to make the UDHR more inclusive of women, Article 2 of the UDHR claims the rights and freedoms of the Declaration 'without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex...'

In 1963, the General Assembly requested the Commission on the Status of Women to draft a Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. This Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly in 1967. Faced with continuing evidence that the problems of discrimination against women were not being acted upon, the United Nations launched the International Women's Year in 1975 and in 1980, the legally binding Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) came into force. It took a further 20 years for CEDAW to have an Optional Protocol, thereby achieving equal standing with the fundamental human rights conventions of the United Nations⁸⁰.

CEDAW remains the fundamental human rights doctrine with respect to women. Its implementation is monitored by the CEDAW Committee and State Parties report on a four yearly basis. The Optional Protocol allows complaints to the CEDAW Committee from individuals who claim violations of their rights by States party to the protocol, provided domestic remedies are exhausted.

⁷⁹ Eleanor Roosevelt, cited in "Short History of the Commission on the Status of Women," <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/index.html> (accessed November 26, 2008).

⁸⁰ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the Convention against Torture and other forms of Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

In many respects, CEDAW is the codification of rights that were framed within the early years of the United Nations. Its primary concern is to set out internationally binding standards that governments should meet in securing the freedom of women from state interference and in giving effect to formal equality for women with men. It does go beyond this traditional understanding of human rights in defining discrimination as applying ‘in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field’ (Article 1) and in committing governments to take positive action to ensure ‘the full development and advancement of women’ (Article 3). This wording has allowed the Committee to treat the Convention as an evolving document and to interpret discrimination in areas that the Convention is silent on, such as violence, disability, etc. Nevertheless, the Convention is limited by the Reservations that many countries have attached to their ratification, the relatively few signatories to the Optional Protocol, and by the silence in its Articles on violence against women.

The United Nations Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993 is widely recognized as providing a critical platform for the advancement of women’s rights. In particular, the Declaration from this conference confirms that priority of human rights over cultural beliefs and practices that are harmful to women; asserts the indivisibility, interdependence and equality of rights; confirms that development is a human right; identifies gender-based violence, sexual harassment and exploitation as ‘incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person’⁸¹; and expresses its dismay at practices such as the systematic rape of women in war situations. An important outcome of the Vienna Conference was the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1993 of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW). This declaration defines violence against women as:

(A)ny act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life⁸².

Progress in recognizing women’s rights has been slow and the machinery to ensure the recognition of the rights of women is flawed. There has long been a concern that a human rights approach to women’s issues can only be a partial solution. At times, human rights and development strategies have been counterposed, although by the 1990s there was a growing recognition that rights and development are closely linked.

Gender and development

It is generally accepted that early development interventions in the post World War II environment neglected women often with significantly detrimental effects. In the 1970s, the Women in Development approach sought to focus on women as critical to achieving anti-poverty goals. Subsequently, a Gender

⁸¹ United Nations General Assembly, “Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 20 December 1993” [http://www.unhcr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/\(Symbol\)/A.CONF.157.23.En](http://www.unhcr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/A.CONF.157.23.En) (accessed November 26, 2008).

⁸² United Nations General Assembly, “Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 20 December 1993,” <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/eliminationvaw.htm#wp1009442> (accessed November 2008).

and Development approach recognized the need to evaluate all programs from a gender perspective. With the broadening of the human rights agenda to be more responsive to development needs, a more complementary approach has developed. The Beijing Platform for Action developed at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 remains the most comprehensive attempt to harmonize a rights based approach with a development approach. Covering twelve broad areas of concern, the Beijing Platform sets out strategic objectives and actions for governments, international organisations and non-government organisations in each of these areas⁸³. The areas of concern include women and poverty; the education of women and girls; health; women and the economy; women and the environment; women and decision-making; and, for the first time in UN documents on women, a specific section on the girl child.

The Beijing Platform adopted a policy approach that has come to be known as gender mainstreaming and has become the widely diffused policy tool used to address the position of women. In 1997 the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted the following definition of gender mainstreaming:

The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality⁸⁴.

The point of gender mainstreaming was to ensure that the impact on women became a central, rather than marginal, focus for government; to recognize that in many areas policies do impact differentially on men and women; and to view gender as a dynamic set of relations between men and women. Gender mainstreaming was not intended to diminish the focus on policy approaches designed to address specific discrimination or disadvantage, although almost inevitably, there are concerns that this may have been the case.

The process of implementing the Beijing Platform was followed up by a General Assembly Review in 2000 (Beijing Plus Five)⁸⁵ which reaffirmed the need to address the situation facing women in armed conflict. Reviews are also carried out by UNIFEM.

In September 2000, the largest ever gathering of world leaders assembled at the United Nations to issue the Millennium Declaration. The eight millennium goals are: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child

⁸³The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, "Platform for Action 1995," <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/armed.htm#object6> (accessed December 27, 2008).

⁸⁴ United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), "Organisational Report, 1997" in *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: A guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security*, United Nations INSTRAW, 2 (Santo Domingo: INSTRAW, 2006).

⁸⁵ United Nations General Assembly, "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace in the Twenty-First Century A/55/341, 5-9 June 2000," <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm> (accessed January 29, 2009).

mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and, develop a global partnership for development. The goals are operationalised through an expanding number of targets and indicators to measure progress, most of which are to be achieved by 2015. There are currently 21 targets and over 60 indicators⁸⁶.

For some, the MDGs provide an opportunity to engage the centrality of gender in all development processes. The existence of gender gaps in development are not only an issue of equity, they also diminish women's 'agency'⁸⁷ in development. It is also the case that improving women's and girls' opportunities, particularly in education, will enhance progress towards other MDGs, most notably MDGs 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6⁸⁸. Others feel dismayed that much of the critically fought for recognition of rights and programs for women's advancement will wither under the central focus on the MDGs⁸⁹. Many feel that the time is ripe to revitalize the trinity of equality, development and peace that was the theme of the Beijing Platform. 'Unfortunately, the MDGs seek to address the "development" piece of this triangle, while leaving out most elements of the equality agenda, and the critical aspect of peace'⁹⁰.

Women, peace and conflict

Laws of war have traditionally argued that war does not suspend basic human rights; that civilians should be minimally impacted; that humanitarian principles be upheld and that women and children deserve special protection. International humanitarian law is codified in the Geneva Conventions and the Conventions on Torture and on Refugees. These Conventions do seek to protect women and children, although it is worth noting that rape is treated as a crime against honour, and thus a lesser crime than crimes against humanity⁹¹. It is also the case that most of these conventions were framed with the idea that conflict was primarily inter-state and conducted by disciplined armies.

Over the last century the nature of war has changed substantially. Wars are no longer fought on the isolated battlefields of WWI; instead contemporary conflicts are waged in homes and communities⁹². Women and children do not sit on the margins of conflict. They are combatants; they are victims. They

⁸⁶ United Nations Development Programme, "MDG Monitor," <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/index.cfm> (accessed November 27, 2008).

⁸⁷ See the argument of Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York, Knopf, 1998).

⁸⁸ Stephan Klasen, "Bridging the gender gap to promote economic and social development," *Journal of International Affairs* 58, no. 2 (2005): 246.

⁸⁹ For a fuller discussion, see Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (WICEJ), *Seeking Accountability on Women's Human Rights Women Debate the UN Millennium Development Goals* (New York: WICEJ, 2004).

⁹⁰ Carol Barton, "Women debate the MDGs," *Development* 48, no. 1 (2005): 103.

⁹¹ See Article 17 of the Fourth Geneva Convention

⁹² United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), "Women, Men, Peace and Security," http://www.unidir.org/bdd/fiche-periodique.php?ref_periodique=1020-7287-2003-4-en#biblio (accessed December 3, 2008).

flee from the conflict; they stay to eke out what survival is possible. Their bodies are the battlefield; they are the peacemakers. They rebuild shattered families and communities; they are the victims of domestic violence.

Civilians (in particular women and children), and civilian infrastructure are now targeted by combatants as a way of wielding power and control. Violence against women, once thought of as an adverse side-effect, has now become a deliberate tactic in armed conflict⁹³. A greater availability of weapons combined with the breakdown of law and order in conflict situations have legitimized new levels of impunity and violence against women, with their bodies becoming battlegrounds for physical violence and sexual abuse⁹⁴. Women much more than men experience gender-based violence. Women are raped and tortured as a way to humiliate the men they are related to⁹⁵. In societies where ethnicity is passed down through the male line, women are forced to bear the children of their enemy combatants. In Bosnia for example, women were imprisoned so that their pregnancies could not be terminated. Women are also interrogated by means of rape or torture. In addition, there have been many cases where women's bodies have been intentionally infected by HIV/AIDS⁹⁶.

During conflict it is also women who are among the majority of externally and internally displaced persons. In refugee camps, most women seeking shelter and aid feel unsafe due to a lack of protection officers and female staff. The level of sexual and domestic violence in camps is heightened, and in extreme cases women have been forced to exchange sex for aid⁹⁷. In conflict zones, women are the majority of the internally displaced persons. A large portion of women who are displaced in urban locations are physically and economically forced to become sex-workers in exchange for food and shelter⁹⁸.

Female abduction and trafficking is yet another overwhelming side-effect of conflict. The majority of trafficked persons are women. Traffickers often use conflict zones where border controls and policing are reduced as away to transfer women at ease. Girls are separated by force from families and are

⁹³ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women Security Council Resolution 1325 – Five Years On Report*, (New York: NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, 2005), viii.

⁹⁴ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1)*, 1.

⁹⁵ United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), "Women, Men, Peace and Security," http://www.unidir.org/bdd/fiche-periodique.php?ref_periodique=1020-7287-2003-4-en#biblio (accessed December 3, 2008).

⁹⁶ United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), "Women, Men, Peace and Security," http://www.unidir.org/bdd/fiche-periodique.php?ref_periodique=1020-7287-2003-4-en#biblio (accessed December 3, 2008).

⁹⁷ Klara Banaszak, Felicity Hill, Aina Iiyambo and Maha Muna, *Women, Peace and Security: UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325*, 15.

⁹⁸ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1)*, 9.

trafficked to neighboring countries where they are used in forced labour schemes which often involve prostitution⁹⁹.

In addition these women are frequently used for dangerous tasks such as de-mining, being required to risk their lives to make areas safe for soldiers. As women also make up the majority of the world's farmers and gatherers of food, water and firewood they are also confronted daily by the threat of landmines in conflict areas¹⁰⁰.

An increased availability of weapons, a lack of employment, shelter and vital services, as well as the violence experienced by men on an everyday basis have all contributed to the heightened domestic violence experienced by women following periods of conflict¹⁰¹. Because they are cheap and easily accessible, these weapons have also played a large role in how women have easily made the transition to armed fighters. Furthermore, in the case of nuclear weapons, there are substantial gender differences in the consequences of radiation. Women's reproductive health is especially susceptible to the effects of radiation¹⁰².

The changes in the nature of war and its gendered dimensions have been addressed in a variety of international documents. In 1974 the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict¹⁰³. In the Beijing Platform, the section on women and armed conflict focuses on increasing the numbers of women engaged in conflict resolution, the protection of women in armed conflict situations, reducing military expenditure and controlling the availability of weapons, promoting non-violent conflict resolution and respect for human rights, promoting women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace, providing protection for women refugees and displaced women and providing assistance to women of the colonies and non-self governing territories.

Both the Vienna Declaration and the Beijing Platform draw attention to the way in which rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancies have become weapons of war and constitute gross violations of human rights.

⁹⁹ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1)*, 11.

¹⁰⁰ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1)*, 28.

¹⁰¹ United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), "Women, Men, Peace and Security," http://www.unidir.org/bdd/fiche-periodique.php?ref_periodique=1020-7287-2003-4-en#biblio (accessed December 3, 2008).

¹⁰² Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1)*, 35.

¹⁰³ General Assembly Resolution 3318 (XXIX) December 14, 1974.

The Rome Statute of the International Court¹⁰⁴ codifies the recognition of sexual crimes as crimes against humanity¹⁰⁵ and/ or crimes of war¹⁰⁶. The definition of a crime against humanity in relation to sexual offences is set out at Article 7.1.g:

Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy¹⁰⁷, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity.

The definition of a war crime is set out in Article 8.2.xxii and carries the additional test that crimes additional to the named acts shall also be 'a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions'. Crimes of sexual violence, while not in themselves genocide, are to be treated as constitutive acts in considering genocide.

Many of the clauses of Resolution 1325 speak directly to the need to address specific wrongs against women, for example in relation to land mine clearing and women and girl refugees.

Changing Dimensions of Peace and Women as Peacemakers

In the post Cold War environment, the United Nations and other regional and national security sectors have been considering the challenges posed by new conflicts and new development challenges. *An Agenda for Peace*, issued by the Secretary-General in 1992, opens the process of broadening the scope of understanding of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Increasingly, security comes to be seen in broader terms than military deployment. Security sector reform emphasizes the inter-relationship of civil and military security.

Within the UN, the Brahimi Report¹⁰⁸ made sweeping recommendations for reform but made no recommendations on women in peacekeeping. More positively, the review of gender in peace operations that preceded the Windhoek Declaration established very clearly that mainstreaming gender was critical to the success of peace operations¹⁰⁹. Resolution 1325 embraces gender mainstreaming with a particular focus on peacekeeping, calling for the increased representation of women at all levels. In this sense the Resolution responds not only to the way in which the violence of conflict harms women, but also points to the crucial roles that women can play in preventing and overcoming conflict.

¹⁰⁴ First circulated in 1998 (A/CONF.183/9 of 17 July 1998), the Rome Statute came into force on 1 July 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Article 7.1 defines a crime against humanity acts committed 'as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack'.

¹⁰⁶ Article 8.1 defines war crimes as those committed 'as part of a plan or policy or as part of a large-scale commission of such crimes'.

¹⁰⁷ Forced pregnancy is defined to exclude ordinary national laws relating to pregnancy and must have the intent of affecting 'the ethnic composition of any population or carrying out other grave violations of international law' (Article 7.2.f.).

¹⁰⁸ Lakhdar Brahimi. 2000. *Brahimi Report on Peace Support Operations*, UN General Assembly and Security Council, A/55/305.S2000/809

¹⁰⁹ Carey, Henry. 2001. 'Women and peace and security: the politics of implementing gender sensitivity norms in peacekeeping', *International Peacekeeping* 8:2 pp 49-68

Attachment C – Summary of National Action Plan Content

Summaries of National Action Plans¹¹⁰

AUSTRIA

Participants

1. Government agencies

The following agencies were involved: The Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs (FMEIA), the Federal Ministry for Health, Family and Youth (FMHfY), the Federal Ministry of the Interior (FMOI), the Federal Ministry of Justice (FMOJ), the Federal Chancellery (FCH, Department II), the Federal Ministry of Defence (FMOD) and the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) – the operational unit of the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC).

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

The Plan refers to ‘consultation with civil society’ in the development of the plan. In relation to implementation, ‘a working group has been established by the FMEIA, consisting of representatives of all ministries and institutions concerned.’ There is an annual meeting of government agencies, non-governmental institutions and knowledge institutions.

Process

The Action Plan entailed an overview of current activities, a definition of desired objectives and activities and a time frame.

Key Themes

1. International

The Plan identifies the need to increase the representation of women in Austrian participants in international peace operations; the responsibility of Austrian personnel in peace and humanitarian operations to respect and protect women and children in operational areas. These objectives are to be supported by education, training and awareness building. The focus of such programs will be on:

¹¹⁰ The plan for the Cote d’Ivoire was not included because it is in French. The UK plan was not included because only a brief high-level plan is publically available.

- Beneficial effect of the participation of women in the respective country on the efficiency of the operation and the access to civilians;
- Importance of the protection of women and girls in operational areas for sustainable peacemaking, in particular also the special situation of women and girls with disabilities;
- Implications of the spread of prostitution in areas of conflict (trafficking in women, organised crime, sexual abuse, protection of minors);
- Threat of disciplinary and, if applicable, criminal sanctions in case of violations

In all bilateral and multilateral contacts, Austria lobbies for increased involvement of women in all stages of peace processes, for the incorporation of a gender perspective in all peace building activities of international and regional organisations, as well as for increased recruitment of women in decision-making positions in these organisations and as international mediators. In the United Nations, Austria will call for increased recruitment of women in decision-making positions, in particular for positions as Special Representatives and Special Envoys of the UN Secretary General both in terms of quantity (number of women) as well as quality (type of activity, operational area, i.e. also for conflict and post-conflict situations).

The Action Plan identifies particular issues in countries such as Uganda and in programs such as disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programs where the specific needs and interest of women are often neglected.

In its development work, the Plan commits to the following aspects: improving the security situation of women and girls; supporting the work of women being part of civil society; improving the life situation of women and girls seeking refuge; promoting the reintegration of women soldiers and of women and girls adversely affected by armed conflict. Particular attention is paid to women and girls with disabilities.

2. Regional

- The plan identifies Austrian priorities within the EU in relation to UNSCR 1325, including in election monitoring missions and DDR programs. It also commits Austria to supporting UNSCR 1325 within OSCE, including aiming at the equal nomination of

women in decision-making positions and deployments, both in terms of quantity (equal number of women) as well as quality (in all decision-making positions).

3. National

The plan mentions Austria's responsibility to combat violence against women and girls.

Monitoring and review

An Annual Report on implementation 'is taken note of by the Council of Ministers and forwarded to Parliament'. The annual report will be prepared after consultation with civil society representatives with relevant experience (non-governmental organisations, research institutions, etc.), in particular during a joint meeting to be held at least once a year. The civil society representatives will furthermore be asked to give ad hoc advice on specific cases.

DENMARK

Participants

1. Government agencies

The key agencies identified in the preparation of the Danish Report are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence.

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

Not specified.

Process

'In June 2005, Denmark adopted a series of political and operational actions engaging its foreign, defence and development cooperation policies in the implementation of all elements of UNSCR 1325.' (p. 3).

Key Themes

1. International

The plan focuses on the role of Denmark as a member of the Security Council. Denmark will use this position to incorporate the protection of women and girls in conflict areas, including the documentation of assaults for future prosecution; to ensure the protection

of women's rights in post-conflict political processes and to ensure that women's interests are reflected in peacekeeping mandates and in the competencies of peacekeeping personnel.

The plan also notes that a substantive part of Danish development cooperation is provided to post conflict societies such as Afghanistan, Uganda and Sudan. With regard to Africa, the plan commits to mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 into the 'Africa Program for Peace' launched by Denmark to strengthen the security architecture in Africa.

2. Regional

Within the EU, Denmark will promote the incorporation of gender-based perspectives in crisis management operations and seek to ensure alignment of EU and UN gender mainstreaming.

In the OSCE forum, Denmark will work for an increased political focus on the necessity of member states implementation of UNSCR 1325.

In NATO, Denmark will focus on trafficking, evaluating policies and codes of conduct in order to identify training needs for NATO staff and other actions.

-

3. National

The Plan notes that Denmark's aid is often directed to post-conflict nations.

The Plan also commits to strengthening the Danish Defence implementation of UNSCR 1325 in three prioritized focus areas of :

Increased gender balance in the recruitment of staff;

Protection of women's and girls' rights; and,

Increased participation and representation of women in peace building and reconstruction processes.

Monitoring and review

FINLAND

Participants

1. Government agencies

The key government agencies were the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

Finland started to prepare its National Action Plan in spring 2007. A Working Group, comprising representatives from different ministries, the 1325 NGO Network, and research institutions, was set up to lead the process.

Process

The drafting process was 'an open and participatory one' (p. 5). The preparation of the Action Plan was also coordinated with other simultaneous and parallel initiatives, such as the Government Reports on Security and Defence and on Human Rights Policy. The Action Plan also supports the Government Action Plan on Gender Equality (2008–2011).

Key Themes

1. International

Finland aims for equal gender representation in the UN, is financing a gender advisor in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and is working to establish a Convention on penal responsibility of UN officials and other experts in crisis management situations. Finland endorses the fight against impunity and supports the role of men in eliminating violence against women.

In its peace operations, Finland provides economic support and expertise, especially to local activities that contribute to the enhanced participation of women in conflict prevention, as peace brokers, and as negotiators. It also supports the development of national action plans in developing countries. Finland pays attention to gender in sensitive staff appointments such as interpreters and doctors. Finland also works for human rights implementation.

2. Regional

Within the EU, Finland focuses on training activities within EU security and defence institutions, including courses offered by the European Security and Defence College (ESDC). It is supportive

of gender mainstreaming and the identification of multiple discrimination. Finland has been and active participant in the Council of Europe's Campaign to Combat Violence against Women.

Within the OSCE, Finland has actively promoted campaigns to end violence against women.

Within NATO, Finland takes an active part in the work of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in order to contribute to a more effective implementation of Resolution 1325.

3. National

Finland supports the promotion of Resolution 1325 through training, research and publications. Where crisis management training is offered, recruitment opportunities for women will be promoted.

It also requires that the gender perspective shall be taken into consideration in development policy pursuits linked with climate change. Special attention is paid to women's role in the management of natural resources, land ownership and use, and the creation of sources of livelihood.

Finland emphasises the fact that all forms of sexual exploitation are criminal acts. It is explicitly forbidden for military and civilian crisis management staff to solicit prostitutes both in the field of operation and while outside of it. Finnish prosecutors, judges, police officers and other public authorities are offered training courses focusing on violence against women as a phenomenon and as a human rights offence.

Finland also calls attention to the significance of measures targeted at the prevention of violence against women and trafficking in human beings, and to the assistance of victims of such violence at both multilateral and bilateral levels.

Monitoring and review

The Action Plan covers the years from 2008 through 2011. There is a Follow-up Group to monitor the Action Plan comprised of representatives of different ministries, research institutions, and NGOs. Women in conflict areas will also be engaged in monitoring the plan.

Finland will report on the implementation of the national Action Plan to, inter alia, the Advisory Board on Human Rights. Furthermore, Finland's periodic reports on the implementation of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women (CEDAW) and the Government's annual development co-operation report to the Parliament will also address the implementation of the Action Plan.

ICELAND

Participants

1. Government agencies

The Plan was developed through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

Civil society, academic institutions and its Nordic partners were consulted in drawing up the plan.

Process

Iceland prepared its Plan of Action for the implementation of resolution 1325 by consulting with civil society, academic institutions and its Nordic partners.

Key Themes

The Plan of Action is built on the main pillars of Iceland's foreign policy; respect for human rights; increased development cooperation and peaceful resolution of conflict. Special emphasis is put on women's access at the negotiating table.

In particular, Iceland will seek to achieve the participation of more women through its Foreign Service and work in international organisations. More women: i) will fill positions as officials in international organisations; ii) will become heads of peacekeeping operations; iii) will be international peacekeepers; iv) will be locally employed during peacekeeping operations. Training on gender issues will be provided to employees of the Icelandic Foreign Service and to all deployed peacekeepers. Sexual abuse and gender based violence by deployed peacekeepers or other posted personnel is not tolerated.

Monitoring and review

The Plan of Action shall be revised and updated three years after its release, following consultations with civil society and academic experts. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs shall publish results of such revisions and updates every three years.

THE NETHERLANDS

(Please note that the Netherlands plan follows a different pattern to many of the European plans)

Participants

1. Government Agencies

The Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations

2. NGO/Knowledge Institutions

Amnesty International; Centre for Conflict Studies, University of Utrecht; Cordaid; Oxfam Novib; People Building Peace; Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights; WILPF: Women Peacemakers Programme; WO=Men.

Process

A partnership between government, NGOs and knowledge institutes that 'unites people and organisations active in the fields of development (including humanitarian aid), diplomacy and social action in a joint effort for conflict prevention and resolution, peace negotiations and reconstructions'.

Key Themes

1. International

In relation to legal systems, the Netherlands will encourage fragile states to frame their laws with regard to human rights and will condemn generalized impunity. Violence against women will not be tolerated and support for victims must be provided, in particular through support for local networks.

The Netherlands will promote women's access to media and women's voices should be promoted through international networks.

NGOs and women's and peace organisations will keep the government informed of early warning indicators from disquieting gender developments.

The Netherlands will support more equal participation in negotiations.

DDR programs will be gender aware and non-military DDR programs will be promoted, with a specific focus on reintegration.

A priority in post-conflict societies will be re-asserting the meeting of MDGs, especially MDGs 3 & 5.

The Netherlands supports the reform of the UN gender architecture.

2. Regional

The Netherlands is a significant player within the EU and will support the development of a European Action Plan.

3. National

The Netherlands will support more women in peace missions and gender training for peace missions. Peacekeepers must adhere to codes of conduct. Gender specialists need to be deployed.

NORWAY

Participants

1. Government agencies

Overall responsibility lies with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of International Development, Ministry for Children and Equality, Ministry for Defence, and the Ministry for Justice and the Police are also involved.

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

A consultative body will be set up consisting of an inter-ministerial working group, relevant directorates, research institutions and NGOs. This body will meet twice a year to exchange information, knowledge and experience of ongoing projects

Process

No information provided.

Key Themes

4. International

In relation to peace operations, Norway will fund measures aimed at ensuring women's participation and representation in specific peace processes and seek to involve local women, women's organisations and networks in all areas of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Norway will maintain regular contact with locally-based women's groups and will support formal and informal meetings for women and their networks in conflict areas.

Norway will put gender issues on the agenda when peace agreements are being drawn up and implemented. Norway will help the judicial sector in countries undergoing post-conflict reconstruction, prioritizing measures to ensure that women have real, non-discriminatory access to the judicial system.

Within the UN, Norway will seek to ensure that the organisations themselves integrate a more comprehensive and active approach to gender justice and gender equality into all their activities and allocate resources for this purpose, including training for judicial personnel in UN operations. The UN should review its gender equality provisions and integrate this in its reform of operational activities.

Norway will work actively through boards and trust funds to ensure that the World Bank gives higher priority to issues relating to gender and peacebuilding.

Norway will provide support to the African Union in implementing Resolution 1325.

2. Regional

In relation to the EU, Norway will seek to ensure that Norwegian participation in crisis management operations led by the EU contributes to the implementation of Resolution 1325.

In relation to NATO, Norway will seek to increase the proportion of women participating in NATO-led peace-support operations and will seek to ensure that the NATO Policy on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings is fully implemented in all Member States and Partner States.

Within the OSCE, Norway will seek to increase the number of women participating in missions of the OSCE, follow up the resolution which prohibits OSCE personnel from becoming involved in activities that could promote trafficking in human beings and promote projects in countries in the OSCE area to improve women's competence and enhance their opportunities to participate in peace efforts. Norway has particular expertise in institution building within the judicial sector.

3. National

In relation to peace operations, Norway will promote women leaders as candidates for international military. All Norwegian personnel will also receive instruction in international law, particularly in international humanitarian law and international human rights, including those related to gender-based violence, sexual violence and trafficking in human beings. Gender perspectives must be integrated into all exercises for international missions.

The proportion of women in the armed forces and the police will be increased. From 2006, women will be invited to enlist for national service on a voluntary basis. More women will be encouraged to become facilitators and mediators in peace and reconciliation processes.

The Norwegian Police University College and Norwegian military schools and training institutions will integrate issues related to women, peace and security into basic and specialised training programmes.

NGOs will be required, where relevant, to integrate gender perspectives into their projects, programme applications and reporting in order to be eligible for funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad).

Monitoring and review

The action plan will be a living document. The action plan will be evaluated annually. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will base the evaluation on reports from the relevant ministries. The action plan and the annual evaluations will be published.

A consultative body will be set up consisting of an inter-ministerial working group, relevant directorates, research institutions and NGOs. This body will meet twice a year to exchange information, knowledge and experience of ongoing projects.

SPAIN

Participants

1. Government agencies

The Plan was developed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, with the Spanish Agency for International Co-operation for Development as its main executive arm in the realm of development co-operation; the Ministry of Defence; the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, including the Women's Institute; the Ministry of Home Affairs; the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Education and Science; the Ministry of Health and Consumer Affairs.

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

The plan acknowledges the participation of representatives of civil society in its development.

Process

This National Action Plan is the product of the efforts and coordination put into it by different ministries, areas of the public administration and representatives of civil society.

Key Themes

1. International

In its peace operations, Spain will ensure that its personnel contact representatives of women's organisations and women leaders of the territory where the mission is acting, Spain will focus on eradicating gender violence and foster access to sexual and reproductive health services and psychological and social care, In its demining activities, Spain will consider gender-differentiated aspects of the lives of the affected persons and populations. It will also seek to prevent genital mutilation, HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, It will cooperate in strengthening post-conflict judicial systems to provide judicial protection for the human rights of women and girls. DDR programs will be planned involving gender experts.

-

In the UN, Spain will promote a greater presence by women in senior offices of the Organisation's political and security divisions and foster women's participation in United Nations peace missions. Spain will seek to coordinate and track actions being performed in coordination with UN agencies, for compliance with accords on gender equality in peace missions.

2. Regional

In the EU, Spain will work through the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) to foster participation and service by women on ESDP missions, promoting equal opportunity and advocating the establishment of gender units within ESDP. Gender training should be provided to ESDP missions.

In NATO and the OSCE, Spain will continue strengthening and participating in the Committee on Women in the NATO Forces and promoting gender awareness and Resolution 1325.

3. National

The Government of Spain shall continue fostering the presence of women in the armed forces and in the State security forces and corps. Training in equal opportunity and gender mainstreaming will be carried out in military centres, including awareness of Resolution 1325.

Spain will ensure the increasing representation of women in peace missions and the promotion of equal opportunity.

Spain shall facilitate legal conditions for displaced women (and their families) who are in Spain because of an armed conflict or are applying for asylum.

Monitoring and review

The Plan shall be subjected to continuous tracking by an interministerial group made up of the Ministries engaged in its drafting. The group will establish coordination with civil society. It will report annually.

SWEDEN

Participants

1. Government agencies

The plan was drawn up by a special working group under the leadership of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and with participants from the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministries of Defence, Justice, and Industry, Employment and Communications. The Swedish Armed Forces and the National Police Board also participated.

The plan drew upon existing activities such as:

The Swedish National Defence College research in the area of gender and peace support, The Swedish Rescue Services Agency guidelines for the implementation of the Resolution in its operations and, in particular, the humanitarian disaster and relief operations in which the Agency participates, and SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) methods and policies for work on development and security, which also include gender equality issues.

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

The action plan has been guided by a dialogue with various interested parties: government authorities, NGOs, research institutions, international organisations and other countries.

Process

The government Ministries both initiated a number of projects around 1325 and gained acceptance for the development of the plan. The key components in the lead up to the plan were a comparative study, a seminar on international experience and a consultative seminar with the participation of representatives of civil society and public authorities. This common approach will also characterise the implementation of the action plan.

Key Themes

1. International

The plan outlines continuing efforts by Sweden to advance Resolution 1325 through the UN system.

Special attention has been given to strengthening the participation, security and protection of women in the formulation of Sweden's conflict management policy for Africa, both in individual countries, such as Sudan, and in overall strategies.

Sweden is active in promoting post-conflict gender justice, for example, through the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC) the Government has organised two international meetings on gender justice. Sweden and South Africa co-chair the global initiative "The Partners for Gender Justice in Conflict Affected Countries".

2. Regional

Sweden will work within the EU for the full implementation of Resolution 1325. In NATO Sweden has contributed to the implementation of the NATO/EAPC anti-trafficking policy. Within the OSCE, Sweden has initiated a process to strengthen the participation of women in conflict prevention and crisis management operations.

3. National

In relation to peace operations, the number of women at all levels in Sweden's contribution to peace support operations will increase and training will be provided for personnel who are to take part in international operations and peace assignments. A code of conduct has been developed for personnel in international operations.

Monitoring and review

The action plan for implementation of Resolution 1325 covers a three-year period (from 2006 up to and including 2008). There will be regular follow-ups, including a half-time review. Government authorities will be instructed to include reports on action to implement Resolution 1325 in their annual reports or reports on special issues.

SWITZERLAND

Participants

1. Government agencies

An Interdepartmental Working Group (WG 1325) includes representatives of the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS) and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). The latter's Political Affairs Division IV (PA IV, Human Security) is in charge of WG 1325.

2. NGOs/Knowledge Institutions

Specific mention is made of the Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding (SEP) and the Centre for Peacebuilding (KOFF) of the Swisspeace Foundation.

Process

See above for interdepartmental working group.

Key Themes

1. International

In peace operations, Switzerland seeks to promote women's involvement in the conflict zone. Switzerland is engaged in a commitment within the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (SCPKO) to a policy that includes the preparation of training modules and a strategy for combating sexual exploitation of women by members of UN peace missions (investigation, disciplinary penalties, support for victims).

In the international context Switzerland makes women's rights and the violations of these rights a subject of discussions; Switzerland also points to violations of women's rights.

Switzerland is also committed at the international level to combating trafficking in women and girls and to protecting the victims of trafficking. Other priorities include efforts to improve the protection of internally displaced persons (IDPs, many of whom are women), and to oppose impunity for those who perpetrate crimes against women in the context of armed conflicts.

Switzerland plans to deploy legal experts to help strengthen inter-national/hybrid tribunals, truth and reconciliation commissions as well as other mechanisms of dealing with the past.

Switzerland supports the International Criminal Court procedures designed for the protection of women, both victims and witnesses. There should be maintenance and if possible improvement of the proportional representation of women in the International Criminal Court (ICC) by means of elections, election rules, monitoring of ICC human resources policy.

2. Regional

The plan refers to consistency across multilateral and bi-lateral organisations in relation to Resolution 1325.

3. National

In relation to peace operations, Switzerland focuses on training, gender experts and gender budgeting. Switzerland has a policy of zero tolerance with regard to the sexual exploitation of women in all cases involving civilian and military personnel seconded to peacebuilding operations.

The Swiss Expert Pool for Civilian Peacebuilding (SEP) plans to increase the representation of women to 40 per cent, with a similar proportion for its deployments.

Monitoring and review

The Working Group has already reviewed existing activities and on this basis has drawn up various objectives and basic lines of action, together with a catalogue of measures for 2007 – 2009. An annual meeting monitors implementation. It is possible for organisations active in peacebuilding to propose amendments to the plan to be evaluated by the Working Group. Representatives of civil society are informed through the Gender and Peacebuilding Roundtables organised by the Centre for Peacebuilding (KOFF) of the swisspeace foundation.

Bibliography

Annan, Kofi. 2000. *United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan's message for the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace, 8 March 2000*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at http://www.unescap.org/unis/press/l_08_00.htm.

AusAID. 2008. *Gender Equality: Annual Thematic Performance Report 2006-2007*. Canberra: AusAID.

AusAID. 2007. *Gender Equality in Australia's aid program – why and how: summary March 2007*. Canberra: AusAid.

AusAID. 2006. *Gender Guidelines: Peace-Building*. Canberra: AusAid.

AusAID. *Guide to Gender and Development*. Canberra: AusAid.

Banaszak, Klara, Camille Pampell Conaway, Anne Marie Goetz, Aina liyambo and Maha Muna. 2005. *Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes*. New York: UNIFEM.

Banaszak, Klara, Felicity Hill, Aina liyambo, Maha Muna. 2004. *Women, Peace and Security: UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325*. New York: UNIFEM.

Barton, Carol. 2005. 'Women debate the MDGs'. *Development* 48(1): 103.

Binder, Christina, Karin Lukas and Romana Schweiger. 2008. 'Empty Words or Real Achievement? The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women in Armed Conflicts, *Radical History Review* Issue 101, Spring pp 22-41.

Bryson, John M. and William D. Roering. 1988. 'Initiation of Strategic Planning by Governments'. *Public Administration Review* 48(6): 995-1004.

Carey, Henry. 2001. 'Women and peace and security: The Politics of implementing gender sensitive norms in peacekeeping' *International Peacekeeping* 8:2, pp 49-68.

Cohn, Carol. 2004. 'Feminist Peacemaking'. *The Women's Review of Books* 11(5): 8-9.

Commission on the Status of Women. 2002. *Agreed Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution and in post-conflict peace-building 2004/11*. Accessed 2 December 2008. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/agreedconclusions/Agreed%20conclusions%2048th%20session.pdf>.

Commission on the Status of Women. 2004. *Agreed Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution and in post-conflict peace-building 2004/12*. Accessed 10 December 2008. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw48/ac-wp-auv.pdf>.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. 2008. *Statement on Women, Peace and Security*. Accessed 5 December 2008. Available at <http://www.international.gc.ca/glynberry/women-femmes.aspx?lang=eng>.

Farr, Vanessa. 2003. *The Importance of a gender perspective*. Accessed 3 December 2008. Available at <http://www.unidir.org/pdf/articles/pdf-art1995.pdf>.

Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Switzerland. 2007. *Swiss National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security*. Bern: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs Austria. 2007. *Austrian Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*. Vienna: Federal Ministry for International and European Affairs.

Foreign Affairs Canada. 2005. *Towards a Canadian National Action Plan to Implement Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security Third Annual Symposium of the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security October, 2005*. Accessed 30 January 2008. Available at http://www.international.gc.ca/rights-droits/assets/pdfs/Women_PeaceSecurity-en.pdf

Gordenker, Leon and Thomas Weiss. 1996. 'Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions'. In *NGOs, the United Nations and Global Governance*, eds. L. Gordenker and T. Weiss. London: Lynne Rienner.

H.E. Mr. John Dauth LVO Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations. 28 October 2004. *Statement on the 4th Anniversary of Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security*. Accessed 21 November 2008. Available at http://www.australiaun.org/unny/sc_281004.html.

Her Majesty's Government (HMG) The UK. 2006. *UNSCR1325 - United Kingdom High Level National Action Plan*. London: HMG.

Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). 2005. *Guidelines for Gender-based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings: Focusing on Prevention of and Response to Sexual Violence in Emergencies*. Geneva: IASC.

Klasen, Stephan. 2005. 'Bridging the gender gap to promote economic and social development'. *Journal of International Affairs* 58(2): 246.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Spain. 2008. *The Government of Spain's Action Plan for the Application of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security*. Madrid: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs Iceland. 2008. *Women, Peace and Security: Iceland's Plan of Action for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*. Gutenberg: Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. 2008. *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women, Peace and Security" Finland's National Action Plan 2008-2011*. Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence Denmark. 2005. *Denmark's Action Plan on implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security*. Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sweden. 2006. *The Swedish Government's action plan to implement Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security*. Stockholm: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs The Netherlands. 2007. *Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325: Taking a stand for women, peace and security*. The Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Biaboroh-Iboro. 29 October 2008. In *United Nations Security Council 6005th Meetings S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1)*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02.

Mr. Ebner. 29 October 2008. In *United Nations Security Council 6005th Meeting S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1)*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02.

Mr. Kavanagh. 29 October 2008. In *United Nations Security Council 6005th Meeting S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1)*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02.

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. 2005. *From Local to Global" Making Peace Work for Women: Security Council Resolution 1325 – Five Years On Report*. New York: NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security.

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. 2006. *Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security – Six Years On Report*. New York: NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security.

Organization for Security and Cooperation In Europe (OSCE) Ministerial Council. 2004. *Decision No. 14/04 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality*. Accessed 2 December 2008. Available at http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/2004/12/3917_en.pdf.

Prime Minister, the Hon. Kevin Rudd MP. 2008. *The First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament*. Accessed 4 December 2008. Available at http://www.alp.org.au/download/now/national_security_statement_to_the_australian_parliament.pdf.

Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. 2002. *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building (Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol. 1)*. New York: UNIFEM.

Rolls, Sharon. 2006. *Security Council Resolution 1325: National Implementation of Women Peace and Security: Ways Forward*. Accessed 12 December 2008. Available at <http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/media/doc-waysforward.doc>.

Roosevelt, Eleanor. 1946. Cited in *Short History of the Commission on the Status of Women*. Accessed 26 November 2008. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/index.html>.

Sen, Amartya. 1998. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. 1998. Accessed 29 January 2009. Available at <http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/romefra.htm>.

The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. 1995. *Platform for Action*. Accessed 27 November 2008. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/armed.htm#object6>.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). 2008. *Progress of the World's Women 2008-2009: Who answers to women? Gender and Accountability*. New York: UNIFEM.

United Nations Development Programme. 2007. *MDG Monitor*. Accessed 27 November 2008. Available at <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/index.cfm>.

United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). 1997. 'Organizational Report'. Cited in *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: a guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security (UN SCR 1325)*, United Nations INSTRAW. Santo Domingo: INSTRAW.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 2005. 'Strategic Planning: three stages'. Cited in *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: a guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security (UN SCR 1325)*, United Nations INSTRAW. Santo Domingo: INSTRAW.

United Nations General Assembly. 20 December 1993. *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*. Accessed 26 November 2008. Available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/eliminationvaw.htm#wp1009442>.

United Nations General Assembly. 20 December 1993. *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*. Accessed 26 November 2008. Available at [http://www.unhcr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/\(Symbol\)/A.CONF.157.23.En](http://www.unhcr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/A.CONF.157.23.En).

United Nations General Assembly. 5-9 June 2000. *Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace in the Twenty-First Century A/55/341*. Accessed 29 January 2009. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm>.

United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). 2004. *Women, Men, Peace and Security*. Accessed 3 December 2008. Available at http://www.unidir.org/bdd/fiche-periodique.php?ref_periodique=1020-7287-2003-4-en#biblio accessed 3/12/08.

United Nations INSTRAW. 2008. *Background Paper for the Virtual Dialogue: "Planning for Action: Good Practices on implementing UNSCR 1325 on a national level"*. Accessed 3 December 2008. Available at <http://www.un-instraw.org/images/files/Backgroundpaper1325.pdf>.

United Nations INSTRAW. 2004. *Ending Violence Against Women*. Accessed 3 December 2008. Available at <http://www.un-instraw.org/en/index.php?option=content&task=blogcategory&id=194&Itemid=261>.

United Nations INSTRAW. 2006. *Securing Equality, Engendering Peace: a guide to policy and planning on women, peace and security (UN SCR 1325)*. Santo Domingo: INSTRAW.

United Nations Interagency-Network on Women and Gender Equality. 2007. *2008-2009 UN System-wide action plan for the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/implementation_review_20082009.html.

United Nations Peacebuilding Commission. 24 June 2008. *Report of the Peacebuilding Commission in its Second Session*. Accessed 2 December 2008. Available at <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/401/90/PDF/N0840190.pdf?OpenElement>.

United Nations Security Council. 28 October 2004. *Statement by the President of the Security Council S/PRST/2004/40*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/S-PRST-2004-40-E.pdf>.

United Nations Security Council. 13 October 2004. *Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2004/814*. Accessed 3 December 2008. Available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/S-2004-814-E.pdf>.

United Nations Security Council. 12 September 2007. *Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2007/567*. Accessed 29 January 2009. Available at <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N07/503/69/PDF/N0750369.pdf?OpenElement>.

United Nations Security Council. 25 September 2008. *Report of the Secretary General on Women and peace and security S/2008/622*. Accessed 29 January 2009. Available at <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/523/14/PDF/N0852314.pdf?OpenElement>.

United Nations Security Council. 19 June 2008. *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820 on Women, Peace and Security S/RES/1820*. Accessed 2 December 2008. Available at <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/391/44/PDF/N0839144.pdf?OpenElement>.

United Nations Security Council. 29 October 2008. *United Nations Security Council 6005th Meeting S/PV.6005 (Resumption 1)*. Accessed 30 January 2009. Available at http://www.undemocracy.com/securitycouncil/meeting_6005-Resu.1#pg013-bk02.

United Nations Security Council. 31 October 2000. *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security S/RES/1325*. Accessed 29 January 2009. Available at <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/1325.html#Full>.

Windhoek Declaration. 31 May 2000. Accessed 29 January 2009. Available at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf.

Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (WICEJ). 2004. *Seeking Accountability on Women's Human Rights Women Debate the UN Millennium Development Goals*. New York: WICEJ.

World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 2004. *Clinical Management of Rape Survivors Developing protocols for use with refugees and internally displaced persons: Revised edition*. Geneva: WHO.