# Women, peace and security: a gendered approach to aid effectiveness in post-conflict development

A think piece by Sherrill Whittington<sup>1</sup>

While much attention has been given to the victimhood of women emerging from conflicts, too little focus and insufficient resources are allocated to strengthening the capacity of women to assume key leadership roles as peacemakers, peacebuilders and architects of rights-based and equitable reconstruction processes. It is recognised that agreements reached on constitutions, the shape of government and processes for elections have a lasting impact on communities. These agreements can significantly affect women's empowerment and their participation in government and decision making. By ensuring that both men and women are included in rebuilding communities and important decision making processes, peace is more likely to be lasting.<sup>2</sup> To ensure that a new sustainable, rights-based, equitable paradigm emerges in the aftermath of conflict, targeted resources for gender equality have to be deployed strategically. One of the most effective investments in post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction are resources focused on creating enabling mechanisms and processes for women's leadership, in both legislatures and civil society organisations.

# **Background**

In order to determine how the impact of development assistance in post-conflict environments can be used to promote gender equality, it is necessary to understand the nature of contemporary conflicts. In today's wars, the strategies adopted by armed groups 'seek to bring the battle more immediately, more systematically, and more massively to the core of the civilian population.' These conflicts are characterized by a total breakdown of law, security and community structures, with gross human rights violations perpetrated against civilian populations. The most vulnerable are women and children. While armed conflicts involving non-state actors... may yield fewer military battle deaths, they exact a high human cost: Unarmed civilians are victimized, basic services deteriorate, societal divisions deepen and local economies decline.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This think piece has been commissioned by the Office of Development Effectiveness, however the views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author only.

 $<sup>^2\,\</sup>text{Women, Peace and Security: AusAID's implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, AusAID 2010.}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, Transnationality, War and the Law: A report on a roundtable on the transformation of warfare, international law, and the role of transnational armed groups, Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, April 2006, p. 6 <a href="http://www.un.org/children/conflict/machel/english/2-the-changing-nature-of-conflict.html">http://www.un.org/children/conflict/machel/english/2-the-changing-nature-of-conflict.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> S. Whittington, The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls in West and Central Africa and the UNICEF Response. UNICEF, New York 2005.

It is into such fragile environments that the international donor community delivers emergency assistance followed by more sustained development funding. However, while doing so, it is imperative to realise that securing durable peace depends on an inclusive approach to peacebuilding and security, particularly the full participation of women in all decision-making to prevent violent conflict and to protect all civilians. The Beijing Platform for Action emphasised that: *The equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security... If women are to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace, they must be empowered politically and economically and represented adequately at all levels of decision-making.<sup>5</sup>* 

Such sentiments were reinforced five years later by the UN Secretary-General, Kofi. A. Annan, in the debate introducing Security Council resolution 1325, *Women, Peace and Security*, on 24 October 2000. He stated that ... *peace is inextricably linked to equality between women and men...maintaining and promoting peace and security requires equal participation in decision-making.*<sup>6</sup> This applies to all decision-making from peace negotiations and peace accords, implementation of mandates of peacekeeping missions, reconstructing or constructing systems of governance, security, rule of law, electoral and constitutional reform and development. Yet, women and gender considerations remain largely absent from the decision-making structures that are charged with reconstructing their war-torn countries. While gender-based atrocities inflicted on women and girls are more newsworthy and have to be redressed, if there are to be sustainable, equitable outcomes of donor assistance, the focus has to be on empowering women as agents of change, enabling them to be equal partners in decision-making at all levels.

# Women, peace and security issues

A more gender inclusive approach to peacebuilding, security and reconstruction was recognised internationally just over a decade ago with the United Nation's landmark Security Council resolution 1325, *Women, Peace and Security*. This was the first time that the Security Council addressed protection of women during armed conflict, calling for an end to impunity for gender-based abuses during and after conflict, as well as the integration of a gender perspective in peacemaking and peace-keeping. In addition, the participation of women in all levels of decision-making and issues related to prevention management and resolution of conflict were raised, with a wide range of stakeholders, including governments, the UN Security Council, UN Secretary-General and all parties to armed conflict required to take action.

## Women as peacemakers

Many issues are yet to be addressed if women are to play a key role in building peace and security mechanisms and processes. The neglect of an inclusive, participatory strategy of peacebuilding stems from a lack of a realisation of the gendered dimensions of both conflict and its aftermath. Diplomatic efforts to end the violence between the conflicting parties, moving them towards nonviolent dialogue is the first stage of peacemaking and focuses initially on negotiation, mediation, and arbitration. However, if international negotiators of peace agreements are prepared to allow perpetrators of heinous atrocities and crimes against humanity to be seated at the 'peace table' and placated to buy their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Beijing Platform for Action, para, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> UN Secretary- General, Kofi. A. Annan, Security Council resolution 1325, Women, Peace and Security, on 24 October 2000

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/negotiation/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/mediation/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/arbitration/

compliance with a peace agreement, then the same negotiators have to be held accountable to international resolutions such as 1325 which call for women's direct involvement in all peace processes.

The international donor community must promote women as active protagonists because *the peace table* is a forum not only for negotiating the end to war, but also ... a platform for transforming institutions and structures, and opening the door to greater social justice.<sup>10</sup> This transition from conflict to post-conflict peacebuilding is a crucial opportunity for the inclusion of women in domestic decision-making structures and processes. In addressing the barriers to women's constructive involvement in peacebuilding initiatives, core issues such as the protection of women, elections and political participation, design of a constitution, jurisdiction and issues of property and land rights have to be considered as part of any donor strategy.

While post-conflict reconstruction of political, economic, and social structures and institutions should adopt a gendered rights-based approach to the protection of all citizens' rights, and development of necessary human resources, the longer term process of social reintegration and rehabilitation also needs to be inclusive and gender sensitive. In the post-conflict phase, community and individual healing is possible if ending impunity and the promotion of justice are a crucial part of the reconciliation process. Support has to be given to direct involvement of women's groups and organisations to develop community sensitization and appropriately responsive interventions for reintegration and rehabilitation programs for women and girls who have been victims of sexual abuse. Resources should be allocated to building capacity of women's organisations to be key in establishing and participating in mechanisms for national dialogue, such as truth commissions. These must not only involve women and women's organisations, as was the case in Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Timor Leste, but should also entail legal redress by acknowledging gendered war crimes such as rape.

The most effective gender equality outputs and outcomes can be achieved by applying a gendered analytical framework to the entire cycle of conflict and recovery. The failure to incorporate such an analysis into the initial impact assessments of the situation and develop gendered indicators to monitor and evaluate progress has resulted in women being marginalised in decision-making for conflict resolution and their specific needs and priorities not incorporated into reconstruction. So, a clear understanding of the differential conflict experiences of women and men, authenticated with sex-disaggregated data is essential to ensure that analysis recognises that their distinct needs and roles are accorded special consideration.

Yet, despite recent progress toward being more gender sensitive, all stages of peacebuilding continue to give inadequate attention to the equal role of women. The transition from conflict to post-conflict peacebuilding provides a vital window of opportunity for the inclusion of women in decision-making structures and reconstruction processes and if a more equitable, just and sustainable peace is to be achieved, adequate funding has to be provided to ensure that women are key players. In the 2005 review of the Beijing Platform for Action,<sup>11</sup> it was acknowledged that while *increased attention to women's participation in peace processes has created more opportunities for women and women's organizations to contribute to the prevention of conflict and to participate in conflict resolution, peacebuilding and peace negotiations,* there was still much to be achieved.

 $<sup>^{</sup>m 10}$  S. Anderlini, Women at the Peace Table, Making a Difference. pp 8, 10. UNIFEM 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of the special session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century" Beijing+10 2005

#### Gendered approaches to reconstruction

Women continue to be excluded from formal peace processes and post-conflict implementation mechanisms, are victims of organised mass sexual violence, and arrangements for women's security and survival needs in refugee and internally displaced camps are still accorded insufficient attention. While the high levels of gender based violence was recognised in Security Council resolutions 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) which acknowledged for the first time that sexual violence in conflict has become in some contexts a tactic of war designed to achieve military and political objectives, there are still too few domestic or international prosecutions of war crimes against women and inadequate reparations programs.

In 2009 more positive approaches were adopted in resolution 1889 which addressed concerns about the implementation mechanisms for resolution 1325 (2000), calling for the development of indicators to monitor the resolution's measures. The United Nations system was required to adopt a system-wide action plan to monitor implementation, with Member States requested to develop their own national action plans.

## **Success Stories**

Despite the many gaps in implementation of these international resolutions, there are success stories emanating from multilateral and bilateral programs that can be upheld and replicated. Australia, through its international development assistance, places a priority on implementing these important Security Council resolutions. Australia supports a range of development programs that recognise the role women play in preventing conflict and building peace. Australia is also focused on promoting effective ways to prevent sexual violence and help women and families go about their daily activities safely in conflict-affected environments.

#### **Timor Leste**

A number of effective and replicable initiatives promoting women's leadership and gender-sensitive governance have been supported by AusAID in Timor Leste. From the outset of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), AusAID provided funding and consultancy support to the Gender Unit to develop gender mainstreaming guidelines for the newly developing Education and Health Ministries. As the Gender Unit transformed into the Office for Promotion of Equality and subsequently upgraded to level of the Secretary of State (SEPI), the national machinery for women, those guidelines received prime ministerial endorsement and formed the basis of capacity building for SEPI staff as well as other ministries through a network of gender focal points. Not only was this an innovative project, but one that proved to be sustainable with whole-of-government outreach and strengthened the role of the women's national machinery in government.

As with many post-conflict parliaments,<sup>12</sup> Timor Leste with 29.2 per cent of women in parliament is today one of the regional post-conflict success stories. Australia has contributed to this by providing substantial funding support to UNIFEM for the Integrated Programme for Women in Politics and Decision Making (IPWPDM) which was designed to enhance and support women's participation in politics and in decision making at the national, municipal and village levels. The program's two key components focused support to women leaders at the national level and enhanced rural women's leadership and participation in

<sup>12</sup> These are Rwanda 56.3%, South Africa 44.5%, Mozambique 39.2%, Angola 38.6%, Nepal 33.2%, Macedonia 32.5%, Burundi 32.1%, Timor Leste 29.2%, Afghanistan 27.7% and Ethiopia 27.8%. Inter-Parliamentary Union 30 April, 2011. <a href="http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm">http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm</a>

nation building, particularly women leaders at the village and hamlet levels. One of the main outcomes is that elected leaders (particularly women) at the national, municipal and suco levels influence a gender responsive rights based agenda for women.

Affirmative action instigated by women in parliament in 2006 resulted in an electoral law that requires for every four candidates a political party fields, at least one must be a woman. As a result, Timor Leste ranks above its regional neighbours in parliamentary representation, with women holding three ministerial posts: justice, finance and social solidarity. Within parliament, a woman deputy speaker chairs the Grupo das Mulheres Parlamentares de Timor-Leste (GMPTL), the cross-party women's caucus, a mechanism for organising women to defend their rights. Officially endorsed in October 2007 through a resolution passed by parliament 'to promote women's equality of gender and reduce all forms of discrimination between men and women for all East Timor', the caucus strengthens women's roles in parliament, including capacity building to analyse legislation and state budgets with an awareness of gender considerations, this is a model to be emulated.

#### **Rwanda**

This example of the positive impact of supporting women's national leadership in post-conflict legislatures is also evident in Rwanda, whose parliament currently boasts 56 per cent women, the highest globally. As in Timor Leste, women here have been remarkably successful in a relatively short time-frame. Such a critical mass has enabled remarkable changes such as granting women the right to own land and property, to pool their assets or keep them separate after marriage and pushing through laws protecting women and children against domestic and gender-based violence.

#### **Bougainville**

The role of women civil society leaders is as important and requires substantial support. In the Pacific, women in both Bougainville and the Solomon Islands undertook an active role in negotiating and building peace in their communities. One of the most effective programs is being carried out by the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCR) headed by Sister Lorraine Garasu one of the key women peacemakers. She has designed and developed a Community Trauma Programme<sup>13</sup> which aims to meet the need to upskill trauma counsellors, with capacity building training for both mediators and counsellors. The six month program ending in December 2009 expanded to rehabilitate 230 former combatants north west of the capital, Buka. This program received very positive feedback, with the group now clean of weapons and showing changed attitudes to violence. One direct sustainable outcome in 2011 is that the NCR is starting a one year programme: *Men and Boys Engage in Building non-Violent Peace*. This is one of the best models of a culturally appropriate, indigenous approach to peacebuilding where women have taken the lead in healing war-torn communities. It has been carried out with minimal resources, now requiring long-term funding commitments to expand its operations and document its achievements.

#### **Solomon Islands**

Application of gender analysis not only to conflict and its aftermath, but also to the development and application of gendered early warning indicators can also foster a 'culture of prevention'.¹⁴ A UNIFEM study conducted in the Solomon Islands in 2005 to develop gendered early warning indicators is an excellent example of how indicators can be utilised to predict a failing state. The study tracked 44

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  From an interview I conducted with Sr Lorraine Garasu in Buka, Bougainville, 1 March 2011.

 $<sup>^{14} \</sup> Report of the \ United \ Nations \ Secretary-General \ to \ the \ Security \ Council \ on \ Conflict \ Prevention, \ A/55/895 - S/2001/574, 7 \ July \ 2001 \ http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/reports/2001/574e.pdf$ 

indicators and found that 12 of them were at a high risk level for potential conflict. The most high risk areas were in governance and land issues. So for example, amongst the governance indicators, corruption was a major issue, also women's lack of participation in political processes, came up as a high risk issue. <sup>15</sup> The study concluded that women's exclusion from decision-making is a critical risk factor, as research has found that states with a lower percentage of women in parliament are more likely to use violence to settle conflicts. <sup>16</sup> However, due to lack of funding this study was not expanded to other Pacific countries. It should also be replicated in Papua New Guinea where low-level tribal conflicts are ongoing in the Highlands region and women are subjected to extremely high rates of gender-based violence.

#### 'Women at the Asian Peace Table'

At a regional level, bringing women in former conflict zones together to provide solidarity has been achieved through 'Women at the Asian Peace Table', an AusAID funded project whose objective is to give women mediators, negotiators and advisers in Africa and the Asia-Pacific region the opportunity to identify and implement strategies for improving women's participation in peace processes. In addition to roundtables, the project is documenting good practices related to women and peacemaking with the intention of providing key information and recommendations for the peacemaking community on how to incorporate the perspectives of both women and men in peace agreements and outcomes. Some of the best examples that should be documented are in Bougainville, the Solomon Islands and Timor Leste where women have played vital roles in both peacemaking and peacebuilding.

## Addressing conflict-related sexual violence - an analytical inventory of peacekeeping practice

AusAID is also funding development of an inventory, 'Addressing conflict-related sexual violence - an analytical inventory of peacekeeping practice' which is documenting best practices and emerging elements for a more effective response by peacekeepers to women's security concerns. This is a collaborative project between the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and UN Women, under the auspices of an inter-agency network, UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict (UN Action). This inventory represents the first-ever review of efforts by uniformed peacekeepers to prevent, deter and respond to widespread and systematic sexual violence, and is part of a broader agenda to improve their capacities to protect civilians.

Speaking at its launch, the recently appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margot Wallström, said: "To move from best intentions to best practice, peacekeepers must be armed with examples and information to help them operate more effectively on the ground. While we are all too familiar with the horror stories that play out in war-zones, we also have a responsibility to highlight success stories..."<sup>17</sup>

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  A. Moser, taken from an Interview FemTALK-Vois Blong Mere, 29 August 2005.

<sup>16</sup> A. Moser, Monitoring Peace and Conflict in the Solomon Islands Gendered Early Warning Report, No. 1, UNIFEM, 2005 p.6.

<sup>17</sup> http://reliefweb.int/node/359684

# **Challenges**

## **Donor funding of post-conflict reconstruction**

Yet, while much progress has been made, many challenges still remain. The two key ones are women's direct involvement in decision-making structures and processes, and funding for gender equality – that is providing sufficient and equitable resources to ensure women's social, economic and political empowerment at all levels. This should be done in the immediate aftermath of a conflict as the peacemaking process gets underway which is a crucial period when international multilateral actors, bilateral actors, civil society and emergency partners undertake joint assessment missions (JAMs) to determine resource priorities and allocations. The key to financing for gender equality is to be able to assess how this cross-cutting issue is addressed in initial post-conflict needs assessments which become the blueprints for donor priorities for reconstruction. Failure to include gender expertise on such missions or to apply a gendered analysis, has led to inadequate funding to promote gender equality. Omission of this issue from the Report of the Joint Assessment Mission to East Timor of October 1999 resulted in lack of consideration being given at the first Donor's Meeting in Tokyo and the subsequent plan for reconstruction.

A recent UNIFEM (now part of UN Women) study examining project budgets in multi-donor trust funds and joint programs in six post-conflict countries concluded that only 5.7 per cent of total resources were allocated to benefit the status of women. It found that economic recovery, infrastructure and security and rule of law are accorded greater focus and a larger allocation of funds, with little attention given to gender-specific needs. Failure to undertake gender-based beneficiary evaluations in order to determine equitable resource allocation has resulted in minimal funding to promote gender equality. In 2010, the United Nations Secretary General in reporting on women's role in peacebuilding drew attention to this issue and called on ... United Nations entities, regional organizations, international financial institutions and Member States involved in organizing donor conferences to provide meaningful opportunities for women's representatives to participate in such crucial events. 19

#### Women's participation in peace negotiations

Attention also has to be given to the lack of women's participation in peace negotiations, with only 10 per cent of negotiators being women in the past decade.<sup>20</sup> This imbalance needs to be redressed by the adoption of affirmative action measures to ensure a higher inclusion of women, with international and regional organisations, as well as national governments advocating strongly for such measures. Women have to have a prominent role in the formal negotiations, as well as in their own governments. It is well known that productive, strong legislatures are central to healthy democracies in post-conflict countries, so affirmative action measures have to be implemented to ensure women have a decisive voice in rebuilding their national institutions.

<sup>18</sup> Finnoff, Kade, and Ramamurthy, Bhargavi, Financing for Gender Equality: Review of United Nations Modalities for Post-Conflict Financing (UNIFEM, 2010).

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$  Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: Report of the Secretary-General A/65/354–S/2010/466 Para 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Women Count for Peace: 1325 +10 Overview, UNIFEM (Part of UN Women) p. 6.

#### Women in decision-making

Preliminary research suggests that countries with very low percentages of women in parliament and the formal labour sector, or cultures that restrict women, condone violence against them or treat women as property, are more likely to resort to armed conflict to settle disputes. A study by International Alert,<sup>21</sup> which provided a gender-sensitive rationale of the root causes of conflict being political, economic and social inequality, argued that a *five per cent decrease in the proportion of women in parliament renders a state nearly five (4.91) times as likely to resolve international disputes using military violence.*<sup>22</sup>

Democratic institutions are not representative when half of the population has either no or an insignificant voice in decision-making, as is the case in many countries in the Asia-Pacific 'arc of instability'. With fragile governance systems, Pacific countries such as the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and more recently Fiji,have gross underrepresentation of women in legislatures. Bougainville with its three reserved seats for women in the Assembly has been accorded scant attention when it comes to building the capacity of these women representatives to be effective change agents and advocates of social justice. Funding for women to compete in national and local elections is lacking in these countries dominated by the 'big man' culture of leadership, and without adequate resources women will remain marginalised.

While the United Nations Secretary-General has committed the UN system *to more systematically institutionalizing women's participation in, and applying gender analysis to, all post-conflict planning processes, so that women's specific needs and gender discrimination are addressed at every stage, this approach should not only apply to the UN. The recommendations to adopt <i>improved methods for the sex-disaggregated tracking of resource allocations, beneficiaries and impacts within results frameworks and budgets* are equally applicable to all actors involved in funding post-conflict reconstruction. They too, in conjunction with the UN system can adopt *better accountability mechanisms to ensure that new approaches are systematically applied and yield improvements in terms of the inclusiveness and quality of planning.* <sup>23</sup>

# **Conclusions**

In 2010 the OECD examined how an improved response to financing critical post-conflict transition periods could be achieved by applying from the outset an analytical framework that would not only identify the underlying causes of violent conflict and fragility, as well as factors that can build peace, and supporting local conflict management and resolution mechanisms, but would support inclusive political settlements and political processes, at the same time according priority to state functions that are strategically important for statebuilding. Yet, it underscored that while doing so it is important to place gender considerations among the core concerns. Apart from their normative importance, a gender-sensitive approach can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of interventions in each of the three areas above.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> M. Caprioli, *Gendered Conflict*, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 37, no.1, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ibid, cited in *Gender and Conflict Early Warning: A Preliminary Framework*, Susanne Schmeidl, Swiss Peace Foundation with Eugenia Piza-Lopez, International Alert, July 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ihid.. Para 31.

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  Transition Financing: Building a Better Response, OECD  $\,$  2010 , p. 3.

Gender analysis has to be integral to planning processes for peacebuilding and reconstruction. In order to ensure such an analysis is relevant to overall achievement of women's rights, a *gendered* MDG-type framework for women, peace and security is needed with specific goals, associated targets and measurable indicators to ensure coordinated implementation and regular monitoring and reporting. Such a rights-based framework could be used to indicate differences in economic and reproductive activities, access to and control over resources, and gender-based obstacles in access to services, including physical security, the risk of gender-based violence or the scarcity of income-generating activities for women. To deliver more fully in terms of resolution 1325 (2000), not only must women's basic political rights be protected, but increased presence by women in leadership positions must be ensured. The international community's clear commitment to increase the proportion of women holding elected office, an indicator for measuring achievement of the third MDG, has to be one of the highest priorities not only in countries emerging from conflict but also in fragile states, particularly in the Pacific.

To support achievement of the goals of resolution 1325, a special quick access fund has to be created for women's political leadership and women's civil society organisations. A model for such a fund could be the recently established FLOW (Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women) initiated by the Dutch Foreign Ministry to strengthen the rights and opportunities for women and girls. FLOW is a successor to the Dutch Government's MDG3 Fund and has set aside 70 million Euros to focus on three priorities: security (including violence against women and UN Resolution 1325), economic empowerment (with an emphasis on food security, land, water and economic rights) and political participation. In these three priorities female leadership is seen as an important instrument.

The achievements of the critical mass of women in post-conflict legislatures in areas of education, health, land reform, and legal rights for women are testimony to the fact that creating enabling mechanisms and processes for gender equality and providing equitable resources can empower women to become protagonists in rebuilding their war-torn countries and creating a more just, secure and equitable society. The effectiveness of donor resource investments will be evident in the capacity of women to bring about positive, sustainable outcomes for development at the national, local and community levels.

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