In connection with the launch of the project “Making Women Count for Peace: Gender, Empowerment and Conflict in South Asia”, PRIO organized a two-day workshop in Shillong, India, 3-4 August 2012. Jenny Lorentzen met with PRIO Research Professor Åshild Kolås to learn more about the project she is leading and the recent workshop.

_Could you briefly introduce the project to our readers?_

The project is a collaborative effort by PRIO and Indian partners, which include Malaviya Centre for Peace Research (MCRP) at Banaras Hindu University, Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (CRG), Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), and North Eastern Social Research Centre (NESRC). We are also working with civil society and women’s organizations in the field sites, and the South Asia office of UN Women in New Delhi.

The goal is to investigate what women’s empowerment might mean in different contexts, such as in protracted conflict without third party mediation in Northeast India, and in a post-conflict setting with heavy multilateral and international involvement in Nepal. We approach this question by studying how gendered political power is transformed in conflict, assuming that differences in the forms and expressions of gendered power relations during and after conflict impact on how “empowerment” might be achieved.

While a substantive scholarly effort has gone into the study of women’s empowerment in peacebuilding, most of this work has been carried out in “post-conflict” countries such as Nepal, where multilateral and international organizations have played a vital role in peacemaking and/or post-conflict interventions, and where such interventions have often been a key topic of study. The literature on gender and conflict in India has often been sidelined by mainstream scholarly debates focusing on the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325. There has also been a lack of comparative studies between cases with and without international intervention in the promotion of women’s participation in peacebuilding.

Focusing on peacebuilding and governance, the project is based on a number of qualitative case studies, and one quantitative study, comparing each...
case over time. We want to look at variations in strategies for women’s participation in governance, not only between Nepal and India, but also within Northeast India, between areas that are administered differently, including hill areas where there are various arrangements for autonomous governance.

**You mention the areas in Northeast India that are under autonomous governance. How does this affect women’s participation in governance and peacebuilding?**

India has a federal system of governance, and in some parts of the country, states and so-called autonomous districts councils can determine their own strategies for women’s participation. India enacted reforms to increase women’s participation in governance as early as 1992, and the 73rd Amendment to the Indian constitution ensures that one third of the seats in the Panchayati Raj, the local governance institution, are reserved for women. However, these reforms have not been implemented throughout all of Northeast India. Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram, as well as the hill areas of Manipur and Assam, are “tribal” areas left out of the Panchayati system, and are thus exempt from the requirement to reserve seats for women in local assemblies. Some of these areas are also among the most severely affected by conflict. It seems to be especially difficult to promote women’s participation in governance while also maintaining tribal autonomy, and in some areas civil society organizations are now raising demands for women’s quotas in local assemblies.

The participants argued that the role of women in “tribal” communities in the past was strong in terms of how they participated in trade, marketing of produce, and taking care of family finances. Some of the participants argued that this traditional role has been undermined. One participant said that “we were empowered within our community, but have been disempowered by the government, the Marwari traders, and others, who have been taking over the market place from us. Now we have no market to sell our vegetables because imported vegetables are available. No market means we have no income.”

While women had an important role in social life, they were not much involved in politics, and peacebuilding was commonly understood as a part of the political domain. As one participant explained, “cultural models of peacebuilding exist, but these models or prescriptions belong to men. The men thus already have a traditional cultural model for peacebuilding, whereas women were never involved in peacebuilding and don’t have any such model.” Another participant explained that there were in fact some customary practices of women’s intervention in conflict, such as “a Tangkhul tradition of women’s intervention in conflict to stop the bloodshed”. The purpose of this intervention was to avoid the escalation of conflict, and this required specific rituals to be performed. This highlights the importance of cultural understanding and cultural resources for peacebuilding, and also how wom-
en may face challenges when they lack the resources that are available to men. Researchers should pay more attention to these conditions to gain a better understanding of the difficulties faced by women engaged in peacebuilding as well as governance. This is one of the areas where we hope our research can fill a knowledge gap.

In the workshop debates, participants had different perspectives on the causes of women’s disempowerment, and the role of women in “tribal” or “traditional” society. In one view the forces of “modernity” and “globalization” were seen as the key challenges. In the other view, the main obstacles to women’s empowerment could be found within the gender roles and governance structures of the “traditional” or “local” community itself. I find it interesting that despite the ongoing debates on women’s “traditional” role and status, academics often focus more on the lack of women’s political participation in so-called “traditional” societies.

The challenge for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in peacebuilding initiatives and interventions is to work with local communities and not against them. We need to understand the past, and rather than lecture about modernity, we should try to understand how people relate to and draw on cultural resources and experiences. We need to ask more overarching questions about the different aspects of gendered power in conflict and peacebuilding as well as in general, to understand empowerment better.

Did the workshop participants share any views based on experiences from contemporary processes related to peacebuilding and governance where women have in fact participated? What did they view as the main obstacles to women’s participation?

Some workshop participants claimed that when women have in fact participated in peace negotiations they have raised different issues than men, and focused on issues rather than positions. This was seen as evidence that there is in fact a difference between the peacebuilding approaches of men and women. Others doubted whether women can really make their voices heard in male-dominated peace processes; firstly because of the “low level of knowledge among women”, and secondly because of the strong views of men. Within this context, the role of customary law was also brought up. Some of the workshop participants felt that customary law is being used to block the inclusion of women into political processes, and that customary law is therefore an obstacle to the promotion of women’s rights. These participants portrayed customary law as a male sphere, stating that “men always interpret it”. This is another example of how the “traditional” is seen as an obstacle not only to women’s empowerment, but also to equal political participation and the promotion of women’s rights.

There was also a discussion on whether women representatives should or would promote a gender perspective, or introduce it into their policymaking, since they also have a responsibility to their constituency and party affiliation. Several participants said that political parties simply ignore efforts to introduce women’s issues onto the agenda, and that political parties have their own agendas. Many participants also felt that incorporating gender perspectives into peace processes is more important than raising women’s issues.

How will you proceed with this project in the future?

Now that we have had the first workshop in Shillong with participants from Northeast India, we will hold the next workshop in Nepal with Nepalese participants, as well as some of the participants from the first workshop. The workshops will be held on an annual basis, and in addition to the four workshops we will hold an international conference in Kolkata, India, in 2014. The project will result in an edited volume, but there will also be publications of scholarly articles in international journals, and at least one PRIO policy brief targeting NGOs and policymakers. The policy brief and workshop reports will be posted online. The report from the workshop in Shillong, Gender, Empowerment and Conflict: Experiences from Northeast India is available from the PRIO website.

‘Resolutions are not enough, they must be implemented’

Interview with Mariann Murvoll, Coordinator for Women, Peace and Security, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA).

Two years ago, the PRIO Gender, Peace and Security Update interviewed your predecessor, Hilde Klemsdal, about what was then a new project on Women, Peace and Security. Could you describe how the MFA works in this regard, as well as your role as coordinator, to our readers?

As of this year it is no longer a project, but a permanent part of the Norwegian government’s strategy for implementing and furthering the Women, Peace and Security agenda. However, we will keep the same structures, such as the 1325 Network, a consultative organ for civil society actors and researchers, and the Inter-departmental working group on Resolution 1325, as well as internal networks and forums in the different ministries. The ministries responsible for the implementation of Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions in the Norwegian government are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Justice and the Police, and the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion.
My job is to integrate the Women, Peace and Security resolutions into the general work of the MFA. There does not seem to be much opposition to this work, and we think it reflects that this is a political priority and an important part of Norway’s international profile. Still, it is a challenge to ensure that the gender perspective is prioritized, even when “cities are burning”. My job is also to advise other parts of the system on issues of Women, Peace and Security. Before this, I was working in the Section for security politics where I was the desk officer in charge of Afghanistan issues and the work we do with NATO. NATO was late to start implementing Resolution 1325, and in my experience it was very useful to have access to competent people within the Norwegian MFA who could advise on these issues.

We also work internationally by trying to establish alliances with other countries that are relevant in specific contexts. We have something in Norway that is an absolutely necessary precondition for advancing the agenda, and that is political will. We experience this here at the MFA – and it has also been noticed internationally – and it makes us a trusted actor on these issues. There is political will in other countries too. However, they might lack the tools and resources. Norway is lucky to have qualified people both on the government side and among non-governmental actors, as well as resources that we can use strategically.

Could you give us an overview of the main achievements over the past two years?

A lot has happened over the past two years. In 2011, the government launched Norway’s Strategic Plan 2011-13 on Women, Peace and Security. A first overview of achievements has been published in the 2011 Progress Report. A similar report will be published for 2012. Great efforts have been made in the other ministries, and there is a good collaboration between the different ministries involved.

The appointment of Mari Skåre as Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security in NATO is a result of a Norwegian initiative that has enjoyed a lot of attention and international support. We also work with the Afghan Women’s Network, focusing on women’s participation in the peace process in Afghanistan. On the humanitarian side, we continue to work systematically with gender markers as developed by the Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC), a forum involving the key UN and non-UN humanitarian partners. We find that when people work with these issues they see their value, and that talking to women provides new perspectives and solutions to the challenges at hand.

Further, we find that we have strong partnerships with dedicated Norwegian NGOs and international partners. We also work to strengthen the UN on this issue area, both normatively and financially. We have been supporting the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, UN Action, and UN Women. Norway is a board member of UN Women, and we are working actively to support and strengthen the organization so that they can fulfill their mandate. Through UN reform and the creation of UN Women, the UN has improved its structure, providing for a more effective organizational setting to advance the Women, Peace and Security agenda. But we have to keep pushing, and show that we expect the UN to act on its commitments.

What do you consider as the greatest remaining challenges?

There are a number of challenges in the security sector, within national military forces, peace operations, and security sector reform. No doubt, combating sexual violence in conflict is still a challenge. There is still much work to be done, not least on how to ensure women’s participation in processes related to peace and security. However, I find it very motivating that we were able to get support for the position of a Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security in NATO.

The Ministry of Defense also works tirelessly on these issues in the military sector. National military organizations have traditionally been conservative and male-dominated, and it is a challenge to convince the security sector that the Women, Peace and Security agenda is not only about gender equality. To this audience we try to keep a focus on ‘efficiency’, and this was decisive for the introduction of military guidelines in NATO. The argument is that if you as a military officer are able to speak to both men and women, you will have a more efficient military operation and be better able to protect the whole population. National militaries, and military structures all around the world, also need to work more systematically with preventing sexual violence. There is broad agreement that security sector reform has an important role to play in future work to prevent sexual violence in con-
conflict, and we will encourage more work in this area.

We are also working systematically on how we can encourage women’s participation and the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace negotiations and ceasefire agreements. This is particularly challenging in processes where Norway plays a role as facilitator. In such processes we do not ‘own’ the negotiations. Still, we will continue our work in this regard, for example through training, so that those owning the negotiations can see the value. This will remain a top priority, because a stable and lasting peace is dependent on the inclusion of the voices of the whole population. We can never let the male population speak on behalf of women.

Another challenge is how to transform policy into practice—a big issue when it comes to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Why is it so hard to turn a political agenda that is widely supported into action? I cannot give you an answer to that question. However, what we can do is to work systematically with the tools and partners we have to ensure that gender perspectives and the intentions in the resolutions are kept on the agenda—both in our daily work and internationally.

At the moment there is a feeling that we are experiencing a setback on the international scene and in the Security Council. Many countries seem to be hiding behind the rhetoric of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states. All stakeholders, including the UN, practitioners, and we here at the MFA must sometimes reach out to the media to remind people of the importance of these issues. For example there are a lot of myths existing about sexual violence. False notions of “men’s uncontrollable urges” or racist cultural stereotypes are still used as arguments for why sexual violence is inevitable.

But most men and soldiers do not rape. Sexual violence and rape is a crime and must not be tolerated.

**Looking forward, what are the main priorities?**

We will have an increased focus on documenting and reporting of results. We experience that we have entered a new phase now, where we want to focus on results and stick to a knowledge-based approach. We will continue working with old and new partners. We think it is very important to work with civil society, with Norwegian NGOs and their partners on the ground in conflict or post-conflict settings. Without local ownership, Women, Peace and Security initiatives will not be sustainable or lead to empowerment for women. So we need to reach out to the local communities through local organizations. A larger focus on results is one of the strategies to reach this goal, and we challenge our civil society partners to increase reporting on results.

With respect to sexual violence, we see that it is important to work towards ensuring that this issue gains a permanent place on the security agenda. There is general agreement on the importance of the resolutions. But resolutions are not enough, they must be implemented. And making sure they are implemented in areas where they make the most difference must be a priority. When the international community has to deal with new conflict situations, such as Libya and Syria, we have seen that women are still marginalized. How do we manage to bring this perspective in from the start? This applies both to efforts aimed at preventing sexual violence and women’s participation in governance and peacebuilding.

The security sector is a priority area, especially related to the prevention of sexual violence. We believe efforts in this sector will have a broader impact on women’s empowerment as well. We must be able to show that implementing the Women, Peace and Security resolutions is the right thing to do—and the smart thing to do. That it means effective operations, stable communities, and sustainable peace agreements. One strategy to do that is to display best practices, and build on knowledge. Related to this, we welcome more research on this topic. Finally, the successful implementation of the Women, Peace and Security resolutions ultimately depends on lasting political will.

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**NATO Special Representative on Women, Peace and Security**

Norwegian diplomat Mari Skåre was on 28 August appointed as NATO’s first Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security. In a public statement Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said the appointment “demonstrates how much NATO values the unique contribution of women to our armed forces and operations and their important role in conflict prevention and resolution.”
The mandate of the Special Representative is to raise awareness of NATO’s policies and activities on women, peace and security, to ensure coordination of these policies and activities, and to encourage cooperation with the United Nations and other relevant organisations.

The appointment of a NATO Special Representative on Women, Peace and Security was first suggested by the Norwegian government at the NATO Summit in Chicago in May this year. The costs of the Special Representative position will also be covered by Norway. Skåre took office on 10 September for an initial two-year period.

For more on the appointment and Skåre’s background see NATO website.

Warns Against the Danger of ‘Women’ Becoming a Trendy Topic

Cora Weiss at NOREF Lunch Seminar

On Thursday, 20 September, the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) hosted Cora Weiss, president of the Hague Appeal for Peace and a contributor to the drafting of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security. In a wide-ranging and incisive conversation, Weiss discussed the controversy over proposals to hold a 5th World Conference for Women; the overuse of “women-without-modifiers” and the danger of “women” becoming trendy; and the progress – as well as some of the disappointments – of 1325 twelve years on.

Opposition to a 5th World Conference among Weiss and other activists stems primarily from the conviction that women can’t afford to go backwards, a worry that is increasingly well-founded in light of the “trend” of watered-down, retrogressive final documents coming out of the Rio +20 and other recent international summits. Weiss also stressed that the documents, treaties, and resolutions already exist, and that attention and resources should instead be paid to their implementation. Weiss and her civil society partners recommend instead a high-level debate on women and gender issues at the General Assembly, as well as regional meetings of activists and state parties – with the overarching theme (as regards the Beijing declaration) of “no renegotiation”. Weiss also noted that activists and others need to be careful about homogenizing women. She noted that the Sarah Palin phenomenon of anti-feminist women means that one cannot assume that all women work towards similar goals, but that one must instead talk of women-with-modifiers: “peace-loving women”, “development women”, etc. Similarly, she warns against the danger of “women” becoming a trendy topic, as a trend is by definition short-term. Instead, feminist goals and practices must be sustained institutionally and in our daily lives, so that they do not disappear from the agenda when the trend inevitably shifts.

Finally, while conceding that the limited number of 1325 National Action Plans remains disappointing, Weiss noted the important trend of “localization” of work on 1325 – pointing to increasing efforts by civil society organizations to allow local actors to set the agenda and customize training and activities to their own context and needs. This local focus is as relevant for actors in developed countries, such as the United States, as for those in more poor or conflict-affected areas. Resolution 1325, she argues, gives people a tool to do something in the world – and it is for everyone.

New UN SRSG on Sexual Violence in Conflict

Zainab Hawa Bangura was on 22 June 2012 appointed as the United Nations’ new Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict. Bangura comes from the position as Minister of Health and Sanitation in Sierra Leone and has worked for over 20 years with issues of governance, conflict resolution and reconciliation in Africa. She also has experience from UN peacekeeping operations, being responsible for the civilian component of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Bangura was sworn in as SRSG on 8 September.

For more on Zainab Hawa Bangura see United Nations website.
International News

Zainab Hawa Bangura was appointed Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on 22 June. She replaced Margot Wallström, who concluded her two years on the post on May 31 (see separate story).

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma from South Africa was elected chair of the African Union Commission on 15 July. She is the first woman to hold this position since the formation of the Organization for African Unity, later the AU, in 1963.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) issued a ruling on reparations to victims in the case of convicted former Congolese militia commander Thomas Lubanga on 7 August. This is the first time the ICC has ruled on reparations and it sets a precedent regarding women’s access to justice for conflict-related crimes. See also UN Women Press Release

Mari Skåre was appointed the NATO Secretary General’s Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security on 27 August (see separate story).

Women, Peace and Security take center stage at the opening of the 67th Session of UN General Assembly.

A high level event on Women’s Access to Justice on 24 September.

A high-level panel on Preventing Sexual and Gender-based Crimes in Conflict and Securing Justice for Survivors on 25 September. Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Espen Barth Eide also gave a statement.

Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Espen Barth Eide gave a key statement at the High-Level Meeting Gender in Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-proliferation on 25 September.


News from Norway

Mariann Murvoll is the new Coordinator for Women, Peace and Security in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see separate story).

The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) held a lunch seminar on Thursday 20 September on The Long Road of Resolution 1325: From Drafting 1325 to Doubting a 5th World Conference on Women featuring Cora Weiss, president of the Hague Appeal for Peace and a contributor to the drafting of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (see separate story).

NOREF and Oslo Dokumentarkino hosted a screening and debate on 5 September at Cinematheket: JUSTICE FOR SALE IN THE DRC? From the makers of “Fighting the Silence”, this documentary explores how faced with widespread sexual violence and a poorly functioning justice system, NGOs in Congo have received ample funding to set up mobile courts that pass sentences over supposed perpetrators. Some of these NGOs have little prior knowledge or experience from the judiciary. Does this lead to fair trials or is this support creating a justice that is for sale?

The University of Bergen hosted a conference on Thought as Action: Gender, Democracy, Freedom on 16-18 August. For more information visit conference website.

News from PRIO

The PRIO/CARE report “Engaging Men. The Abatangamuco and Women’s Empowerment in Burundi” written by PRIO Researcher Hilde Wallacher was launched at a PRIO seminar on 29 August 2012.

The Peacebuilding and Gender Research Groups at PRIO hosted a seminar on 4 September with a delegation from Argentina, including Human Rights Activist Mrs. Estela Barnes Carlotto, representing the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo. She talked about recent human rights achievements in Argentina and the influential role of the ‘Grandmothers’ in fighting impunity.

Several Board members of the Peace Research Endowment (PRE), including Cora Weiss and Abigail Disney, visited PRIO during the third week of September. For more information, see PRE website.

Ragnhild Nordås

Gave a presentation on ‘Sexual Violence in War’ at the seminar ‘What do we know about civil wars? War and peace revisited: High-lights from a Centre of Excellence’. The seminar formed part of the 10th anniversary celebrations of PRIO’s Center for the Study of Civil War on 20 September.

Inger Skjelsbæk

Has been a guest researcher at the UC Berkeley Human Rights Center between June and August, studying convictions of perpetrators of sexual violence in war.

Held a lecture at Bjørknes International College, on 10 September. The topic was ‘Rape in War – An Overview’. 
Helga Hernes
Along with Torunn Tryggestad, met with newly appointed NATO Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security Mari Skåre on 4 September.

Gave a talk on ‘State Feminism in a Historical Perspective’ at a seminar at Fafo on 21 September.

Torunn L. Tryggestad
Held a lecture at the PRIO Summer School on ‘Un Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: From Idea to Policy and Practice’ on 26 June.

Along with Helga Hernes, met with newly appointed NATO Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security Mari Skåre on 4 September.

Hosted a lunch at PRIO for PRE Board of Directors Haleh Esfandiari, Abigail Disney and Karin Forseke on 20 September.

Jenny Lorentzen
Completed her MA in International Relations at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB) and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI).

She successfully defended her MA thesis titled Hypocrisy and “Friction” in International Organizations: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, on 19 September.

Recent PRIO Publications


Other Recent Publications


Coming Events

The Missing Peace Symposium 2012 on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post Conflict Settings will take place on 1-3 November 2012, at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, United States. The United States Institute of Peace (USIP), the Human Rights Center at Berkeley Law, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI North America), and PRIO, will convene a group of scholars, policymakers, practitioners, and military and civil society actors to examine the issue of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict settings, identify gaps in knowledge and reporting, and explore how to increase the effectiveness of current responses to such violence. For more information see website.

The Center for Women’s Global Leadership (CWGL) launches its 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence Campaign on 25 November to 16 December 2012. For more information see CWGL website.

The Center for Peacebuilding (KOFF) announces its Training Series 2012/13 taking place in Bern, Switzerland featuring four practice-oriented training courses on pertinent topics in the field of civilian peacebuilding. The October training on “Women, Peace and Security - Implementing UN Resolution 1325” might be of particular interest to our readers. For more information see KOFF website ■